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ABSTRACT

This guidebook to a positive future provides (1) articles and essays covering all aspects of peace by leading experts on peace and nuclear war education, (2) a directory and detailed information on over 1,000 peace organizations, (3) a guide to socially responsible investing, and (4) a list of related reference books, publications, and films. The first of 14 sections focuses on nuclear winter, the evolution and effects of nuclear weaponry, the arms race, and space-based missile defense. Section 2, "Empowerment," contains poetry, a personal account of a despair and empowerment workshop, a description of a network called "Interhelp," and articles about relating nuclear war to children and "Despair and Personal Power in the Nuclear Age." The next two sections contain articles on "How You Personally Can Prevent Nuclear War" and "How the United States Can Prevent Nuclear War." Sections 5 and 6 examine alternatives to war and parenting for peace and justice. Sections 7, 8, and 9 deal with education in a nuclear age, mediation, and the need for educated awareness about the Soviet Union, citizen diplomacy, and east-west relations. Section 10, dealing with the effects of military spending is followed by sections on converting to a peacetime economy, socially responsible investing, and nonviolent action. The final section, which focuses on working toward a positive future, concludes with a directory of peace groups and print and nonprint materials. (LH)

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The Peace Catalog

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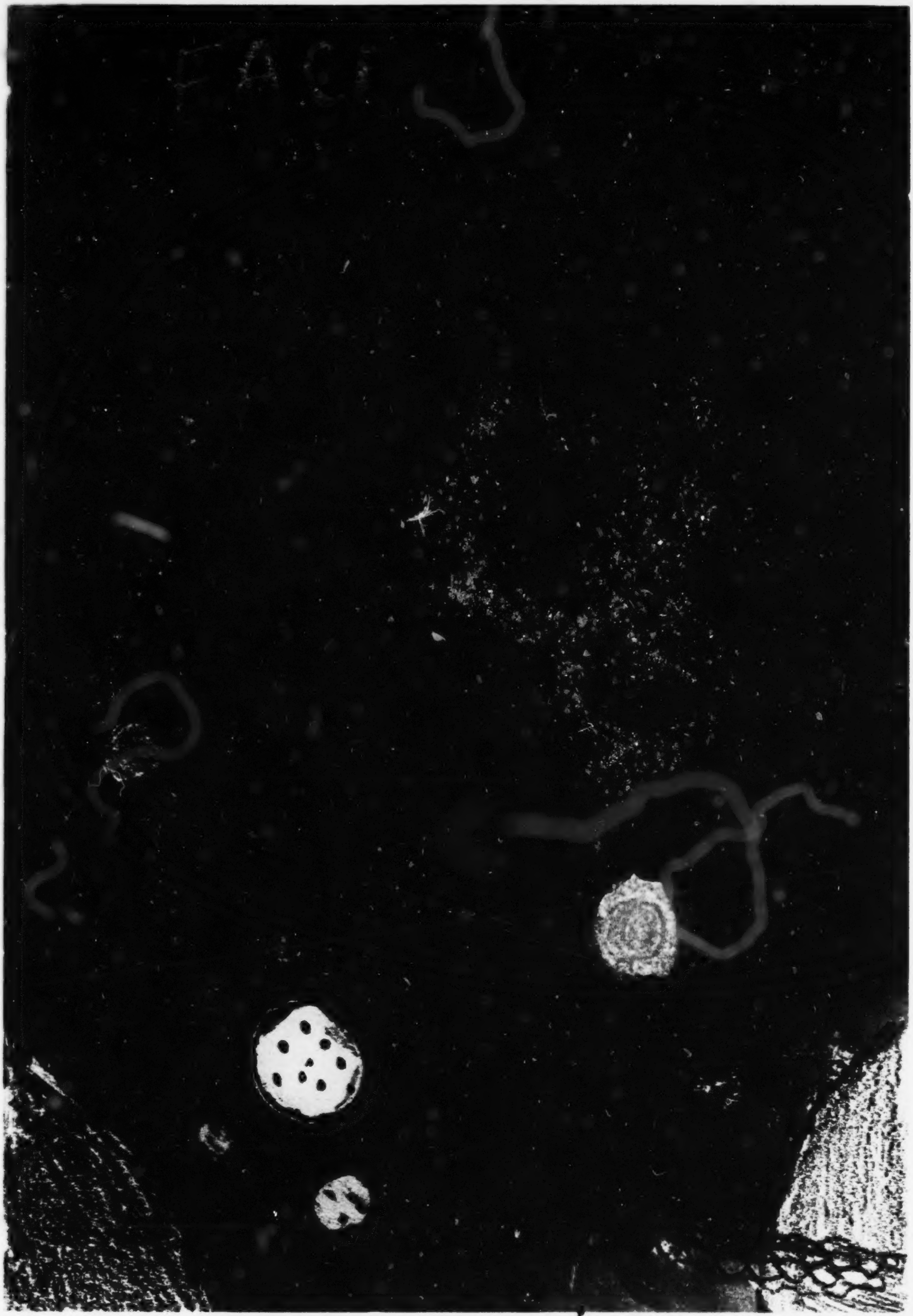
- Articles and essays covering all aspects of peace by many of the world's top thinkers.
- Directory and detailed information on over 1,000 peace organizations.
- Guide to socially responsible investing.
- List of reference books, publications and films.

A Guidebook to a Positive Future.



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The Peace Catalog

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Foreword

Most of us are aware of the awesome challenge and responsibility facing humanity in this generation: we must find a way to live together in peace or we will surely die together in a nuclear holocaust.

The Peace Catalog presents clear evidence that we are indeed rising to this challenge. The path to a positive future is being illuminated by many creative thinkers. More and more people are choosing to follow this path, changing their own lives as the first step in changing the world.

The Peace Catalog is a guide for those who are just starting out and those who are veterans of the journey.

In the Peace Catalog, you'll find information about the problem: articles about just how dangerous the arms race is, and what military spending is doing to our economy.

However, you'll mostly find solutions: essays about educating children to live in a rapidly changing global community; converting the economy to productive, non-military activities; managing conflict nonviolently.

You'll also find ideas for using your own personal power: reports on parents who teach nonviolence to their children; citizen diplomats who reach out to "enemies" and make friends; people who declare their communitites Nuclear Free Zones; people who refuse to support war preparation with their taxes or investments; and citizens who work politically to influence local and national policies.

In the Peace Catalog, you'll find visions of a positive future: the outlines of an emerging future in which our energies are devoted to a more exciting game than war--an evolutionary leap forward to a planetary consciousness.

You'll also find resources for your journey: books, newsletters, "how to do it" kits, videotapes, films, and most important—connections with the many others who are with you on the path to peace.

We hope The Peace Catalog will inform you, inspire you, and give you courage to do your part—however large or small—in securing a positive future for generations to come.

Duane Sweeney

Duane Sweeney
Editor

> *"The journey of a thousand leagues begins with a single step. So we must never neglect any work of peace within our reach, however small."*
>
> *—Adlai Stevenson*

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The View from the Brink

"You'll see the world
blast out of sight
If you fill it up with dynamite."

Noah Johnson

"Depending on certain assumptions, some estimates predict 10 million casualties on one side and 100 million on the other. But that is not the whole population."

Eugene Rostow,
Former Chief U.S. Negotiator

Introduction

This book is primarily about people and solutions, not about hardware or how bad things are. Nevertheless, in this chapter we will look at some of the dangers presented by our current involvement with nuclear weapons.

The first two articles focus on the worldwide and local effects of nuclear explosions. The rest of the chapter documents our "progress" from a world free of nuclear weapons to a world where there are not enough targets for the bombs that exist. This situation would seem dangerous enough, but in addition we are now building weapons more suitable for attack than defense. This has the effect of upsetting the relative stability of the Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) policy that has existed for some 25 years.

MAD made it clear that if either superpower attacked, it would be destroyed by the other's retaliation. This worked because neither side had missiles accurate enough to destroy the missiles of the other side. The new direction we have embarked upon is to develop missiles that are extremely accurate (accurate enough to hit missile silos), and then to deploy them so that they could be used in an attempt to destroy the Soviet ability to retaliate.

If and when this capability is attained by the U.S., the temptation to strike first might be very strong. The moral consequences of this act are incalculable, but the physical results are now known. The Northern Hemisphere would become a place where few living things would survive, and probably no humans at all. These effects would extend to an unknown but significant degree to the entire globe.

This fact, if no other, should be understood by everyone and used to stop the arms race and reverse it. Far from strengthening our national defenses, the U.S. and USSR are building a mutual suicide machine.

The material in this chapter is presented to inform you, but it is also very frightening. Many people are concerned about these feelings and are developing ways to deal with them. Their work is called Empowerment, and Chapter 2 is devoted to it. You may wish to read it either before or after reading this chapter.

The Nuclear Winter

Carl Sagan

"Into the eternal darkness, into fire, into ice."

—Dante, ***The Inferno***

Except for fools and madmen, everyone knows that nuclear war would be an unprecedented human catastrophe. A more or less typical strategic warhead has a yield of 2 megatons, the explosive equivalent of 2 million tons of TNT. But 2 million tons of TNT is about the same as all the bombs exploded in World War II—a single bomb with the explosive power of the entire Second World War but compressed into a few seconds of time and an area 30 or 40 miles across...

In a 2-megaton explosion over a fairly large city, buildings would be vaporized, people reduced to atoms and shadows, outlying structures blown down like matchsticks, and raging fires ignited. And if the bomb were exploded on the ground, an enormous crater, like those that can be seen through a telescope on the surface of the Moon, would be all that remained where midtown once had been. There are now more than 50,000 nuclear weapons, more than 13,000 megatons of yield, deployed in the arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union—enough to obliterate a million Hiroshimas.

But there are fewer than 3,000 cities on the Earth with populations of 100,000 or more. You cannot find anything like a million Hiroshimas to obliterate. Prime military and industrial targets that are far from cities are comparatively rare. Thus, there are vastly more nuclear weapons than are needed for any plausible deterrence of a potential adversary.

Nobody knows, of course, how many megatons would be exploded in a real nuclear war. There are some who think that a nuclear war can be "contained,' bottled up before it runs away to involve much of the world's arsenals. But a number of detailed analyses, war games run by the U.S. Department of Defense, and official Soviet pronouncements all indicate that this containment may be too much to hope for: Once the bombs begin exploding, communications failures, disorganization, fear, the necessity of making in minutes decisions affecting the fates of millions, and the immense psychological burden of knowing that your own loved ones may already have been destroyed are likely to result in a nuclear paroxysm. Many investigations, including a number of studies for the U.S. government, envision the explosion of 5,000 to 10,000 megatons—the detonation of tens of thousands of nuclear weapons that now sit quietly, inconspicuously, in missile silos, submarines and long-range bombers, faithful servants awaiting orders.

The World Health Organization, in a recent study chaired by Sune K. Bergstrom (the 1982 Nobel laureate in physiology and medicine), concludes that 1.1 billion people would be killed outright in such a nuclear war, mainly in the United States, the Soviet Union, Europe, China and Japan. An additional 1.1 billion people would suffer serious injuries and radiation sickness, for which medical help would be unavailable. It thus seems possible that more than 2 billion people—almost half of all the humans on Earth—would be destroyed in the immediate aftermath of a global thermonuclear war. This would represent by far the greatest disaster in the history of the human species and, with no other adverse effects, would probably be enough to reduce at least the Northern Hemisphere to a state of prolonged agony and barbarism. Unfortunately, the real situation would be much worse.

CARL SAGAN is David Duncan Professor of Astronomy and Space Sciences and Director of the Laboratory for Planetary Studies at Cornell University.

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In technical studies of the consequences of nuclear weapons explosions, there has been a dangerous tendency to underestimate the results. This is partly due to a tradition of conservatism which generally works well in science but which is of more dubious applicability when the lives of billions of people are at stake. In the Bravo test of March 1, 1954, a 15-megaton thermonuclear bomb was exploded on Bikini Atoll. It had about double the yield expected, and there was an unanticipated last-minute shift in the wind direction. As a result, deadly radioactive fallout came down on Rongelap in the Marshall Islands, more than 200 kilometers away. Almost all the children on Rongelap subsequently developed thyroid nodules and lesions, and other long-term medical problems, due to the radioactive fallout.

Likewise, in 1973, it was discovered that high-yield airbursts will chemically burn the nitrogen in the upper air, converting it into oxides of nitrogen; these, in turn, combine with and destroy the protective ozone in the Earth's stratosphere. The surface of the Earth is shielded from deadly solar ultraviolet radiation by a layer of ozone so tenuous that, were it brought down to sea level, it would be only 3 millimeters thick. Partial destruction of this ozone layer can have serious consequences for the biology of the entire planet.

These discoveries, and others like them, were made by chance. They were largely unexpected. And now another consequence—by far the most dire—has been uncovered, again more or less by accident.

The U.S. Mariner 9 spacecraft, the first vehicle to orbit another planet, arrived at Mars in late 1971. The planet was enveloped in a global dust storm. As the fine particles slowly fell out, we were able to measure temperature changes in the atmosphere and on the surface. Soon it became clear what had happened:

The dust, lofted by high winds off the desert into the upper Martian atmosphere, had absorbed the incoming sunlight and prevented much of it from reaching the ground. Heated by the sunlight, the dust warmed the adjacent air. But the surface, enveloped in partial darkness, became much chillier than usual. Months later, after the dust fell out of the atmosphere, the upper air cooled and the surface warmed, both returning to their normal conditions. We were able to calculate accurately, from how much dust there was in the atmosphere, how cool the Martian surface ought to have been.

Afterwards, I and my colleagues, James B. Pollack and Brian Toon of NASA's Ames Research Center, were eager to apply these insights to Earth. In a volcanic explosion, dust aerosols are lofted into the high atmosphere. We calculated by how much the Earth's global temperature should decline after a major volcanic explosion and found that our results (generally a fraction of a degree) were in good accord with actual measurements. Joining forces with Richard Turco, who has studied the effects of nuclear weapons for many years, we then began to turn our attention to the climatic implications of nuclear war. (The scientific paper, "Global Atmospheric Consequences of Nuclear War," is written by R.P. Turco, O.B. Toon, T.P. Ackerman, J.B. Pollack and Carl Sagan. From the last names of the authors, this work is generally referred to as "TTAPS.")

In the Northern Hemisphere, where the great preponderance of strategic targets lies, a deadly gloom would persist for months.

We knew that nuclear explosions, particularly groundbursts, would lift an enormous quantity of fine soil particles into the atmosphere (more than 100,000 tons of fine dust for every megaton exploded in a surface burst). Our work was further spurred by Paul Crutzen of the Max Planck Institute for Chemistry in Mainz, West Gemany, and by John Birks of the University of Colorado, who pointed out that huge quantities of smoke would be generated in the burning of cities and forests following a nuclear war.

Groundbursts at hardened missile silos, for example—generate fine dust. Airbursts—over cities and unhardened military installations—make fires and therefore smoke. The amount of dust and soot generated depends on the conduct of the war, the yields of the weapons employed, and the ratio of groundbursts to airbursts. So we ran computer models for several dozen different nuclear war scenarios. Our baseline case, as in many other studies, was a 5,000-megaton war with only a modest fraction of the yield (20 percent) expended on urban or industrial targets. Our job, for each case, was to follow the dust and smoke generated, see how much sunlight was absorbed and by how much the temperatures changed, figure out how the particles spread in longitude and latitude, and calculate how long before it all fell out of the air back onto the surface. Since the radioactivity would be attached to these same fine particles, our calculations also revealed the extent and timing of the subsequent radioactive fallout.

Some of what I am about to describe is horrifying. I know, because it horrifies me. There is a tendency—psychiatrists call it "denial"—to put it out of our minds, not to think about it. But if we are to deal intelligently, wisely, with the nuclear arms race, then we must steel ourselves to contemplate the horrors of nuclear war.

The results of our calculations astonished us. In the baseline case, the amount of sunlight at the ground was reduced to a few percent of normal—much darker, in daylight, than in a heavy overcast and too dark for plants to make a living from photosynthesis. At least in the Northern Hemisphere, where the great preponderance of strategic targets lies, a deadly gloom would persist for months.

Even more unexpected were the temperatures calculated. In the baseline case, land temperatures, except for narrow strips of coastline, dropped to minus 25° Celsius (minus 13° Fahrenheit) and stayed below freezing for months—even for a summer war. (Because the atmospheric structure becomes much more stable as the upper atmosphere is heated and the lower air is cooled, we may have severely *under*estimated how long the cold and the dark would last.) The oceans, a significant heat reservoir, would not freeze, however, and a major ice age would probably not be triggered. But because the temperatures would drop so catastrophically, virtually all crops and farm animals, at least in the Northern Hemisphere, would be destroyed, as would most varieties of uncultivated or undomesticated food supplies. Most of the human survivors would starve.

In addition, the amount of radioactive fallout is much more than expected. Many previous calculations simply ignored the intermediate time-scale fallout. That is, calculations were made for the prompt fallout—the plumes of radioactive debris blown downwind from each target—and for the long-term fallout, the fine radioactive particles lofted into the stratosphere that would descend about a year later, after most of the radioactivity had decayed. However, the radioactivity carried into the upper atmosphere (but not as high as the stratosphere) seems to have been largely forgotten. We found for the baseline case that roughly 30 percent of the land at northern midlatitudes could receive a radioactive dose greater than 100 rads. A 100-rad dose is the equivalent of about 1,000 medical x-rays. A 400-rad dose will, more likely than not, kill you.

The cold, the dark and the intense radioactivity, together lasting for months, represent a severe assult on our civilization and our species. Civil and sanitary services would be wiped out. Medical facilities, drugs, the most rudimentary means for relieving the vast human suffering, would be unavailable. Any but the most elaborate shelters would be useless, quite apart from the question of what good it might be to emerge a few months later. Synthetics burned in the destruction of the cities would produce a wide variety of toxic gases, including carbon monoxide, cyanides, dioxins, and furans. After the dust and soot settled out, the solar ultraviolet flux would be much larger than its present value. Immunity to disease would decline. Epidemics and pandemics would be rampant, especially after the billion or so unburied bodies began to thaw. Moreover, the combined influence of these severe and simultaneous stresses on life are likely to produce even more adverse consequences—biologists call them synergisms—that we are not yet wise enough to foresee.

So far, we have talked only of the Northern Hemisphere. But it now seems—unlike the case of a single nuclear weapons test—that in a real nuclear war, the heating of the vast quantities of atmospheric dust and soot in northern midlatitudes will transport these fine particles toward and across the Equator. We see just this happening in Martian dust storms. The Southern Hemisphere would experience effects that, while less severe than in the Northern Hemisphere, are nevertheless extremely ominous. The illusion with which some people in the Northern Hemisphere reassure themselves—catching an Air New Zealand flight in a time of serious international crisis, or the like—is now much less tenable, even on the narrow issue of personal survival for those with the price of a ticket.

But what if nuclear wars *can* be contained, and much less than 5,000 megatons is detonated? Perhaps the greatest surprise in our work was that even small nuclear wars can have devastating climatic effects. We considered a war in which a mere 100 megatons were exploded, less than one percent of the world arsenals, and only in low-yield airbursts over cities. This scenario, we found, would ignite thousands of fires, and the smoke from these fires alone would be enough to generate an epoch of cold and dark almost as severe as in the 5,000-megaton case. The threshold for what Richard Turco has called The Nuclear Winter is very low.

Could we have overlooked some important effect? The carrying of dust and soot from the Northern to the Southern Hemisphere (as well as more local atmospheric circulation) will certainly thin the clouds out over the Northern Hemisphere. But, in many cases, this thinning would be insufficient to render the climatic consequences tolerable—and every time it got better in the Northern Hemisphere, it would get worse in the Southern.

Scientists initially underestimated the effects of fallout, were amazed that nuclear explosions in space disabled distant satellites, had no idea that the fireballs from high-yield thermonuclear explosions could deplete the ozone layer and missed altogether the possible climatic effects of nuclear dust and smoke. What else have we overlooked?

Nuclear war is a problem that can be treated only theroretically. It is not amenable to experimentation. Conceivably, we have left something important out of our analysis, and the effects are more modest than we calculate. On the other hand, it is also possible—and, from previous experience, even likely—that there are further adverse effects that no one has yet been wise enough to recognize. With billions of lives at stake, where does convervatism lie—in assuming that the results will be better than we calculate, or worse?

> *These calculations...carry somber implications for life on Earth...There seems to be a real possibility of the extinction of the human species.*

Many biologists, considering the nuclear winter that these calculations describe, believe they carry somber implications for life on Earth. Many species of plants and animals would be extinct. Vast numbers of surviving humans would starve to death. The delicate ecological relations that bind together organisms on Earth in a fabric of mutual dependency would be torn, perhaps irreparably. There is little question that our global civilization would be destroyed. The human population would be reduced to kprehistoric levels, or less. Life for any survivors would be extremely hard. And there seems to be a real possibility of the extinction of the human species.

Our results have been carefully scrutinized by more than 100 scientists in the United States, Europe and the Soviet Union. There are still arguments on points of detail. But the overall conclusion seems to be agreed upon: There are severe and previously unanticipated global consequences of nuclear war—sub-freezing temperatures in a twilit radioactive gloom lasting for months or longer.

It is now almost 40 years sine the invention of nuclear weapons. We have not yet experienced a global thermonuclear war—although on more than one occasion we have come tremulously close. I do not think our luck can hold forever. Men and machines are fallible, as recent events remind us. Fools and madmen do exist, and sometimes rise to power. Concentrating always on the near future, we have ignored the long-term consequences of our actions. We have placed our civilization and our species in jeopardy.

Fortunately, it is not yet too late. We can safeguard the planetary civilization and the human family if we so choose. There is no more important or more urgent issue.

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An Epistemology of Nuclear Weapons Effects

Christine Cassel, MD

Nuclear war has been called unthinkable, and thus we may have suspected it is also unknowable. It is cannot be known, then it can be more easily dismissed from conscious concern. It may haunt our dreams and our art. It may exert a powerful pervasive influence on the values and psychology of our culture. But, believing it is unknowable, we have remained ignorant while its threat has grown year by year and day by day. So it is important that we learn something about nuclear weapons and nuclear war, and that we challenge that ignorance.

In fact, much is known about the effects of nuclear weapons. The "experiments," if we may use that word, of Hiroshima and Nagasaki contributed a great deal of information about the atomic bomb, its medical consequences, and its social and human significance. In Hiroshima, a lively city of 300,000 peopled was turned into a desolate radioactive desert by a single 13-kiloton bomb,[1] which is relatively small by today's standards.

While we use this historical events to help us understand the effects of nuclear weapons, it is essential to remember that any use of thermonuclear weapons today will be different in several important ways. One difference is that he Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs were fission devices with a destructive force comparable to 13,000 to 18,000 tons of TNT (trinitrotoluene). Within a few years after the war, fusion bombs—what we know as hydrogen or thermonuclear bombs—had made the atomic bomb obsolete. The hydrogen bombs, which make up most of today's arsenals, are orders of magnitude more powerful and more destructive than the atomic bombs. The world's arsenals today contain about 50,000 nuclear warheads.[2] Most strategic warheads are of greater destructive power than the Hiroshima bomb, many of them in the megaton range. A megaton is comparable to a million tons of TNT, which has been described as enough explosive to fill a freight train 200 miles long. World War II lasted for six years and claimed 50 million lives. The combined firepower exploded during that war, including the two atomic bombs dropped on Japan, equaled 3 million tons of TNT, or 3 megatons. Many of today's weapons have destructive yields as great as 10 or 20 megatons, many times the entire firepower of World War II. This is a quantitative difference so large as to be in fact a qualitative difference. These are not weapons of war, but weapons of a form of annihilation that is almost impossible to comprehend.

Even if it cannot be comprehended, annihilation of this sort can be computed. Scientific analyses of nuclear weapons and their explosions have produced a copious literature, complete with graphs, formulae and even small plastic bomb effects slide rules that predict the effects for any given set of conditions. There are carefully developed models from which projections can be made. In fact, the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency has worked out the likely effects of nuclear weapons targeted at every city in the country with a population of 50,000 or more. Some smaller towns are also included depending on their strategic significance. Calculations can be adjusted for whether a device is exploded in the air, which maximizes blast effects, or on the ground, which maximizes radioactive fallout. Physical characteristics have been calculated for every possibility of yield, height of explosion, time of

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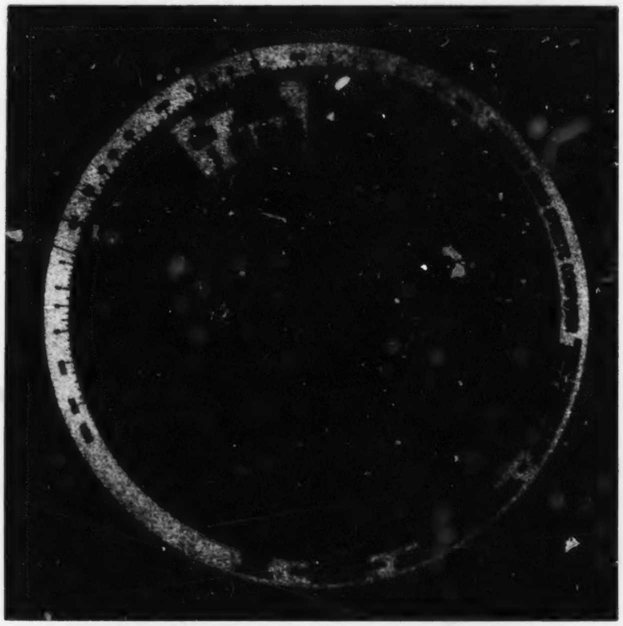
day, weather conditions, terrain, or kinds of city buildings to be bombed.



The Nuclear Bomb Effects Computer, developed by the Lovelace Biomedical and Environmental Research Institute, Inc., Albuquerque (from Glasstone S, Dolan PT[9]).

Nuclear weapons produce many kinds of destructive effects, which fall into three main categories: heat, or thermal radiation, blast and ionizing radiation, and immediate and long-term effects. At the moment of the explosion, when the energy inherent in the binding forces between the subatomic particles in atoms of plutonium, deuterium, and tritium is released in an almost instantaneous chain reaction, the bomb parts themselves are instantly gasified at a temperature in the range of 10 million degrees centigrade or more, comparable to the center of the sun. Immediately radiation, primarily in the form of gamma rays, is released as a flash of intense bluish white light visible for hundreds of miles. The fireball then begins to form, still fractions of a second from the time of the explosion, and the air absorbed by it radiates a thermal pulse—a wave of blinding light and intense heat—which is a third of the energy and destructive force of a nuclear weapon. When the fireball touches the ground, it vaporizes or incinerates everything within it. The thermal pulse lasts for about ten seconds and can cause second-degree burns to exposed human beings miles away.

Also at the moment of the explosion, pressure within the gaseous space is millions of times atmospheric pressure. A fusion bomb essentially duplicates the mechanism by which the sun's radiant energy is produced. It is confined initially into a very small space and generates enormous explosive pressure. As the fireball expands (to a mile in diameter for 1 megaton), this pressure is transmitted to far beyond the limits of the fireball in a blast wave, which is the major immediate destructive force of a nuclear weapon.

What, then, do we know about the effects of these phenomena on human beings? To answer this question, let us consider the example of a 1-megaton airburst over Portland's Burnside Bridge. It is of course unlikely that a single nuclear weapon would be targeted at Portland—much more likely that there would be several,[3] perhaps staggered over the course of a day. Still, one must pick an arbitrary set of conditions to make the necessary calculations. This is a somewhat conservative, therefore useful, model to understand the medical realities of the use of nuclear weapons.

A Model of a Nuclear Attack

Imagine that at a specific time, perhaps during a period of increasing tension between the United States and the Soviet Union, perhaps during debates about the advisability of first-strike tactics, Portland is hit by a 1-megaton explosion eight times the destructive power of the Hiroshima bomb.*

It would produce within microseconds a dazzling white light, continuing for as long as 30 seconds. Simultaneously, a searing, silent heat flash would melt windows, cars, lamp posts and everything else within a radius of 3 miles (4.8 km), igniting everything flammable miles beyond. Within a radius of 1-1/2 miles (2.4 km), people would be instantly vaporized or burnt into charred black corpses. Within this circle, everything would be utterly destroyed and all people would be killed.

Much like thunder follows lightning, a few seconds after the flash the blast wave would hit. Because it travels at a speed just slightly above the speed of sound, moving outwards from the explosion at 1,150 ft (350.5 m) per second, it would take about 15 seconds to reach a person standing 3 miles (4.8 km) away, or to the general vicinity of the Oregon Health Sciences University.

The pressure of the blast is measured in pounds per square inch (psi) above the atmospheric presssure. At two to three miles (3.2 to 4.8 km) from ground zero, the overpressure would be 9 psi, which is enough to flatten most buildings and cause lung hemorrhage and rupture in many exposed persons. Only seconds after the shock front passes, leaving a

*This format was developed and used by H. Jack Geiger, MD, in Physicians for Social Responsibility symposia in many different cities.

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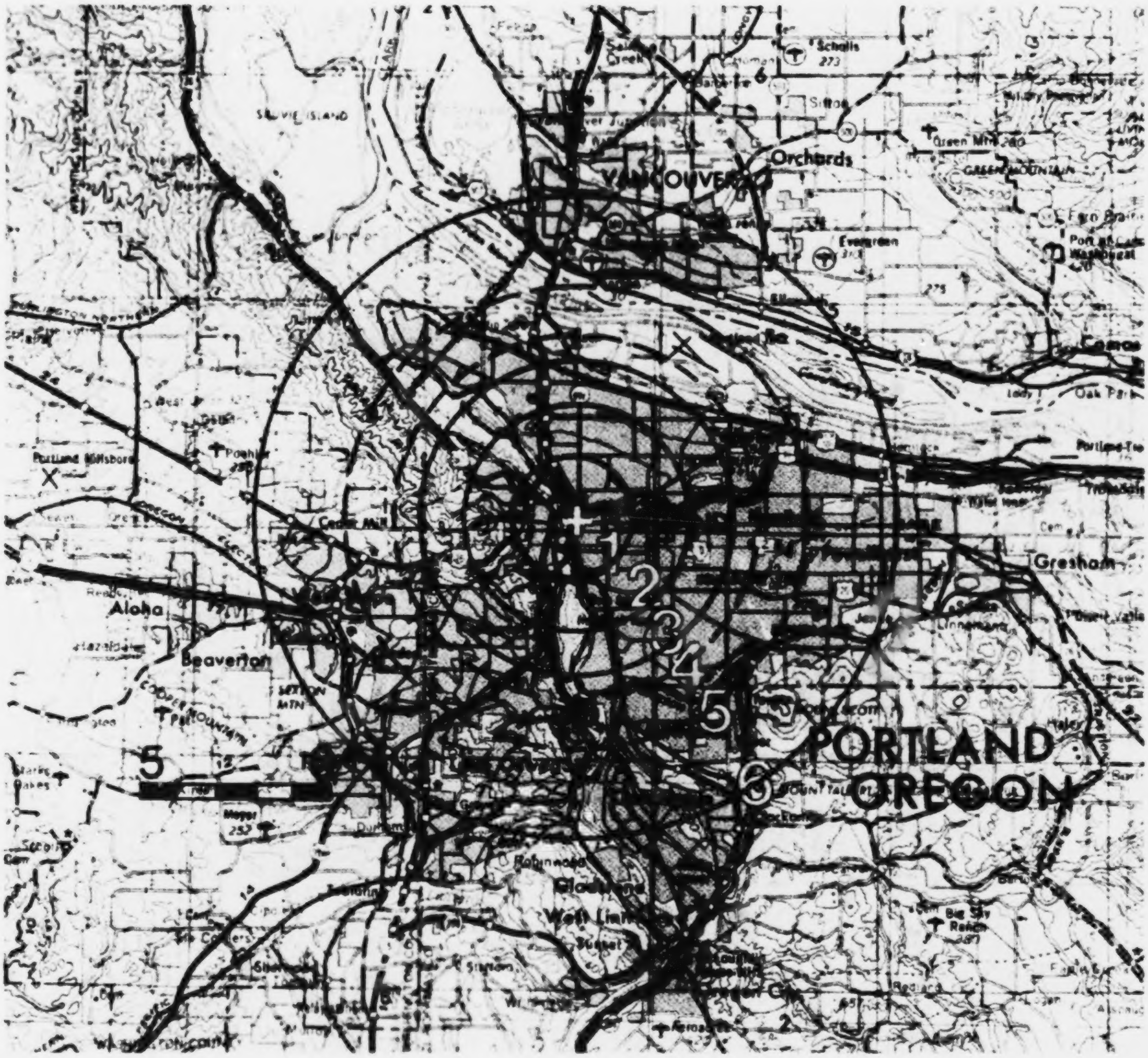
Schollis 273
Sifton
Orchards
VANCOUVER
Green Mtn 260
Evergreen
SAUVIE ISLAND
Gresham
Aloha
Beaverton
Portland Hillsboro
Cedar Mill
+
1
2
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5
6
5
PORTLAND OREGON
Robinwood
Gladstone
West Linn
Big Sky Ranch

Circle	Radius	Atmospheric Conditions	Effects
+	Ground zero		
1	1½ miles	20 psi overpressures	All and buildings pulverized.
2	3 miles	9 psi, winds 260 mph	Lung Hemorrhage, third-degree burns.
3	4 miles	5 psi, winds 160 mph	Brick and frame houses destroyed, ear drums rupture.
4	5 miles	4 psi, 25 cal/sq cm	Spontaneous ignition of clothing and combustibles, fire storms likely, percent of the people dead.
5	6 miles	3 psi, 12 cal/sq cm	Third-degree burns of all exposed skin, multiple trauma and lacerations.
6	8½ miles	2 psi	Exposed people burned and blinded by flash, all windows broken, second-degree burns, trauma.

Scale: 5 ▬▬▬▬▬ 0 = 5 miles to ground zero.

Abbreviations: psi = pounds per square inch; cal/sq cm = calories per square centimeter.

Area of Portland and surrounds that would be affected by a 1-megaton nuclear weapon air burst over Burnside Bridge.

trail of destroyed buildings, uprooted trees and broken bodies, it would be followed by a reverse or negative-pressure phase. The combined effect of these two pressure phases would be first to squeeze or implode and then to expand or explode structures and human tissues. Winds in the range of 300 mph (482.8 km per hour) would follow the shock waves, causing additional damage by hurling debris, including broken glass, metal and human beings themselves through the air.

> *"Doctors estimate that within 40 days after a major nuclear exchange, 90 percent of Americans would be dead...when you think about this, nothing else matters. It really doesn't matter whether we do well at work, whether we look after our children and give them good food, or we love each other or we live a good life. By our passivity we've allowed this to happen."*
>
> *—Helen Caldicott, 1981*

At Lewis and Clark College, we would see the flash—those looking directly at it being instantly blinded—but we would not feel a thing...for about 20 seconds. When the shock wave hit, it would be accompanied by winds strong enough to kill people by flinging them into nearby objects. High temperatures would continue to inflict third-degree burns on all those exposed. While these things are happening, the fireball would continue to burn in the sky. Soon, huge thick clouds of dust and smoke would darken the air as the mushroom cloud is sucked in and rises into the atmosphere. The darkness would be similar to that experienced by the victims of Mount St. Helens' first eruption. Within one minute, in Gresham and Oregon City windows would shatter and roofs would be torn off houses. Damaged oil and gasoline tanks would fuel spreading fires.

As happened at Hiroshima, the individual fires would coalesce into a mass of fire, driven by the violent and turbulent winds, which would either become a fire storm or a conflagration—depending on the nature of the winds.[4] In a conflagration, prevailing winds spread a wall of fire as far as there is any combustible material to sustain it. In a fire storm, a vertical updraft caused by the fire itself sucks the surrounding air in toward a central point, and the fires converge in extreme heat, in the range of thousands of degrees, burning for days. A fire storm can increase the size of the lethal area five times.[5]

In either case, shelters would become death traps because the fires consume all available oxygen as the temperatures in the shelters rise to levels of 1,500 degrees, roasting and asphyxiating the occupants. In Dresden during World War II, a fire storm was caused by intensive bombing with conventional weapons. The only persons who survived were those who fled their shelters.[6] The interiors of some of the shelters were so superheated that days later when they were opened and oxygen was allowed in, they burst into flame.

For greater Portland, it can be calculated that a 1-megaton airburst delivered during working hours would kill 466,000 people outright and leave 247,000 seriously injured out of a total population of 1.2 million. The initial casualties would be slightly less on a weekend. And, remember, present scenarios have cities multiply targeted. The later detonation of other bombs would immensely complicate the calculations of the blast, heat and radiation effects. Certainly the numbers of dead and injured and the area of devastation would be increased considerably.

For miles around, the surviving injured would lie amidst the wreckage, suffering from second- and third-degree burns, fractures, lacerations and acute radiation sickness. Many would be partially or completely blind from the retinal burns caused by the luminous fireball. In the Marshall Islands when atmospheric testing of hydrogen bombs was conducted, focal retinal burns were found in animals as far away as 300 miles from the site of the explosion.[7] In addition, many people would be deaf. Threshold overpressures for rupture of tympanic membranes is 5 psi, which would occur anywhere within five miles of ground zero.[8]

Perhaps it would be optimistic to assume that there would be no further retaliatory strikes. What sort of medical response can be imagined in this awesome scene of blackness and destruction? In Portland, as in Hiroshima, Nagasaki and any other city, health professionals and medical facilities are concentrated in the center of the city. A major difference between this strike and that of Hiroshima is that in 1945 they had no warning. We may have as much as 30 minutes. In Hiroshima 90 percent of the physicians were killed within the first hours or day.[1] On a weekend perhaps fewer would perish in the initial stages. But major hospitals would be gone. The one or two small remaining hospitals would be overwhelmed with tens of thousands of the dumbstruck, ambulatory injured who would find their way there. No transportation would exist to move the wounded through what streets could even be found.

"Imagine the familiar landscape turning suddenly into a sea of destruction: Everywhere smoldering banks of debris; everywhere the sights and sounds and smells of death. Imagine that the other survivors are wandering about with bleeding wounds, broken limbs, and bodies so badly burned that their features appear to be melting and their flesh is peeling away in great raw folds." (Lifton RJ, Erickson K: Nuclear war's effect on the mind. *New York Times,* March 15, 1982, p. 14). The major immediate life-threatening injuries would be severe burns—tens of thousands of cases—which would overwhelm the burn treatment facilities of the entire country even in the ludicrous event that Portland alone was struck. There are only about 2,000 burn beds nationwide.

Physicians would have to deal with the injured without x-ray or other diagnostic facilities. They would face impossible decisions of triage with inadequate information. Radiation exposure would complicate this dilemma enormously, because the initial symptoms of radiation sickness—namely vomiting and bloody diarrhea—are almost the same regardless of what dose of radiation has been absorbed. At very high doses, those exposed would die in a matter of days from radiation-induced encephalopathy, preceded by delirium, seizures and coma. At lesser levels, persons may survive the initial symptoms, only to die within weeks of hemorrhage or infection due to bone marrow suppression. Some, who might have been saved with simple intravenous fluid therapy, would die of dehydration and shock. It will be almost impossible to know for sure who might survive, if given medical support, and who will die no matter what is done for them.

Sidel and associates have calculated, using Boston as their model, that surviving doctors who spend ten minutes with each injured patient, working 20 hours a day, would need eight to ten days to see each injured person just once for only ten minutes, assuming that somehow the injured could be found and transported to a protected location.[9] The assumption also is that surviving physicians would remain clearheaded and competent.

Again, we have not actually experienced such an event. But we have a great deal of information on human psychology under stress from which to extrapolate. Much important work has been done by Robert Jay Lifton in studies of atomic bomb survivors in Japan. "The suddenness and the sheer ferocity of such a scene would not give survivors any chance to mobilize the usual forms of psychological defense. The normal human response to mass death and profound horror is not rage or depression or panic or mourning or even fear: It is a kind of mental anesthetization that interferes with both judgment and compassion for other people." (*New York Times,* March 15, 1982, p. 14). Certainly physicians and nurses would not be immune to this psychological devastation.

> *We cannot...assume that there will be an outside world in any meaningful sense. Survivors will struggle in a meager and poisonous world in which everything that once mattered to them has been destroyed.*

Here I must mention yet another major difference between nuclear attacks in the 1980s and those of 1945. The cities of Hiroshima and Nagaskai within days began to receive help from the outside world. The probability of nuclear war today remaining "limited" is quite small.[10] We cannot in our scenarios assume that there will be an outside world in any meaningful sense. Survivors will struggle in a meager and poisonous world in which everything that once mattered to them has been destroyed.

If areas to the south of Portland (such as Salem) were spared from an initial attack, I find it hard to imagine that doctors, nurses and emergency relief workers would come streaming northwards toward the smoking remains of Portland. Even if they did, they would soon encounter thousands of dazed and injured refugees. There would certainly be enough of these people to quickly overwhelm the physical and psychological capabilities of the rural towns.

All of these projections assume that the physicians and nurses who survive will be willing to risk significant radiation exposure to help the wounded. Indeed, what is the ethical obligation of our profession in this nightmarish situation? Even to refer to scattered and confused persons as a "profession" is absurd in this setting. Would it not seem more important to doctors and nurses to be with their families—or to seek them in the rubble? Should physicians seek shelter in outlying areas where shelters may offer a chance of prolonging survival to

There is no political reason on earth that can morally justify the continued uncontrolled existence of these weapons.

some degree? Physicians claiming—as some have[11] —to be saving themselves and their skills are also thereby negating the value of those skills, because while inside the shelter they can be of no use to those tens of thousands who are suffering and dying without comfort on the charred surface of the earth.

If some physicians and nurses of extraordinary altruism, or simply obsessively patterned behavior, were to set about to care for the injured, what would be the objectives of treatment? What could be done? It appears the most important medication would be narcotics to ease the pain of the dying, and yet these are not among the drugs stocked even in government shelters.[9] Blood products, antibiotics and cardiovascular drugs would all be scarce or nonexistent. Diabetic persons would all finally die because there would be no insulin. The data can only lead to one conclusion: Beyond simple human solace, there can be no meaningful medical response in a nuclear war.

What about the fate of those who were in outlying areas where it may be possible to shelter oneself from the immediate effects? They would have to stay in those shelters for weeks before radiation levels allowed emergence for more than just a few minutes. Have provisions been made to treat those in whom acute radiation sickness develops once inside the shelter? How does one deal with severe protracted vomiting and copious bloody diarrhea in such a confined space? If there are deaths, and there will be, is it worth the risk of radiation exposure to remove corpses from the shelters?

Simple sanitation becomes impossible. Water would be a scarce resource. In the postattack period, survivors would be fortunate to have as much as the quart a day necessary for biologic survival. And there would be no guarantees that such water would be uncontaminated.

For those who emerge from their shelters, disposal of hundreds of thousands of human and animal corpses would be an unnerving and probably impossible task. A report by the Office of Civil Defense Mobilization states: "It is logical to assume that most combustibles as well as the dead on the surface within a 10 or 100 mile radius...will be either vaporized or incinerated through the resultant firestorm...Intense radiation will prevent little more than heroic rescue in the 10 to 20 mile zone for several weeks. What cadavers might be recovered are those on the fringe of this area and upwind."[12]

This creates a situation that is ideal for the epidemic spread of infectious disease. Insects and bacteria are more radioresistant than humans, and will multiply easily in the wasteland of decomposing bodies. Radiation-induced immunosuppression among survivors will render them even more susceptible to infection. The lack of any organized social systems precludes anything resembling public health efforts. Abrams and Von Kaenel[13] synthesized the results of seven major studies to conclude that typhoid, dysentery (bacterial and viral), measles, hepatitis, plague and other infections are likely to kill at least 25 percent of those who survive the postattack period.

Finally, there are effects of nuclear weapons that call into question the survival of the earth itself as we know it. The National Academy of Sciences report of 1975[14] summarizes previous studies pointing to a consideration that makes survival a species question rather than an individual one. Megaton-range thermonuclear bombs release oxides of nitrogen into the stratosphere where they would promote the conversion of ozone into molecular oxygen. The ozone layer filters the ultraviolet rays of the sun, making it possible for humans to be exposed to the sun without incurring severe skin burns, blindness, or—under milder conditions of ozone depletion—increased risk of skin cancer. The 10,000-megaton model used by the National Academy of Sciences projects a 50 percent depletion of ozone in the northern hemisphere and a 30 percent depletion in the southern hemisphere. Under these conditions it would be unsafe to be unprotected for more than 20 to 40 minutes. All mammalian eyes are at risk of blindness under such conditions—an eventuality that would mean utter and complete destruction of the ecosystem, for wild animals cannot survive without sight. Thermal alteration of the upper atmosphere could lead to global temperature shifts. The peak depletion of the ozone layer does not occur until well into the first postattack year, and recovery could not be expected for at least six to eight years.

Nuclear weapons thus not only kill directly and violently but also kill indirectly and persistently by destroying the ecologic and social systems on which our individual lives depend.

Summary

To conclude, I want not to add still more to this analysis of horror, but to reflect on the significance of this kind of knowledge. All of what I have described is based on projections and probabilities. Some are open to more dispute than others, but all are attempts to use our extensive theorizing capabilities, together with the evidence of the use of nuclear weapons in war and in testing, to describe a range of probabilities for the unimaginable. With the expertise of physicists, physicians, political analysts and others, we can construct possible scenarios—some of which you have just heard. Calculations may differ somewhat; some may prefer the 6,559-megaton model of the Federal Emergency Management Agency,[15] while others find the 10,000-megaton model of the National Academy of Sciences more credible. Population centers or industrial and military installations may be primary targets (with the understanding that there is significant overlap). Missiles as yet untested under actual war conditions may be more or less accurate. The rate and extent of ozone depletion varies depending on how many of the various-sized weapons are used in a given model. Weather conditions determine the characteristics of fallout distribution.

Much debate goes on today about such projections and even the facts on which they are based. As a physician I can only conclude that it is essentially irresponsible to point to those debates in supporting a claim of ignorance. We do not know it all, but we know all we need to know. For if any of what has been described as probable is even remotely possible, then there is no political reason on earth that can morally justify the continued uncontrolled existence of these weapons.

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"Nothing in human history is more obscene than the cool discussions of competing nuclear strategies by apocalyptic game players. All sorts of scenarios are being put forward about the circumstances under which we would drop bombs on the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union would drop bombs on us, as though both countries were involved in nothing more than a super backgammon game. The strategists in both countries need to be reminded that they are not playing with poker chips but with human lives and the whole of the human future."

—Norman Cousins, 1981

The Evolution of Nuclear Weaponry and the Thinking about Its Use

David Gold and Stephen Rose

The first nuclear bomb was exploded at a New Mexico test site in July 1945. Built by American scientists, in what they thought was a life and death competition with German scientists, the first bomb relied on the energy released from splitting large atoms (the fission technique).

By the time the bomb was ready, war with the Germans had ended. Peace with the Japanese had not yet been reached although intelligence reports showed they were suffering enormous losses and debating when to surrender.

World War II was viciously fought on both sides: the total number of casualties reached 50 million people. During the last years of the fighting, civilian targets were bombed in order to undermine both the morale and the countries' ability to continue fighting. Large cities in Europe and Asia were demolished in firestorms when attacked by hundreds of planes at once. For the American military, the dropping of atomic weapons on Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6th and August 9th was merely a continuation of this strategy. Over 200,000 people died and peace with Japan followed within days.

When the war ended, the world paused to consider what had occurred. Most agreed that nothing was worth the devastation and pledged to find ways to prevent the next war, aware that it would be even more destructive. Thus, the United Nations was born and the process of rebuilding begun.

Among the major powers, only the U.S. had been spared the destruction of its cities. It was the only force to hold the ultimate weapon, the A-bomb. Many American leaders believed that this strong military and economic position would allow the country to set the terms for reordering the world. These hopes were quickly dashed as two tension spots arose. First, the Russians made it clear that they would not follow the U.S. and had an agenda of their own. Second, the former colonized areas in Latin America, Asia and Africa demanded self-determination and independence.

In the late 1940s, the U.S. faced the issue of how to organize its military forces. Being the sole possessor of the most powerful weapon in the world, it could threaten to annihilate its adversaries if they embarked on paths that appeared to oppose its interests. But it was clearly caught in a major dilemma: unless provoked by a direct attack, it would be barbaric to cause such destruction.

In 1949, when the Soviets successfully tested their first A-bomb, the situation changed. Although it was not until 1955 that Soviet bombers had the range to reach the U.S., it was clear that the American monopoly over nuclear weapons was over and that its military strategy would have to include preparing for a potential enemy who possessed these new weapons of vast destructive power.

The stakes were raised dramatically in the early 1950s (for the U.S. in 1952 and the Soviets in 1955) with the successful development of hydrogen bombs, weapons that rely on small atomic explosions to trigger a process that causes atoms to join together (the fusion technique). With these thermonuclear devices, the energy generated is much greater than A-bombs: the largest H-bombs have an explosive power equivalent to 20,000 thousands of tons of TNT (this equals a train of cars filled with explosives six thousand miles long). Moreover, there is no theoretical limit to the size of these weapons!

Before 1960, nuclear weapons could only be delivered by long-range aircraft. Thus, a defense strategy was possible: (1) upgrade early warning radar systems to detect an enemy attack; (2) be prepared with good interceptor airplanes and surface-to-air missiles; and (3) try to preempt an enemy attack by destroying its aircraft while on the ground. The U.S. was in a very advantageous position because its bombers, radar units, and interceptors were much better than the Russian

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equivalents. Also, after 1956, American high altitude (U-2) reconnaissance planes could fly over the Soviet Union out of the range of their weapons.* But even then, the vast area needed to be covered made it likely that some Soviet bombers would reach their targets.

During the Eisenhower administration, the U.S. increased the size of its air force considerably. In addition, it was able to place many planes and supporting facilities on foreign bases ringing the Soviet Union.

But members of the U.S. military establishment wanted more. Demanding frugality, the President resisted. Military intelligence buttressed its claims for additional weapons by citing a growing Soviet air force. Prominent civilians argued that the U.S. would soon be vulnerable to a superior enemy force, warning of a dangerous "bomber gap." The resulting questions about our preparedness led to increasing the number of planes kept on alert status. Although the furor eventually died down as new information did not support the claims, the pattern of the defense establishment using exaggerated and incorrect information about the Russians to justify increased military spending was established.

The development of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) ushered in the next phase of the arms race. These nuclear weapons cross the 8,000 miles between the U.S. and USSR in less than 30 minutes and are virtually impossible to destroy once launched.** Thus, the only defense is to ensure that they are never fired. This can be accomplished either by convincing the enemy of the folly of such a maneuver (deterrence) or by having the capacity to fire first and destroy the ICBMs at their launch site.

During the late 1950s, a race developed between the two superpowers to deploy the first ICBM. The Soviets successfully tested the first ICBM and used the same rocketry to launch the first satellite into space. This alarmed the U.S. military and they demanded added appropriations. Switching gears quickly, the bomber gap became the missile gap as projections of the Soviet missile force for 1962 reached several hundred (the Air Force put the number at 500). Again, the information was "leaked" to the public and John Kennedy ran on a campaign pledge to overcome the disadvantage.

"Not in one single nuclear weapons category have the Soviets demonstrated technological superiority. We have more strategic nuclear weapons than the Soviet Union. But you never hear this because the myth of U.S. inferiority is being spread to try and panic the public."

—Dr. Herbert Scoville,
former CIA Deputy Director

In 1961, when the U.S. launched its first photo reconnaissance satellite, only four Russian ICBMs were found. Incredulous, some defense analysts claimed the Russians were hiding missiles in abandoned castles and monuments. Kennedy, now President, quietly dropped any mention of the now evident non-existent missile gap.

For a short period of time (1960-65), the Soviets had very few ICBMs while the U.S. was adding to its arsenal at a rapid rate. The Russians tried to compensate for the U.S. lead by placing intermediate range missiles in Cuba. When reconnaissance photos showed Russian ships loaded with missiles en route to Cuba, President Kennedy threatened to attack the convoy, apparently risking escalation to nuclear war, if it did not turn back. Because of the U.S.'s massive conventional and nuclear superiority, the Russians withdrew.

What happened in Cuba is the military planner's dream—forcing the other side to retreat without firing a shot. However, it was a very dangerous maneuver. An all-out war at this time could have included Soviet bomber attacks (equipped with nuclear warheads) on U.S. and European cities and U.S. retaliation with a vast array of nuclear weapons fired from missiles and dropped from planes coming from many directions. Fortunately, in 1962, the Russians chose to withdraw. But trying to repeat history may not bring the same results.

By 1968, the Russians had deployed enough ICBMs to withstand a first strike from the U.S. and still be able to cripple U.S. society with its surviving missiles. Thus, although U.S. military leaders prefer a position of massive superiority over the USSR, *the Russians will never permit themselves to be so far behind again, no matter what the cost.* And this leads to the critical choice: either both sides agree to effective arms control agreements or they futilely pursue the goal of being able to disarm their opponents' weapons before they are fired.

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* The Soviets developed the ability to destroy U-2s in 1959; they deployed their version of this plane in 1962.

** Missiles travel over 20 times the speed of sound. An anti-missile missile (called an ABM) would have to find and be able to intercept an incoming warhead in a matter of moments. It may be possible to defend a specific area with many ABMs, but it is impossible for large areas, let alone a whole country, without great cost and with no guarantee of success; if just one missile gets through, an entire U.S. city could be destroyed.

During the 1960s, both countries (the U.S. in 1960 and the USSR in 1968) introduced submarines capable of firing ballistic missiles with great range while remaining submerged. This advance meant that the platform from which a missile was fired was no longer fixed and known by the enemy, as subs can patrol in thousands of square miles of ocean.

U.S. strategists quickly appreciated the modern sub's invulnerability and began to deploy the bulk of its nuclear arsenal in this form. By comparison, the Soviets ran into more trouble. They eventually built a greater number of subs than the U.S., but a high proportion of these ships are diesel rather than nuclear powered, making them less powerful and more subject to detection. In addition, they have personnel and training problems that result in only 15% of their subs being out of port during normal times (the comparable U.S. figure is 55-60%. Finally, Soviet subs are very noisy and detectable by very advanced U.S. sonar capabilities. Given that the USSR is virtually land-locked, it is easy for the U.S. to begin tracking Soviet subs as they pass through narrow channels on their way to open waters.

In the 1970s, the U.S. improved the accuracy of its missiles and developed the ability to place more than one warhead on each missile (a process known as MIRVing),*** thus opening new possibilities for destroying Soviet weapons before they were fired. Better guidance systems meant a missile could land so close to its target that even silos hardened with multiple layers of concrete and steel would be knocked out of use; MIRVing meant that each new missile could threaten more than one missile in the other country.

As with other developments, the Soviets followed the lead of the U.S. and developed MIRVed missiles several years later. A new arms race developed as each side added MIRVed missiles of greater accuracy and, by 1980, each side felt its ICBM force was increasingly threatened by the other. This situation, if ICBMs were the only type of nuclear weapon, would be very perilous because the "benefits" of firing first could appear very great while the "costs" of being second could appear as total defeat. The advantage to the superior force, however, is illusory because the other country might be tempted to initiate a nuclear exchange rather than be left vulnerable to the other side's disarming capability. This "use them or lose them" posture increases the chances of nuclear war greatly. Once again, in the nuclear age, there can be no winners—even the side ahead can have its margin work to its detriment.

U.S. leaders sometimes claim a "window of vulnerability" to a potential Russian surprise attack. They argue that the increases in the Soviet ICBM force endanger the survivability of the U.S. ICBM force, failing to mention that few air- and submarine-based weapons are threatened. They insist that, if the Russians struck first destroying 90% of U.S. ICBMs and then threatened to attack cities unless the U.S. surrendered, a President would have no choice but to accede to this demand. But the logic of this position is faulty for several reasons. First, the Russians could make the same threat (destroying U.S. cities) without attacking the U.S. ICBM force first; the U.S. without ICBMs is just as capable of destroying the USSR as it is with ICBMs. President Reagan's special commission, the Scowcroft panel, saw this and stated that the U.S. deterrent is not at risk. Second, in an attack on ICBMs alone, up to 10 million Americans would be killed. It is quite likely that the U.S. would consider this an act of war and immediately launch a counterattack, not waiting to sit down and negotiate. Thus, any Russian attempt to reach its objectives without starting a global war would most likely fail.

The effect of claims of vulnerability is to increase the momentum for more arms production. At each point in the arms race, the U.S. (because it led the way in deploying every major new system) hoped that it would gain security by pushing ahead of the Russians. But this never happened because the Russians always stayed close enough to guarantee their ability to strike back and destroy the U.S. Instead of achieving its goals, the U.S. has seen more weapons accumulate, and the world has become less safe as the atmosphere created to gain public support for more "defense" spending relies on heightening fears of the Russians and their offensive designs. Thus, to build more weapons, the Pentagon had to make war seem more imminent, which of course ensured that the political tensions would rise and make war closer to fact.

The military's future plans include increasing the accuracy of all weapons, basing more weapons closer to the Soviet Union, planning for civil defense against a nuclear attack, and trying to deploy anti-missile systems in space. They continue to believe that technological advances can produce greater stability and security, even though numerous historical examples show this not to be the case.

*** MIRV stands for Multiple Independently targeted Re-entry Vehicle. When MIRVed, each missile can carry warheads that have separate targets, increasing the total number of targets and missile force can be aimed at.

An Arms Race Chronology

*David P. Barash, PhD and Judith E. Lipton, MD**

Action	**Initiated By**	**Date**	**Reaction By**	**Date**
Sustained nuclear chain reaction	USA	1942	USSR	1946
Atomic bomb	USA	1945	USSR	1949
Intercontinental bomber	USA	1948	USSR	1955
International military pact (U.S.: NATO; USSR: Warsaw Pact)	USA	1949	USSR	1955
Tactical nuclear weapons deployed in Europe	USA	1954	USSR	1957
Nuclear-powered submarine	USA	1955	USSR	1959
ICBM	USSR	1957	USA	1958
Satellite launching	USSR	1957	USA	1958
Supersonic bomber	USA	1960	USSR	1975
Submarine-launched ballistic missile	USA	1960	USSR	1968
Solid fuel missiles	USA	1960	USSR	1968
Accelerated ICBM build-up	USA	1961	USSR	1966
Multiple re-entry vehicles (MRVs)	USA	1964	USSR	1968
Penetration aids on missiles	USA	1964	USSR	none yet
ABM system	USSR	1968	USA	1972
High-speed warheads	USA	1970	USSR	1975
MIRVs	USA	1970	USSR	1975
Computerized missile guidance	USA	1970	USSR	1975
Neutron bombs	USA	1981	USSR	none yet
Long-range cruise missiles	USA	198?	USSR	none yet

*From *Stop Nuclear War! A Handbook*, Grove Press, 1982.

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At each point in the arms race the U.S.... hoped that it would gain security by pushing ahead of the Russians. But this never happened...

Is the U.S. Preparing for a First Strike?

Robert C. Aldridge

While there is considerable attention focused on the first strike Trident-2 and MX missiles, there are also more austere Pentagon programs that may be of significant importance at an earlier date. It appears that these programs may be centered on the full operation of the Navstar global positioning system by 1988. Any missile that could receive in-flight navigation corrections from Navstar satellites would have a target accuracy, or circular error probability (CEP), of about 300 feet. This would give existing strategic weapons a first-strike capability. Let us look at the various programs and then examine how their combined effect could provide the United States with a disarming first-strike capability when Navstar is operational in 1988.

Minuteman-3

Several programs have increased Minuteman-3's capability against hard targets. By 1978, the "Guidance Improvement Program" had installed the new NS-20 guidance package on all Minuteman-3 missiles. This was supposed to halve the CEP to 600 feet. This year, 1983, replacement of the 170-kiloton Mark-12 warheads on 300 Minuteman-3 missiles with 335-kiloton Mark-12As was completed. Also completed in 1983 was another move to provide a more accurate guidance system for Minuteman-3—the "Guidance Upgrade Program."[1]

Other programs have improved the command and control capabilities over Minuteman-3, including rapid and remote retargeting. Installation of the latest element of command and control, an integrated digital network, will begin in fiscal year 1984 (starting October 1, 1983) and be completed by September 1987.[2]

I believe it is conceivable that these programs are equipping Minuteman-3 missiles with receivers to obtain in-flight guidance corrections from the Navstar satellites. Such a consideration is not new.[3] If that were the case, then each warhead would have a 71 percent probability of destroying a Soviet missile silo hardened to withstand 6,000 pounds per square inch (psi) overpressure. Only 466 of these triple-MIRVed missiles would be needed to send one warhead to each of the 1,398 Soviet silos. That would destroy 992 (71 percent) of the Soviet land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles. This figure is true whether the warheads be Mark-12 or Mark-12A.[4] The other 84 missiles, 252 warheads, could be directed against submarine pens where 85 percent of the Soviet missile-launching submarines are always in port, bomber bases, and other first-strike targets.

Trident-1

Trident-1 missiles were initially deployed with a CEP accuracy of 1,500 feet, although some statements indicate it was closer to 1,000 feet during the test program. Twelve Poseidon submarines, sixteen missiles each, have been modified to carry Trident-1 missiles and are now operational. Trident-1s are also going into the first Trident submarines—24 missiles each. Each Trident-1 missile can carry eight 100-kiloton bombs.

An accuracy improvement plan has been in work ever since Trident-1 started its test flights. Testimony indicates that the Navy is going to at least improve the accuracy of Trident-1 missiles.[5] Again, it is not inconceivable that this project includes installing Navstar receivers in these missiles.

By 1988 the twelve converted Poseidon submarines will be carrying a total of 1,536 improved-accuracy warheads (12 submarines x 16

BOB ALDRIDGE was a designer of the Trident missile system. He resigned from that job at Lockheed in February 1973 because he could no longer cooperate with the development of a first-strike weapon. He is the author of ***First Strike! The Pentagon's Strategy for Nuclear War*** *(South End Press: 1983), a book which documents U.S. preparations for a disarming first strike. This article updates his analysis in* ***First Strike.***

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missiles/submarine x 8 warheads/missile equals 1,536 warheads)—enough to send one warhead to each of the 1,398 Soviet missile silos with some left over for bomber fields, etc. Keep in mind that Trident-1 missiles can reach their targets even while the submarines are in port. It would not be necessary to flush them all to sea before striking, an action that would put the Soviets on higher alert.

There will also be nine of the new Trident submarines operational by 1988. These will also be carrying 1,728 of the improved-accuracy warheads (9 submarines x 24 missiles/submarine x 8 warheads/missile equals 1,728 warheads). Combined with those in Poseidon submarines, that would be enough to send two to each silo.

With Navstar navigation corrections to achieve a 300-foot CEP, each warhead would have a 58 percent chance of destroying a silo hardened to withstand 6,000 psi overpressure.[6]

Combined Effects of Minuteman-3 and Trident-1

Neither the Minuteman-3 nor the Trident-1 missiles alone are lethal enough to be considered a first-strike force. There are not enough Minuteman-3 warheads to send more than one to all silos. It would be possible to provide 2-on-1 cross-targeting (two warheads from different missiles to each silo) with the Trident-1 warheads. That would destroy 82 percent of the silos, which approaches a first-strike capability, but is still a little low.

Let us look at the results if one warhead each from Minuteman-3 and Trident-1 were cross-targeted on each silo. The Minuteman-3 warhead would have a 71 percent chance of destroying the silo. In reverse, the silo would have a 29 percent chance of surviving. The Trident-1 warhead would have a 58 percent probability of kill—the silo would have a 42 percent chance of surviving. But considering both warheads together, the silo would only have a 12 percent chance of surviving (.29 x .42 equals .12). That means 2-on-1 cross-targeting with the Minuteman-3/Trident-1 mix would destroy 88 percent of the Soviet silos (100 minus 12 equals 88).

Some experts feel that it might be possible to cross-target three warheads on each silo without too many detrimental effects from the fratricide phenomena. That being the case, if the first two were duds the third would have a chance of making the kill. There will be enough improved-accuracy warheads by 1988 to send one from a Minuteman-3 and one from each of two different Trident-1s. This 3-on-1 cross-targeting will only give the silo a 5 percent chance of survival (.29 times .42 times .42 equals .05)—or, a 95 percent chance of being destroyed. This means that the Minuteman-3/Trident-1 force in 1988 could destroy 1,328 (95 percent) of the 1,398 Soviet silo-based missiles. Only 70 would survive. It would then be the job of ballistic missile defense systems now being tested to intercept those remaining missiles if they were launched in retaliation.

> *"One of the questions which we have to ask ourselves as a country is what in the name of God is strategic superiority. What is the significance of it—politically, militarily, operationally—at these levels of numbers? What do you do with it?"*
>
> *—Henry Kissinger, 1974*

Other land targets could be destroyed with the left-over Minuteman-3 and Trident-1 warheads, supplemented by Poseidon and Minuteman-2 warheads as needed. There would still be a formidable number remaining to deter the Soviets from retaliating because they would fear counter-retaliation against their own cities.

Added Effect of Pershing-2 and Cruise Missiles

If the 108 Pershing-2 missiles are installed in West Germany by 1985 according to present Pentagon plans, these weapons could reach the main Soviet command and control centers in only 11 to 14 minutes. Pershing-2s could destroy those command posts before they issued launch-on-warning instructions to their missile batteries. This type of decapitation strike would make it much easier for the Minuteman-3/Trident-1 missiles to destroy the Soviet strategic arsenal before their missiles are launched.

Ground-launched, sea-launched and air-launched cruise missiles will also be in place by 1988 if Defense Department plans are carried out. They would be able to follow up a first strike by destroying remaining functional silos before they could be reloaded. I also believe cruise missiles, by traveling low and slow, could get in under a fratricide environment (dust, debris, electro-magnetic pulse, ionized atmosphere) to destroy remaining Soviet missiles, which are pinned down by that environment, before they could be launched.

100 MX Missiles by 1989

The 100 MX missiles scheduled to be fully deployed by 1989 would be able to replace the Trident-1 missiles in Poseidon submarines, which are scheduled for retirement about that time. This would greatly improve the U.S. first-strike capability. In addition, MX could have its payload increased to carry fourteen warheads per missile. The number of ten is a SALT-II restriction and that treaty, never having been ratified, is not binding. This would allow sending one MX warhead to each Soviet silo.

Two-on-one Minuteman-3/MX cross-targeting would more than be able to destroy 92 percent of the silos. By using the Trident-1s on new Trident submarines, 3-on-1 Minuteman-3/Trident-1/MX cross-targeting would destroy 97 percent of the silos. Even later, in the 1990s, the more powerful Trident-2 missiles will first supplement and eventually replace Trident-1s.

Conclusions

It is possible that by 1988 the United States may have a breakout first strike capability with the missile force already in place. Although each program—Minuteman-3, Trident-1, MX—in the numbers deployed does not constitute a credible first-strike force, the integration of these various programs is significant.

A common technique used by the Pentagon is to keep the discussion of various weapons systems isolated one from the other.

A common technique used by the Pentagon is to keep the discussion of various weapons systems isolated one from the other.[7] A striking example is the spectrum of anti-submarine warfare capabilities that were developed on a compartmentalized basis until a 1979 Library of Congress report revealed the deception of such tactics. This has also been the practice regarding first-strike weapons systems.

It is critical in the effort to stop the nuclear arms race and first-strike weapons that attention be given to the complete spectrum of military programs in all their nuances. It is true that local people must focus on the particular programs peculiar to their area, but it must not be done in isolation. Just as the weapons become integrated to form a first-strike capability, so too must the resistance be even more closely integrated and more strongly bonded to stop those weapons.

> *"Fear makes the trigger finger nervous and the ultimate irrationality of atomic war will come upon us neither through hate nor desire for empire, but from fear that the other side will begin first."*
>
> *—Alan Watts,*
> *The Supreme Identity*

References

1. *Fiscal Year 1984 Arms Control Impact Statements,* April 1983, pp. 2-4.

2. *Ibid.*

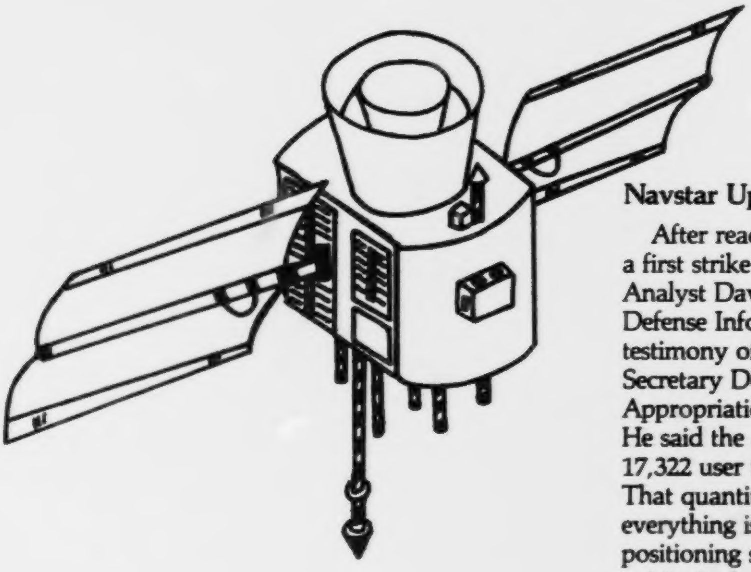
3. See *Fiscal Year 1980 Arms Control Impact Statements,* March 1979, p. 125; where the application of Navstar to ballistic missiles is discussed.

4. Under some conditions, the higher powered Mark-12A warhead would have a better chance of destroying a hard target. But because the silo would be within the cratering radius of very precise warheads, I have used a cutoff value for the lethality in the probability-of-kill equation. The result is a more conservative figure—a lower probability-of-kill.

5. *Hearings on Military Posture for Fiscal Year 1982,* before the House Armed Services Committee, 26 March 1981, Part 2, p. 760.

6. This does not correspond with the 64 percent probability-of-kill shown in Figure 3-5, page 69 of my book *First Strike: The Pentagon's Strategy for Nuclear War.* In that table, I used an overpressure of 3,000 psi for the silo under attack. In this paper, I am using 6,000 psi overpressure.

7. For instance, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger told Congress: "A lot of people talk about our trying to build a first-strike capability. That is not in any sense the case and you can see that with the numbers that are involved, the 100 MX missiles certainly does not give you even what the theoreticians call a first-strike capability." (*Department of Defense Authorization for Appropriations for Fiscal Year 1984,* hearings before the House Armed Services Committee, Part 2, p. 135.) Many legislators have used this same argument to excuse their vote for MX.



"You can't say that civilization don't advance, for in every war they kill you in a new way."
—Will Rogers

Navstar Update

After reading my paper on the possibility of a first strike breakout by 1988, Research Analyst David Morrison of the Center for Defense Information called my attention to the testimony of Deputy Assistant Defense Secretary Donald C. Latham before the House Appropriations Committee on May 11, 1983. He said the armed forces plan to purchase 17,322 user terminals (receivers) for Navstar. That quantity indicates that just about everything is going to use the Navstar global positioning system (GPS).

Mr. Latham also revealed that between 1983 and 1988 the Defense Department plans to spend $546 million—over a half-billion dollars—on just research, development, test and evaluation (not procurement) of GPS user terminals. He said the terminals themselves are developed, but these funds are needed to integrate the hardware and software into the various platforms. It doesn't take that much engineering and program writing to put receivers on trucks, airplanes, ships or the twenty-pound backpacks. But packaging and integrating these receivers into a sophisticated missile guidance system is another matter.

Probably Mr. Latham's most revealing remark was to the question of how much GPS would improve the accuracy of Trident-1 (C-4) and Poseidon missiles. He replied: "The major importance of GPS to the C-4 and future SLBM (Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles) programs is the precision data available during test launches. Navstar GPS fixes the missile position during boosted flight and bus position until reentry vehicle separation.... The available current Navstar constellation (six satellites) is used for that now when in proper position.... It is also important to note that with the full constellation, fix information availability will be constant..."

Mr. Latham also referred to Minuteman-3 and MX: "Assuming a constantly aligned guidance system, the following weapons system accuracy improvements (circular error probable, CEP) are anticipated as a result of the use of GPS: Minuteman-3 (censored); MX (censored)."

—Robert C. Aldridge

Space-Based Missile Defense

In March 1983, President Reagan offered the vision of a shield against nuclear attack so effective that it could replace deterrence as the basis of our security and render nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete." He called for a major national effort to realize this vision through the development of new defensive weapons capable of intercepting and destroying Soviet ballistic missiles in flight. The administration's proposed Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) is a five-year, $26 billion research, development, and testing program to lay the groundwork for construction and deployment of missile defenses.

The Problem of Missile Defense

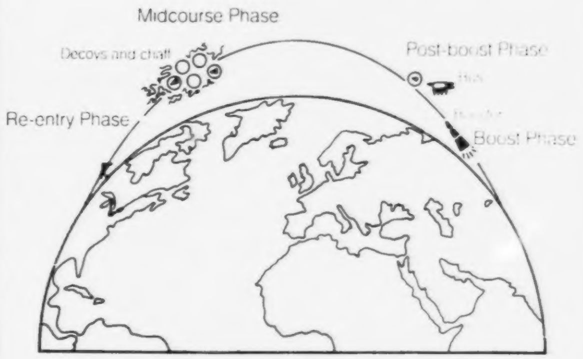
The SDI raises a host of questions about the technical feasibility and strategic wisdom of missile defense and recalls the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) debate of the late 1960s. Unlike the earlier ABM efforts, however, the new program focuses on futuristic weapons operating in space—hence the "Star Wars" label often applied to the SDI. The proposed shield would consist of several layers designed to intercept missiles during different phases of their flight (see Figure 1). The key to success is the first layer, which would attempt to destroy Soviet missiles in their "boost phase," within minutes after launching. Boost-phase interception is critical for three reasons: (1) the number of targets is much smaller than in later phases of the trajectory (since multiple warheads, decoys, and other penetration aids have not yet been released); (2) the booster rocket is a much "softer," more vulnerable target than the reentry vehicles it releases in the post-boost phase; and (3) the booster rocket flame offers a strong infrared signal that greatly facilitates target identification and tracking.

Failure to thin out an attack drastically in the boost phase would present the subsequent "midcourse" and "terminal" layers of the missile defense with an unmanageable problem. In midcourse, the defense could be confronted with hundreds of thousands of objects, all of which would have to be tracked and intercepted, since discrimination between warheads and decoys would be impossible in the vacuum of space. Terminal defense, while possibly a feasible means of protecting individual "hard" targets such as missile silos, is fundamentally unsuited to a comprehensive territorial defense.

The Union of Concerned Scientists has conducted a detailed technical analysis of the prospects for Star Wars defenses, emphasizing the principal technologies being considered for boost-phase interception—directed energy weapons such as lasers and particle beams, and "kill vehicles" that would home in on their target missiles. The UCS study concludes that there is no realistic hope of achieving the president's goal of an impermeable defense against nuclear attack. Moreover, the attempt to develop such a shield will have dire consequences for the arms race and for strategic stability, leaving both the United States and the Soviet Union less secure in the end.

The proposed defensive weapons of the SDI suffer from a combination of inherent technical limitations, intractable basing problems, and susceptibility to Soviet countermeasures. The Pentagon's own chief of research has conceded that the total missile defense

Fig. 1 Phases of Ballistic Flight



Once boost phase is over, warheads are dispersed on a "bus" along with decoys and "chaff" (metallic fragments and other materials) that can deceive and disrupt tracking and targeting functions of a missile defense. The post-boost offensive "threat cloud" could include more than 100,000 objects, all of which must be attacked by the defense.

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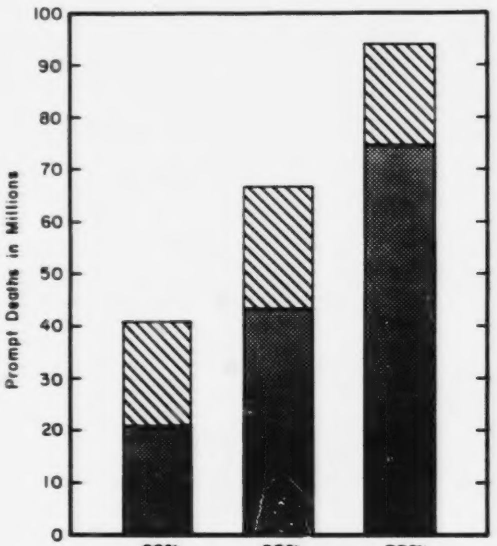
called for by the president would require breakthroughs in eight separate technologies "equivalent to or greater than the Manhattan Project" that produced the first atomic bombs.

Even if individual technologies could be developed to the needed performance levels, fashioning them into a workable, deployable, and survivable system would pose insurmountable difficulties. The system would be immensely more complex than existing weapons and could never be tested under realistic conditions. In addition, it would have to be fully automated, responding instantly upon warning of attack without presidential involvement, given the very short reaction time available for boost-phase interception. Yet the defense would have to work with near 100 percent reliability. It would have almost no margin for error because even a minute "leakage" rate would mean hundreds of nuclear explosions on U.S. territory—and millions of fatalities—in the event of a large Soviet attack (see Figure 2).

Fig. 2 Effect of Leakage in the Defense



A U.S. ballistic missile defense that prevents 90 percent of Soviet nuclear warheads (1 megaton each) from striking U.S. cities could still result in 90 million "prompt" fatalities. A defense that was 95 percent effective could result in 60 million deaths; and a 98 percent effective defense could cause 40 million deaths.
Source: U.S. URBAN POPULATION VULNERABILITY (U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, 1979).

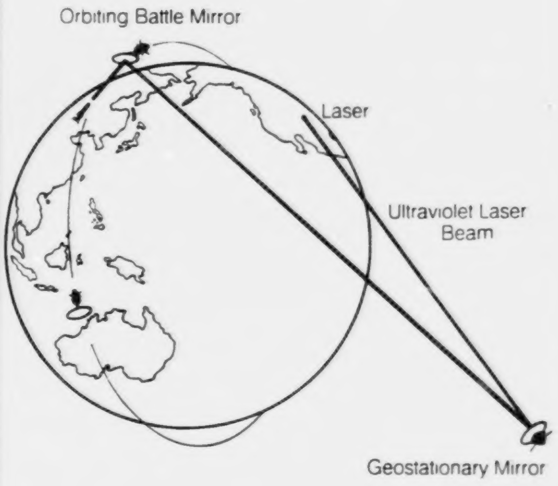
> *"The U.S. already has enough nuclear submarines to sink everything on the ocean... We must expect that when war breaks out again, we will use the weapons available. I think we'll probably destroy ourselves. I'm not proud of the part I played."*
>
> *—Admiral Hyman G. Rickover, 1982*

Basing Problems

The problem of basing is particularly daunting. A boost-phase missile defense must operate in space, creating three deployment options. The system could be (1) based in space on orbiting battle stations; (2) based on the ground, with mirrors in orbit to reflect its laser beams to Soviet missiles rising from their launch sites; or (3) "popped up" into space when a warning of a Soviet attack is received. None of the three schemes appears workable.

- Orbiting battle stations could be placed into low orbits, at an altitude of several hundred miles, or in geosynchronous orbit at 22,500 miles. In the first case, a very large number of battle stations would be needed, since only a small fraction would be in position over Soviet missile silos at any given time. UCS has estimated that a low-orbit defense would require several hundred chemical laser weapons. Simply launching this system would cost tens of billions of dollars; more important, the weapons would be extremely vulnerable to Soviet attack. In geosynchronous orbit, fewer weapons would be needed, since they would remain in fixed positions relative to their targets on earth. But these weapons would have to operate at an enormous and quite infeasible range. An "excimer" laser in geosynchronous orbit, for example, would require a sighting telescope some 100 to 150 meters in diameter—twenty or thirty times larger than the Mt. Palomar telescope, the largest in the United States.
- A ground-based laser, favored by President Reagan's science advisor, George Keyworth, is no more promising. UCS has analyzed an excimer laser weapon whose beams would be reflected by a mirror in geosynchronous orbit to other mirrors in low orbit, and then to Soviet booster rockets. UCS

Fig. 3 Ground Based Laser System



estimates that the electric power bill alone for this implausible system would be $40-110 billion, even if the Soviets made no effort to counter it.

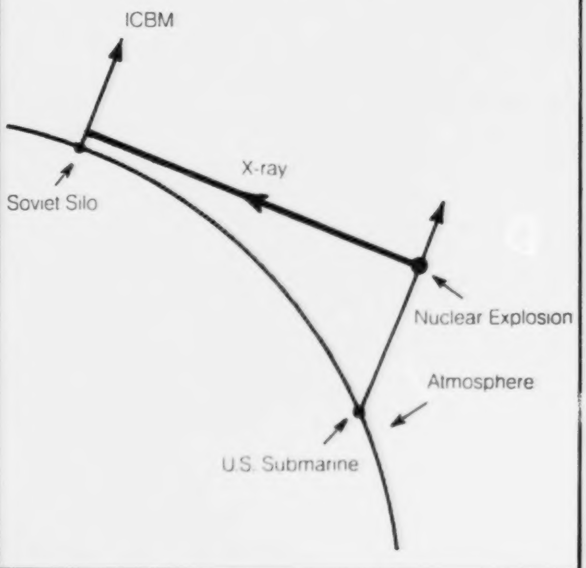
- The "pop-up" scheme has been proposed as a basing option for the x-ray laser weapon, favored by the physicist Edward Teller. Such a weapon could not be based in the United States, however, because of the curvature of the earth and the short time available for boost-phase interception. For example, a pop-up missile launched from Alaska would have to reach an altitude of 2,000 miles before it could "see" missile fields in Siberia, and by then Soviet rockets would have completed their boost phase. As a result, the system would have to be based close to Soviet territory, probably on a new fleet of submarines created for this purpose. Even then, it is doubtful that sufficient reaction time would exist. Moreover, this basing scheme would be vulnerable to Soviet attack and would create major difficulties for command and control.

Countermeasures

The slim hopes of overcoming such problems disappear altogether in light of the countermeasures available to the Soviets, who would certainly take any action necessary to defeat a U.S. defense that would, if successful, disarm them. All of the proposed Star Wars defenses are susceptible to countermeasures that are cheaper and better understood than the defenses themselves. Soviet responses could include:

- An offensive nuclear buildup designed to saturate and overwhelm the U.S. defensive system. This could include a proliferation of real or decoy missiles (decoys would lack warheads and guidance systems but would still have to be tracked and intercepted by the defense), or the placing of additional warheads on existing missiles (thus increasing the effectiveness of those that penetrate the defense).
- A buildup of warhead delivery systems, such as low-flying cruise missiles, that would circumvent space-based defenses.
- Shortening the boost phase of Soviet ICBMs by giving them more powerful engines. This would reduce the already short reaction time available to the defense, perhaps to as little as one minute. In addition, by designing their missiles to complete the boost phase while still inside the atmosphere, the Soviets could defeat those defensive weapons that are unable to penetrate the atmosphere. These include the x-ray laser and particle beam weapons.
- Protection of booster rockets from the effects of beam weapons through hardening, shielding, or rotation.
- Attacks on the defensive system itself. Space-based weapons and components (such as mirrors) would be highly vulnerable to attacks by "space mines" or inert objects such as sand or small pellets. Ground-based components would be subject to attacks from submarine-launched ballistic missiles and from cruise missiles. Targets could include ground facilities for battle management, rockets and basing

Fig. 4 Pop-up X-ray Laser System



facilities associated with pop-up weapons, and communications and control stations. Well-executed strikes of this sort, in advance of the main offensive missile launch, would probably disable the entire defense.

Strategic Implications

The Strategic Defense Initiative will carry heavy political, strategic, and arms control costs. These costs would weigh against development of ballistic missile defenses even if the technical prospects for such systems were much brighter than they are.

The most obvious casualty will be the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, the most important arms control agreement to date and the foundation of all efforts to impose limits on offensive nuclear forces. The ABM Treaty flatly prohibits the development, testing, or deployment of space-based missile defenses or components. Although the administration claims that the SDI can initially be carried out within the terms of the treaty, planned technology demonstrations will at the very least push the United States to the edge of noncompliance. As such, the process of erosion that already threatens the ABM Treaty will be accelerated, precluding serious attempts to resolve issues of Soviet compliance that have been raised by the Reagan administration.

A major U.S. missile defense program would also stimulate a new round of the arms race and undermine the already bleak prospects for new arms control agreements. Despite U.S. rhetoric that missile defense might be in the mutual interest of the superpowers and compatible with negotiated arms reductions, the Soviet Union will certainly view the SDI as an attempt to achieve military superiority by negating the Soviet deterrent. The Soviets are no more likely than the United States to accept such a situation and can be expected to respond with a nuclear buildup that ensures their ability to penetrate U.S. defenses. This fresh stimulus to the arms race

Summary of Boost-Phase Ballistic Missile Defense Systems

System	Limitations	Countermeasures
• Chemical lasers on battle stations in low earth orbit (about 1000 km altitude)	• "Absenteeism" problem: for each laser in position over USSR at any time, about 10 must be in orbit • Vulnerability to ASAT attack	• ASAT attack: e.g., space mines • Hardening of booster rockets to resist laser effects
• Kill vehicles (e.g., homing projectiles) on "space trucks" in low earth orbit	• Limited range due to much lower velocity than beam weapons • "Absenteeism" problem: about 30 space trucks must be in orbit for every one in position over USSR • Vulnerability to ASAT attack • Can't penetrate atmosphere	• ASAT attack • Fast acceleration boosters able to complete boost phase within the atmosphere
• Ground-based excimer laser with mirrors in space to reflect beams to boosting Soviet missiles	• Vulnerability of orbiting mirrors • Huge electrical power requirements	• ASAT attacks on mirrors (e.g., pellets or sand) • Low-trajectory missile attacks on lasers
• X-ray laser, generated by nuclear explosion after being "popped up" into space at moment of Soviet attack	• Short reaction time and curvature of earth require basing close to USSR (e.g., on submarines) • Can't penetrate atmosphere • Automated system would mean relinquishing presidential control over use of nuclear weapons • X-ray delivers only a weak blow	• Fast acceleration boosters • Hardening of boosters
• Particle beam in orbit	• Can't penetrate atmosphere • Would weigh well over 500 tons	• Fast acceleration booster • ASAT attack
• All boost-phase systems	• Very short reaction time means system must be fully automated • Can't be realistically tested • At least some components must be space-based • Must be very effective or midcourse BMD will be overwhelmed	• ASAT attacks on space-based components • SLBM or cruise missile attacks on ground facilities • Proliferation of real or decoy booster rockets to overwhelm system • Cruise missiles or depressed-trajectory ballistic missiles to circumvent system • Disguise booster flame to foil aiming and tracking

would sweep aside existing constraints on offensive forces and doom future ones, including the administration's own "build-down" initiative in the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START). The President's Commission on Strategic Forces (the Scowcroft Commission) has recognized this danger and warns that the continued integrity of the ABM Treaty is critical to arms control.

Another danger of the SDI is the destabilizing impact of missile defenses in crisis situations. Given their limited effectiveness against all-out attack, defenses are likely to be perceived as part of a "first strike" strategy: They would be most effective in defending against the weakened retaliation that would follow an attack on the adversary's missile silos. As a result, defenses could increase pressures for preemptive strikes during periods of high tension, as each superpower fears that if it fails to strike first it may find itself disarmed.

Finally, pursuit of space-based missile defenses will foreclose any chance of restraining the development of anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons. The proposed Star Wars weapons would all have an inherent anti-satellite capability. Indeed, they might well function more effectively in the less demanding ASAT role than in their intended anti-missile role. Therefore, a commitment to Star Wars means an unconstrained U.S.-Soviet ASAT competition—and the future vulnerability of satellites on which the United States depends for early warning of attack, control of nuclear forces, and military communications.

The Star Wars policy is ill-advised on both technical and strategic grounds. There is virtually no chance that an invincible shield envisioned by President Reagan can be developed. Yet the pursuit of this appealing mirage will, ironically, make us *less* rather than *more* secure: It will escalate the arms race, reduce stability, and feed a new cycle of mutual suspicion and fear between the superpowers.

Where to Go from Here

Information

A Primer on the Nuclear Arms Race. David Gold and Stephen Rose. This booklet is an excellent short summary of the arms race and is intended to complement a large poster, "The Nuclear Arms Race." Primer $2.50; poster $5.00; postage & handling $1.50. Order from:

Social Graphics Co.
1120 Riverside Ave.
Baltimore, MD 21230

First Strike! The Pentagon's Strategy for Nuclear War. Robert Aldridge. South End Press, 1983. Documents U.S. preparations for a disarming first strike.

With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush and Nuclear War. Robert Scheer. New York: Random House, 1982.

Carl Sagan. "Nuclear War and Climatic Catastrophe: Some Policy Implications." *Foreign Affairs,* Winter 1983/84.

The Cold and the Dark: The World after Nuclear War. Paul R. Erlich; Carl Sagan; Donald Kennedy, and Walter Orr Roberts. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984. The full report on the nuclear winter, including biological effects.

Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear War—A Sourcebook for Health Professionals.
Edited by Christine Cassel, MD; Michael McCally, MD and Henry Abraham, MD. 546 pp. Paper $14.95. Praeger Publishers: 1984. 521 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10175. A wide-ranging primer for health professionals and others on nuclear issues. Contains articles by the leading authorities on nuclear issues and collects the primary source material for all the recent nuclear literature. This text is being used in many college-level courses on nuclear war.

The Day Before Doomsday. S. Lens (Beacon, 1977). A history of the arms race.

The Counterforce Syndrome. R. Aldridge (Institute for Policy Studies, 1979). A discussion of U.S. nuclear forces.

Dubious Specter. Fred Kaplan (Institute for Policy Studies, 1980). A discussion of Soviet nuclear forces.

Groups

Physicians for Social Responsibility

(See directory)

The Union of Concerned Scientists

The UCS, based in Cambridge, Massachusetts, is a non-profit organization of scientists, engineers and other professionals concerned about the impact of advanced technology on society. UCS was established as an informal faculty group in the Boston area in 1969. It now has over 100,000 citizen sponsors nationwide.

The UCS has slideshows and other information on nuclear weapons, including "Weapons in Space: The Next Arms Race," slideshow with script, 1983, 25 min. $20.00, and "The Threat of Nuclear War," slideshow with script and cassette tape. History of the arms race, a thorough look at U.S. and Soviet weaponry and the effects of a nuclear explosion. 1983, 30 min., $25.00

Union of Concerned Scientists
26 Church Street
Cambridge, MA 02238
(617) 547-5552

> *"If we do not change our direction, we are likely to end up where we are headed."*
> *—Ancient Chinese Proverb*

Jim Hays

2
Empowerment

The Cry

Dedicated to Jonathan Schell

Denise Levertov

No pulsations
of passionate rhetoric
suffice
in this time
in this time
this time
we stammer in
stammering dread
or
parched, utter
silence
from
mouths gaping to
'Aayy!'—
this time when
in dense fog
groping
groping or simply standing
by mere luck balanced
still
on the
swaying
aerial catwalk of
survival
we've approached
the last
the last choice:
shall we
we and our kindred
we and
the sibling lives,
animal,
vegetable,
we've lorded it over,
the powers we've
taken in thrall,
waters,
earths,
airs,
shall they
shall we
by our own hand
undo our
being,
their being,
erase
is
and was
along with
will be?
Nothing
for eloquence
no rhetoric
fits
that unrendering,
voiding,
dis-
assemblement—If
by luck
chance
grace perhaps
able
even now
to turn
to turn away from
that dis-
solution—
only, O
maybe
some wholly
holy
holy
unmerited call:
bellbird
in branch of
snowrose
blossoming
newborn cry
demanding
with cherubim
and seraphim
eternity:
being:
milk:

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Introduction

As a child, I came to believe that the world would end soon, anytime, in a nuclear war. It is very hard to plan a life, to work for long-term goals, to think about marriage and children, to respect the institutions and products of society, when one is convinced that everything and everyone will die soon.

How much wasted potential, how many adolescent suicides, how much crime and disorder, tension and disease, have come from a decades-long national policy of Mutually Assured Destruction? Most people, according to polls, feel that a nuclear war is likely, and do not feel that they will survive. How is it possible for a person to live, knowing that fifteen or thirty minutes away are thousands of nuclear bombs aimed at everything that matters? We separate a little, from ourselves. We cover over the part that knows about all that. We don't think about it. We do something else. We deny it. And in denying it we deny a part of ourselves, becoming less than fully human. This is nuclear fallout, as surely as what a Geiger counter registers. The population of this country, if not the world, is saturated with it.

A movement called "empowerment" (also called "despairwork") has appeared. Empowerment is a way beyond despair. It may be a sign, among others, that the American people are beginning to move beyond denial, beyond numbness, as a response to the nuclear age. Beyond denial is the power that can bring about fundamental change.

If averting nuclear war seems hopeless, if you are already burnt out from trying, or if you don't know where to start, start here.

The chapter begins with an account of part of an empowerment workshop, then a description of Interhelp's beliefs and activities. Following these are a section from Joanna Rogers Macy's groundbreaking book, Despair and Personal Power in the Nuclear Age, *in which she discusses how to relate to children and young people about nuclear war. The chapter ends with a review of her book.*

Breath

Deborah Lubar

Last spring, I participated in a 4-day despair and empowerment workshop led by Joanna Macy, Sarah Pirtle and Kevin McVeigh. On the third day of our training, part of the agenda was for each of us to sally forth into Newton (an affluent suburb of Boston) to make "house calls."

I felt queasy at the thought of it. I don't mind when people come to my door for the March of Dimes or a boyscout raffle—but when it's to preach something or sell me a point of view, I become, I confess, tense, terse and resentful. A few of us tried gently to push it off the schedule—without success. The die was cast. What we were to do, actually, was not in the line of telling people what to think. On the contrary, we were to find out what *they* were thinking. Pad in hand, we would go from door to door and introduce ourselves with something like: "I am a member of a global educational organization called Interhelp which is taking a survey of people's concerns about the world today. Would you be good enough to give me a few moments of your time?" Simple enough. The four "survey" questions were:

1. What do you think is the greatest problem facing the world today?
2. What do you consider the chances of nuclear war to be?
3. Do you discuss these concerns with your family, your friends or your business associates?
4. What do you think would make our country safe and strong?

Off we went, each in his or her own direction. It was an unseasonably cold day for April, grey and drizzly, and I wasn't dressed for it. Flimsy sandals, a flimsy shawl, no rain gear. I went out into the chill wishing like mad it were tomorrow already. But it was today, as it always seems to be, and taking a very deep breath I started knocking and ringing.

People were kind of funny about it. I'd thought that my being a woman would alleviate people's fears at seeing a stranger at their door, but in many cases this wasn't so! "Thank you, I'm not interested," a few would say nervously before I could get two words out, and the door would close in my face. In most cases, though, even if they made me stand out on the porch or allowed me only so far as the front hall, people were polite in answering. Still, not one of them seemed comfortable about the ordeal, and often the very nature of the questions doubled their discomfort:

"What do you consider the chances of nuclear war to be?"

"Oh, maybe 50 percent. Maybe 80 percent. In our lifetimes." This in a wee soft voice from a gentleman who looked more accustomed to speaking in a big loud voice. A physician.

"And do you discuss these concerns…?"

"Oh no, no…I suppose I ought to…I don't like to think of these things…don't like to burden my wife, my kids…"

The most consistent thing about the answers I got, other than that the greatest problem facing the world today is hunger, was *everyone* thought the chances of nuclear war were great and almost *no one* discussed this issue with *anyone*. Well then.

After an hour of variations on this theme (as the task became more interesting to me, it became deeply moving; as it became more moving, it grew less threatening), I rang the bell of one more house and a man in his mid-40s answered, looking as if he had just come home from work. His tie was loosened, his collar unbuttoned, the coat of his three-piece suit removed. I told him why I was there and, before answering, he gave me a slow disdainful once-over

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that said: "*You* are not of *my* ilk, woman." I became suddenly conscious of the way I dress—the shawl, a long skirt, beads, those silly sandals in the rain—and in the reflection of his cool glance, felt more a 16-year-old hippie than I'd felt even when I *was* a 16-year-old hippie. I wanted to say, "Listen buster, I am 36 years old, have been teaching at Oberlin College for five years, am soon to be teaching at Smith which is about as *preppy* as you can get, and I dress this way because it pleases me, so don't erase me from your consideration with your insta-censure." But I said no such thing. I smiled hopefully and waited.

He *very* grudgingly (he was irritated, but determined to be civil) let me into his home, and though he nodded me to a seat, he remained standing, arms crossed. I began. "What do you think is the greatest problem facing our world today?"

Civility gave way to a somewhat snide smile as he answered: "The proliferation of strangers coming to one's door at dinnertime to take surveys."

Feeling smacked, I took a deep breath to keep my composure and laughed a pathetic little laugh. I looked at his face: lined, rugged, remote; intelligent eyes which might be warm and lively when he laughed, but which now betrayed the annoyance poorly disguised by a thin veneer of polite-adult behavior.

"Look," I said, "I don't much enjoy doing this either, and I certainly don't jump for joy when people come to *my* door asking questions. But this'll only take a few minutes. Aren't there any *other* problems you see as confronting the world today?"

"Oh God," he said, "you name it. Terrorism, famine, ecological disintegration, global economic collapse, rampant unemployment—am I supposed to number those one-two-three in order of importance? The world's a mess! What do you want me to say?"

I wrote it all down and continued. "What do you consider the chances of nuclear war to be?"

Immediately civility lost out to annoyance and his whole manner became cold and hard. "No no no no and no," he said, which at first I took to mean he thought there was no chance of nuclear war, so I began to write *that* down, but he barked "No!" again with such finality that I looked up. He had opened the door and was standing by it, pointing at it in a gesture of dismissal. "This is ridiculous," he said. "I don't have time for these ridiculous questions, for this silly survey." I was so stunned I didn't move for a few seconds, until he gestured again and said, "If you don't mind, I'd like you to leave now. Go on! Get out!"

I apologized for taking up his time and got out, red and hot and stinging from that rudeness and hostility; it took a couple of blocks of rain-walking to cool off. I thought of returning to the training center, but felt so awful, so coiled up after that encounter, that I decided to stop at a few more houses and wrap up the afternoon on a more humane note. As I came down the walk of the second house, I was startled to see *him* again, and would've assumed the feeling was mutual—but there he was, standing in the drizzle, arms still crossed, watching me. Curiouser and curiouser. I went up to him.

"What do you expect me to DO about it?" he demanded with a razor sharp edge of belligerence. "I'm sorry I threw you out of my house, but what in HELL do you expect me to DO about it? Again, my apologies for giving you the boot—but for God's sake, *what* do you *want?!*"

"Listen," I said, "if I were you, I would have thrown me out of the house too! I don't want those feelings in my home or my heart either. But they're there."

He calmed down a notch, but repeated, "Well what in hell do you and your organization *expect* of people?" He had heard my words, but hadn't connected to me as a plain old human being yet.

"I don't 'expect' anything of you," I said. Then I told him I admired his courage in coming after me, even though I represented something infuriating and horrible to him.

"I'll be honest with you," he said. "I don't want you back in my house, I just don't want you there—but would you mind going for a walk with me?"

So we went for a walk in the freezing rain, and he practically pelted me with questions. Why are you taking this survey? What is this organization? What kind of work is this despair and empowerment stuff? Oh really? Touchy-feely sort of thing? No? Sounds like it. (Always very cynical, very desperate, very tough.) Then I discovered I was being quizzed: Well what about those missiles they're going to put in Europe—what are their names again? What's the flak over those? And why or why not the MX? Why shouldn't it be a "bargining chip?" And what about the Russian missiles? etc. etc. etc.—each question aimed at seeing if I knew my facts. Not that *he* knew the facts, or pretended to. He didn't. But after some time of my passing his test with flying colors, he finally broke down and laughed and confessed to what he was doing. "All right—you win!"

It was a strange and unsettling conversation as we walked briskly along together. He seemed to be operating on two levels at once: while reaching out almost desperately for information on and answers to all manner of random questions on nuclear issues, he was determined to remain cut off from me, to keep that barrier of Questioner and Questioned between us, to maintain a stance of someone removed from the issues who just happened to be discussing them with someone "overly involved." If I asked *him* a question, which I did several times, it was sloughed off immediately, as if that was not what we were there for. And beneath everything he said, there was always a slight edge of hostility. Not blatant or ugly or cruel, but just that slight hard edge.

After a while, he noticed that I was shaking with the cold. He apologized for keeping me out in the rain, thanked me coolly but cordially for taking the time to speak with him, shook my hand and said goodbye. I tried one more time to *meet* him in the middle, but he cut me off and walked away.

On the long drive home that night, I couldn't get that man off my mind. I knew nothing about him—not his profession, or what his family was like, or even his name—but the thought of him nagged at me and made me feel at odds, unresolved about something. I felt he had needed something which I had failed to give him.

The next morning, on the drive back to the training center, I felt as if our conversation of the day before had been a heavy gate creaking open, and neither of us had had the wherewithal to step over into whatever was on the other side. "Well too bad," I thought, "because that meeting, or NON-meeting, is over. You had your chance and it's over. At which moment I knew that it *wasn't* over, because I was going back to his house that morning to ring that bell again.

At first I was horrified at my own determination. What would he say? What would he do? What had come over me? That last was the real question, and examining it as I came closer to Newton, I felt that a pull, a voice, a something both within and beyond me, was telling me simply and clearly: Go back to that man. Now. Period.

So I did. But when I pulled up in front of his house, I just sat in the car for a while, feeling like a fool. What on earth would I say to him? What excuse could I give for a second intrusion where I *knew* I was not welcome? ("Oh hello there, a funny little voice told me to come back?"—Don't be ridiculous.) Scared and nervous, I was nonetheless sure that I should be there. What got me up that walk and to the doorbell was a sudden inspiration to concentrate on one wonderful thing about each of the other people in the training. I felt almost palpably that they were all with me as I rang the bell. "Maybe his wife will answer and say he's gone off to work already," I hoped, but *he* answered and looked at me in utter amazement. And the words that fell out of my lips were: "I wanted to tell you a joke."

"You wanted to tell me a joke?" he asked, as we both laughed at the inanity of it.

"Yes."

"I don't believe you're back," he said, but in his tone I heard a gladness at the fact, and the next thing I knew, I was seated at his kitchen table, and he was at the stove making coffee.

I told him my joke (one of Robert Lifton's about not being resigned to the inevitability of nuclear war), and then we sat looking at one another over our coffee. "Why did you come back?" he asked. "I don't know," I said. "Something told me I had to. *You* tell *me*."

And so he did tell me. "The first worst night in my life," he said, "was when my wife and I decided to get a divorce a year ago. The second worst night was last night..." Plagued and shaken, he had sweated through one "nuclear nightmare" after another, both awake and asleep. "I guess I was glad to see you, because I'd like to talk about last night. Would you mind listening?" No, I wouldn't mind listening.

I shall refer to him as Bill, though that wasn't his name. We never even knew one another's last names, nor I his profession, and he knew only half of mine—that I am in theatre work. What we learned of one another that morning (we two such *different* personalities) was profoundly intimate—and yet it had ONLY to do with the topic at hand, and with our common bond as two human beings groping in the dark to confront and move through the difficult times in which we live.

Peace is in the air everybody can have it nobody can steal it we all can share it in the world. Peace is a special thought or a special love or light or spark that we all share within ourselves. If there was peace there would be no wars or fights just a special love all over the world.

—Joel, age 11

At first, while recounting his dreams and terrors of the night before, his manner was distinctly controlled and rather "macho"—he might be describing scenes of death and misery, but by God, this man was not going to show any *emotion* about it! No way! I could practically see the tears under the skin of his whole body, but he was damned if he would let them out. Quite a way into the conversation, he was telling me about one dream in which thousands of parachutes were dropping silently from the sky. Everyone in the dream looked up in wonder at this marvelous sight, but suddenly they all knew these were not parachutes at all, these were full-blown mushroom clouds, descending without sound to earth. When the "stems" of the mushrooms touched down, everyone disappeared instantly—vaporized?—and Bill was the only one left in the landscape of death, he and his children. He knew this was the end of the world, but his children knew no such thing, and were playing hide and seek between the lethal pillars. He could hear their laughter as they bounced from one cloud to another in the mists which were growing thicker and thicker. He raced madly about to find them, to catch them before they all died, to save them. But they kept eluding him. He heard only their giggles, their small voices of childish delight. He screamed for them, he ran after them until he couldn't run for lack of breath, he felt torn with anguish at his helplessness, his impotence either to find or save them. As he was speaking these images to me, I watched his hand grow tight around the coffee cup, and saw the incredible effort he was making not to betray his emotion. This was only "a dream!" Certainly his morning self could disengage itself from the grief and fear of the night before—and he stopped speaking for a moment to hold onto that rigid control. In the small silence, I reached my hand across the table and cupped it very gently around his…and at that quiet touch, he fell forward to the table, his head cradled in his arm, and began to sob from his very soul. He wept and he wept, great heaving shaking waves of sorrow and pain. The hand I had touched was grabbing onto mine for dear life, as if my wrist were a raft in the ocean and if he let it go he would drown.

I began to "breathe on through." I breathed in his pain until it filled me, let it flow through my heart, and breathed it out again. After several long such exhalations, Bill looked up at me, his face streaming with tears, and squinted at me with sudden coldness. "You're disgusted, aren't you?" I was stunned. "Why are you sighing?" he asked accusingly. And then I realized that he had imagined those breaths as if I'd been sitting there with a hand on my hip, eyes rolled to the ceiling in impatience, thinking: "Oh for heaven's sake, be a *man*, will you? Cut the tears, you jerk."

"I'm breathing in your pain," I told him.

"You're WHAT?!"

"I'm breathing in your pain."

"What in hell FOR?"

"This grief is too big for any one of us to handle alone; so I breathe in yours, and your tears are a support for mine, and we both need others to help share it with us." He was watching me thoughtfully, and I feared it might all sound like voodoo to him and close him off again. But his bitterness vanished on his own exhalation of breath, and he said softly: "Yes. It's a relief to think of it that way."

As we talked, his pain gave way to rage: rage at the situation and at his feelings of helplessness as a man, as a father, as a human being on a planet headed for disaster—whether from missiles or greed or destruction of the ecosystem. Interrupting his own description of another nightmare, he suddenly bashed his fist on the table and shouted with fury and venom: "What a world! It is a misery and a burden to be a human being!"

Of all our time together, that moment was the most agony for me. It was then that I myself began to weep, wanting so much to say to him: "Not entirely, Bill! Not only *that*! There is another side to it—the beauty of how this can bring us, is bringing us together and to our shared sense of dignity and power…" But I knew enough to keep still. Who was I to tell him such a thing? Although what he had said was only *part* of the truth, it *was* part of the *truth*—and if he was ever to feel anything else, no one's "pronouncing" it to him was going to effect that vision. His rage was just; I had no right to argue with its power. But it grieved me more than I can say.

Later he was asking me about the play I had written and toured during this past year, called "Ghosts of Hiroshima." I quoted him a speech from the play's center:

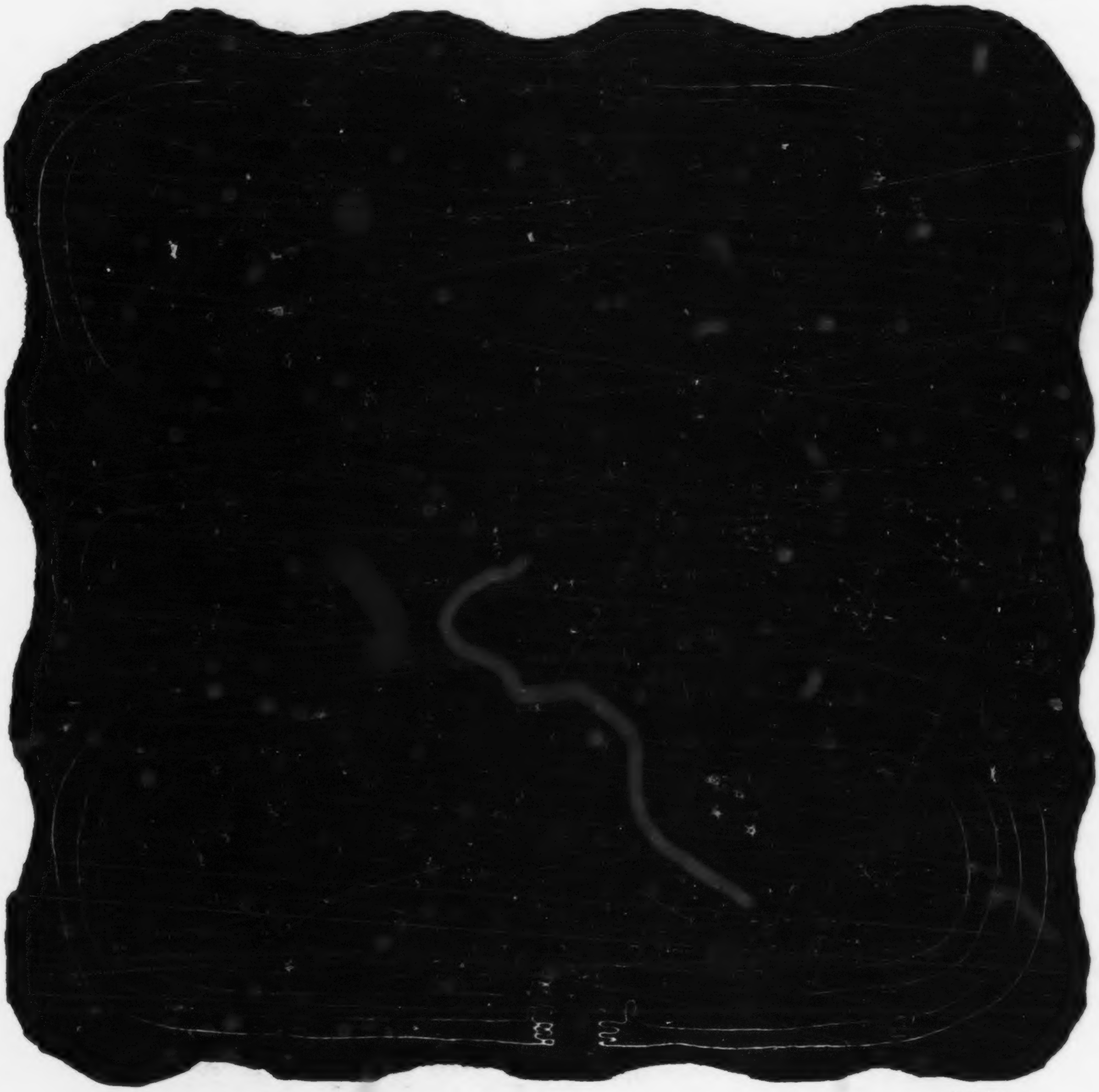
> *What do we do with the ghosts of Hiroshima? The ghosts of Nagasaki? Ghosts from the past and shadows of our future? We try to dim the light, to draw the shade, to shut the door. But the grey figures sift in silence through our dreams, like ashes. The dreams turn to nightmare. We wake and move through the sunny days as if nothing were wrong. But the shadows soak up bits of light, like small clouds floating across the sun. We look up, expecting rain. We wrap ourselves tight from the chill.*

He was quiet for a while, looking out the window. Had I bored him? But then he turned to me and nodded his head slowly. "Yes," he said. "It is like that. I have been wrapping myself so tight from the chill that I was suffocating. Last night I began to breathe. That intake of breath hurt like hell—hurt almost more than I could bear." He smiled wistfully, warmly. "But it was *breath.*"

We talked of many things. We were no longer strangers. After about an hour and a half, he looked at his watch and laughed at how late for work he was. "Wow, I'm late for work too!" I said. He smiled. "Oh no you're not," he said.

At the door he took my hands and just held them for a moment. We looked at one another straight and clear, as if we'd known each other for a million years, and knowing as well that we would never see each other again. And then he said, with strength, with warmth:

"What a world. It is a privilege to be a human being." (As I write this now, I begin to weep, just as I did then.) "Tell your colleagues in this work," he said, "that a man named Bill sends them his regards, his respect, and his gratitude. And tell them that the work you are all doing matters more than you may ever know."



M.W. Benton

Interhelp

Kevin McVeigh

For the past five years, a network called Interhelp has been doing with the threat of nuclear war what Elizabeth Kubler-Ross did with death and dying. In both cases, the task is the same: to overcome the numbing effects of denial in the face of catastrophic information. Working all over the U.S., Canada and Great Britain, hundreds of therapists, educators and church leaders have been exploring ways to fill in what amounts to the missing link in preventing nuclear war—the human response.

From Interhelp's point of view, there is more than enough being done to proclaim the bad news, and likewise plenty being done to organize people for action. But expecting people to move directly from doomsday lectures and films and swing right into action is a naive and dangerous approach. A little psychological savvy can go a long way toward reaching the public more effectively, and it's this piece of the puzzle that Interhelp is carving out.

Interhelp's approach is based on a few principal assumptions:

1. The psychic impact of nuclear weapons, and the threat of annihilation they imply, is more profound than we can imagine.
2. The repression of our response to this threat—of our grief, fear, rage and despair—is personally unhealthy and socially disastrous.
3. The expression of our response to the threat of nuclear war and the extinction of life on earth is a vital necessity if we are to heal our ailing planet. Such expression reveals not only the pain we feel about our world, but also deep wellsprings of caring and ultimately a sense of interconnectedness with all of life.
4. The apathy, numbness, denial and other manifestations of repressed nuclear-response are nothing more than a self-protective covering over of our deep caring about life, our world, and our fellow beings.
5. As we effect a synthesis of personal and planetary, of psychological and political, our vision expands to include the spiritual, the artistic, the cultural—in fact all the most fundamental human tendencies—as part of a solution to our global crisis. Ancient wisdom traditions and recent theoretical physics become indistinguishable, and a new model of reality based on systems theory and deep ecology begins to emerge.
6. An absolutely critical component to any solution is providing people with the opportunity to share with others their pain for the world, to recapture their love for the earth and their caring for life, and to reclaim their power as they envision ways to take action and live out their commitment to a peaceful future. Such opportunities are numerous, and Interhelp specializes in creating and disseminating programs of all kinds, each geared to the particular audience in question.

Corollary to these assumptions is the strongly held opinion within the Interhelp network that scaring the living daylights out of people is an investment strategy with a low return. Showing people pictures of charred Hiroshima babies and conjuring up images of their local community either burned to a crisp or frozen to a tundra (depending on whose gloomy scenario you are hearing) is not a great motivator. Some people will become involved for a short time as the result of such tactics, though experience shows that most of them burn out quickly, and many others simply go home to bed with hearts numb and nightmares vivid, plunged into despair and helplessness, and geared to expect the worst.

In working with the public, Interhelp has found a number of things to be true about the human response to large-scale catastrophe:

KEVIN McVEIGH is the National Office Coordinator for Interhelp and lives in Northampton, Massachusetts. He is a workshop leader and has recently led trainings for facilitators of Interhelp work in Boston, Detroit, and the British Isles. He is celebrating his 40th birthday this year with the arrival of his first child.

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1. People need a special environment in which to melt their numbness and touch their feelings about nuclear war and other threats to life on earth. They need an atmosphere that is unusually safe and supportive, they need permission to give full vent to their despair and other painful feelings, and they need the company of other people to overcome patterns of isolation and reestablish the sense of community that binds them to the larger web of earth-life.

Such an environment has been designed and tested in the Interhelp workshops, which have now been offered by scores of group leaders to many thousands of people in the U.S., Canada, and many European countries. In such workshops, people get a chance not only to express their own response but to hear that of others, opening them to the insight that it is not just their own personal pain to which they give voice, but a larger body of anguish that somehow originates in the larger human community and becomes manifest in the cry of those who are awakened to it.

In these settings, the image of a global organism, in which individual human cells register the dis-ease of the planet/body, becomes vividly experienced. In the words of the Vietnamese Buddhist poet Thich Nhat Hanh, "We listen within ourselves for the sound of the earth crying."

The clearest articulation of the theory and practice underlying the Interhelp workshops has been offered by workshop leader and Buddhist scholar Joanna Macy, in her book *Despair and Empowerment in the Nuclear Age*. Drawing on her own accumulated experience and that of a score of others throughout the network, Macy has elaborated the foundations of a radically new path to planetary healing. Now she and a handful of colleagues are training others to lead workshops and other programs adapted from workshop formats.

2. By experiencing fully the painful feelings aroused by threats to life on earth, many people release a new clarity, power and commitment, which often leads to meaningful involvement and effective action, as well as to the resolution of personal issues that were not apparently connected to these global ones.

One participant wrote that her workshop experience led directly to organizing a women's march that is now walking the route of the "White Train," which carries hydrogen bombs from Amarillo, Texas, to Bangor, Washington, and Charleston, South Carolina. During their year-long march, this handful of women will do Interhelp work in communities along the path of the weapons train.

Each person is encouraged to go beyond not only the denial of pain but a second, equally harmful denial—the denial of power.

Another participant, who worked through her nightmares of death-mask Hiroshima faces in a workshop, recounted that this breakthrough moved her to engage in civil disobedience at a weapons base. At her trial, she drew on the heart-connection she had made with the issues during the workshop and gave an impassioned speech that had everyone in the courtroom weeping, including the presiding judge.

The key is that each person is encouraged to go beyond not only the denial of pain but a second, equally harmful denial—the denial of power. This process vividly illustrates the interweaving of personal and global issues. Powerlessness about nuclear weapons cannot be separated from the more generalized sense of powerlessness that often runs through an entire personal history with roots that go deep into early childhood. The modes of action that result from the owning of this power are as varied and unique as the participants themselves, for Interhelp suggests no course of action, instead enabling people to find involvement suited to them.

3. The special sensitivity and genius of younger people makes a unique contribution to the transformation of consciousness in the nuclear age. Interhelp not only specializes in helping parents, teachers and other adults address the needs of children and teenagers, but serves as an enabler for the efforts of young people themselves.

With the assistance of many colleagues in the Interhelp network, 17-year-old Maya Gillingham brought together her high-school classmates to create a play that would give voice to their nuclear nightmares and their hopes for peace. The result, "Changing the Silence," is an electrifying piece of theater that has drawn rave reviews first in live performances, then as a videotape, and finally as a national tour where school groups were aided in finding their own creative voice in response to nuclear war.

A variety of study guides and film guides for working with younger people are supplemented by pioneering programs for working with students in schools. Sarah Pirtle invited children to become co-creators of an illustrated book, "An Outbreak of Peace," in which issues of conflict resolution and cooperation are explored together with visions of a peaceful world of the future.

A critical element here is the focus with children, not on deepening their horror of nuclear war, but on broadening their vision of an alternative to war and violence. It is all too easy as adults to project our denial and defenses, as well as our other distresses, into our approach to children. What they really need is our responsiveness to their hunger to be heard, and our relaxed and confident assurance that many adults are working to make the world safe and that we will succeed.

4. The work of allowing the public to respond to global crisis goes far beyond workshops. The performing arts are a particularly potent medium for allowing people to experience their grief for the earth and their despair about nuclear war.

The Fran and Charlie Nuclear Comedy Show, for instance, is an integral part of the Interhelp network. Also known as "The Atomic Comics," Fran and Charlie travel widely in the U.S. and abroad, helping people to laugh at the absurdity of the nuclear arms race as a way of breaking through their denial. As every therapist knows, laughter is often the gateway to tears, and humor can lift the grim seal of seriousness with its deadening impact on our affective response.

Elsewhere in the Interhelp network, the healing of damage from life in the nuclear age has moved out of the conventional therapeutic settings into church services, clowning in the streets, musical performances, and dramatic productions. Filmmakers, poets, journalists, and storytellers, often with a background in therapeutic disciplines, create a new context in which to reweave the broken web of our connection with all earth-life.

5. An absolute essential in working with the psychic impact of the nuclear age is to join with others and never to work in isolation. This is mandatory for all who are active in the Interhelp network and helps to guarantee an ongoing system for personal support, feedback, and correcting mistakes.

There is another major shift in consciousness taking place in the 1980s. . . the synthesis of personal and planetary concerns—a wedding of psychological, spiritual and political dimensions into a unified approach to change.

Dozens of such support groups are now functioning, and new ones are often seeded from local and regional workshops. The model they offer is now being extended to other groups, such as those working on the Nuclear Freeze Campaign. Issues of burnout, internal group process, motivating the public, and self-care for activists are increasingly being added to the agenda of such groups.

Looked at from the long view, it might be said that Interhelp is trying to support and articulate a major tidal movement of our times. Like the human potential movement of the 1960s and the rise of the women's movement in the 1970s, there is another major shift in consciousness taking place in the 1980s. Perhaps the major characteristic of this movement is the synthesis of personal and planetary concerns—a wedding of psychological, spiritual and political dimensions into a unified approach to change.

The vision embodied in the work of Interhelp is one in which individual therapy is no longer done without the element of global survival, and one in which political action is no longer done without attention to personal sanity and well-being. It may just be possible after all to care for ourselves and each other as we carry on the work of healing planet Earth.

"Peace is people talking together
with a heart in between them."
—Child, age 8

Relating with Children and Young People about Nuclear War

Joanna Rogers Macy

The horror their children may have to face is the most piercing grief for many parents, and would-be parents, as I have seen them contemplate the future. The most intense anger I have witnessed is that of young people as they imagine being robbed of their chance to grow up. Fear of these shattering emotions keeps many of us—adults and youth alike—in silence. That fear is a major source of repression, evasion and numbness in facing the nuclear threat and other critical challenges.

> *There are times I look at my two children, young, vital and innocent and feel as if my heart is going to explode out of my chest...I do not mind so much for myself having to confront this thing, but I just can't deal with the fact that they might have to and in a far worse form than I...I find my chest just heaving, with a tremendous weight, my shoulders are pulled up and taut and there is this core of a knotted pain smack in the middle of me.*
>
> **Letter from a father in British Columbia**

For adults, especially parents and teachers, the danger to our planet is an agonizing issue. We want to protect and reassure our children, but we face dangers from which we cannot protect them and about which we cannot honestly reassure them.

"What can I say to my kids? I want them to be happy, to feel safe."

"I feel guilty somehow—guilty about the kind of world we're handing them, and deceptive that this is one area I am not being honest with them about what I know and feel."

"I don't want to spoil their childhood by bringing up fears they can do nothing about. But, I wonder, am I protecting them or myself?"

So, desirous of protecting our children (and ourselves) we tend, by and large, to remain silent. But are they ignorant of the mounting dangers we face? Do they really not know?

Much has been learned recently of what children and young people *do* know and feel about the precarious condition of our world. Evidence pours in that, although they may not reveal it to the adults in their daily lives, they are very aware of the dangers of imminent mass annihilation. From four, five and six years old, says Robert Lifton, a child knows about nuclear bombs and what they can do. "It is everywhere in our culture," he points out, in television, posters, magazines, even comics. Global Education Associates invited 5th grade children to share their visions of the future, making no reference to negative factors or disaster of any kind. Yet ninety percent said they expected a nuclear war, in which they would not survive. The only hope that some saw lay in an extraterrestrial rescue mission. A task force of the American Psychiatric Association surveyed grammar and high school students with a thousand questionnaires sent to many localities and a hundred interviews in the Boston area. The results showed that the children were well aware of the nuclear threat, and that, furthermore, it had deeply penetrated their consciousness. Some said they did not intend to have children, since it would be unfair to bring them into such a dangerous world. As similar studies and interviews show, children and young people have not much trust that the world

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JOANNA ROGERS MACY , PhD, is a teacher of world religions, active in movements for peace and justice. She is the author of ***Despairwork*** *and* ***Dharma and Development,*** *a book about the Sarvodaya village self-help movement in Sri Lanka. Several thousand people have participated in her workshops in the U.S., Europe, and Asia. A mother of three grown children, she is currently living in Sausalito with her husband.*

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will be inhabitable by the year 2000. They have apocalyptic nightmares and daytime flashes of a nuclear holocaust. "And I won't take cover when it comes...all that suffering...I just hope I vaporize quick."

> *One night, my son, as if reading my thoughts, blurted out sentences like "When will I die?" "Who will play with my toys when I die?" and "I don't want to die for a long time." Ordinarily, such queries would seem healthy and I could respond with an adequate answer. But that night, I couldn't talk. Rather, convulsive sobs came out, half-choked, then growing fuller until I held my little boy in fear and desperation and it was he who reassured me it was all okay and to stop crying.*
>
> **Letter from New York**

While we prefer to imagine that we can shield our children from the knowledge of what may befall us, we cannot; for they, too, feel despair for the future. In fact, they feel it more keenly than most adults, because they have developed fewer defenses; they are not as numbed as we. Grownups depersonalize the peril, talk in abstract terms about "megatonnage" and "delivery systems" and "nuclear exchanges" and "limited war," while the children see it in concrete terms of burning flesh, searching parents, disintegrating bodies, boiling blood, screams for help. For proof of this, see "Growing Up Under the Shadow," a documentary of interviews with children.

Eric Chivian, staff psychiatrist of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who has interviewed many school children in his work with Educators for Social Responsibility, describes how they deal with the knowledge at different stages of their development. He says that at the third grade level there is a marked sense of confusion, hopelessness and fear of abandonment. Nightmares occur, and the realization that they may not live to grow up. By the fifth grade children have more information, and feel anger at the stupidity and hypocrisy of the adult world. By the seventh grade this anger turns to cynicism and gallows humor. Civil defense programs strike them as ludicrous and they attempt to devise solutions; maybe we could erect a giant protective bubble over the country or go live in the sea. In high school the emotional reactions become more complicated. These teenagers face critical choices about college, careers, families, draft registration, but the shadow of the bomb robs these choices of reality and meaning; the young people begin to erect defenses of indifference and defiance.

"It seems that these young people are growing up without the ability to form stable ideals, or the sense of continuity upon which the development of stable personality structure and the formation of serviceable ideals depend," states Dr. John Mack, one of the authors of the American Psychiatric Association's Task Force Report, *The Impact on Children and Adolescents of Nuclear Developments.* "We may find we are raising generations of young people without a basis for making long-term commitments, who are given over, of necessity, to doctrines of impulsiveness and immediacy...At the very least, we need to educate our children in the realities of nuclear...weaponry so that they can be helped to overcome at least that aspect of fear which derives from ignorance and which leaves them feeling so powerless."

Many children and young people say that their parents and teachers never discuss the nuclear threat. This is not all that surprising, given the potent fears—and feelings of grief, guilt, powerlessness—that lie below the surface. Yet lack of communication on this issue takes a high toll.

1. *Silence conveys fatalism.* It seems to say that our collective future is "not our business," that it lies in the hands of politicians and generals and experts who know best.

2. *Silence conveys indifference.* Amazed at how much those fifth graders knew about the nuclear threat, environmental dangers and world hunger, Global Education Associates asked them where they received their information. Did their parents and teachers talk about these problems? "Oh no," was the answer, "You see, grownups don't care." Adult silence on these issues not only appears as indifference, but as a lack of caring for the children themselves faced with a frightening future.

3. *Silence reinforces repression.* Grownups' difficulty in communicating in these areas teaches that certain feelings are taboo—feelings like grief, fear, anger at leaders, and compassion for those who suffer now and will suffer in the future. The Bomb becomes a mystery so powerful that it cannot be spoken. As a social worker from New York said, "It probably embarrassed my parents, and they sort of communicated that to me...Like sex, like death, like God, like certain things that happened in my parents' past they did not want to talk about."

4. *Silence breeds cynicism and anger.* Children and young people begin to wonder whether feelings of anguish over destruction and injustice even exist in grownups. If they suspect that they *do,* they feel contempt for our hypocrisy in pretending that everything is just fine. If young people conclude that such feelings do *not* exist, then the response if often one of rage. Their desire then is to shock our society awake, shake it into the realization of the impending horror. Punk rock, with its gruesome faces, ghastly

costumes, grating sounds, is but one manifestation of this fury.

> *How do the young stand it? How can they keep their sanity? If I were very young, 16 or 17 years old, I think I would begin, perhaps very slowly and imperceptibly, to go crazy…If I were 16 or 17 years old and had to read or listen to that (U.S. Government reports on civil defense plans), I would want to give up on listening and reading. I would begin thinking up new kinds of sounds, different from any music heard before, and I would be twisting and turning to rid myself of human language.*
>
> **Lewis Thomas, biologist.**

And, of course, the toll is wider yet. The rising incidence of drug addiction, crime and suicide among teenagers and even children is sad evidence of the erosion of meaning. More pervasive still is a sense of alienation, both from family and future. This manifests not only in anti-social and self- destructive behaviors, but, less visibly, in the loss of the capacity to make meaningful choices and commitments. As a high school student said, "All that is left is to live for this exact moment, because we could go at any time."

> *As a parent I feel totally isolated in these feelings. My 14-year-old son feels guilty and inadequate when I cry while watching a news show. How do you tell a child what's ahead for him? How do you motivate yourself to try to live a better life? My friends say, "Don't worry; there's nothing you can do about it."*
>
> **Letter from Massachusetts**

What can we do to break the silence and meet our children on the level of their own deep responses? We parents and teachers can't make the world a safe place overnight. What in the meantime do children and young people need from us? Our communications with them will be easier if we know how we can be responsive and supportive.

1. *Know your own feelings.* As a parent or teacher, first identify and appreciate your own fear, anger and sorrow about what is happening to our world. While we want to be honest and open with our children, we don't want to use our conversations with them to explore or vent our own feelings. Attend a workshop or, using some of the methods in this book, organize a peer group where you can do this important work. In a group or alone, take time to talk to the child within yourself; feel his or her fears and hear through his/her ears what needs to be said.

2. *Invite children to share their feelings about the world.* To do that you can express your own in a gentle, uncharged fashion and encourage them to express theirs. Watching television you can say, "It makes me sad to see those weapons (fighting, poverty), how does it make you feel?" Explain why you are busy on the phone, making calls for a local peace meeting. "I'm working to stop the making of bombs, because I don't want to see a war happen. Do you ever think or dream about that?"

3. *Give your complete attention.* Once you have broached the subject, don't rush off on an errand and preoccupy yourself with another activity. Take time, even for silence. But don't force the issue. A child has the right *not* to hear or talk about nuclear war. Do not assume that he or she is oblivious or unconcerned, if at a given moment they are not ready to discuss it.

Peace is not fighting because the world may die.

—Alisa, age 8

4. *Let yourself listen.* On this subject, says Kevin McVeigh, children have "a hunger to be heard." Accept the challenge not to interrupt them. Just in getting us to listen to them, they begin to overcome their sense of powerlessness and isolation. Physical contact is reassuring: "Come sit next to me, I'd like to hear about that."

5. *Help children define their feelings.* What remains unspoken and unacknowledged is far more frightening than a danger we can see and label together. Many children do not know what they feel before they express it. Help them gain control over vague feelings by putting them into words.

6. *Let them know they are not alone in these fears.* To know that you as parent or teacher have similar feelings about the world is more reassuring to them than if you pretend to be aloof and unperturbed. Tell them what you felt when you were little. "When I heard about Hiroshima, I was shocked and sad." "There were civil defense drills in school that made me scared." Share dreams you had, poems you wrote.

7. *Acknowledge what you don't know.* Children will ask questions you cannot answer. That is all right; it is nothing to be ashamed of; facts may not be needed. Remember that questions are often veiled statements about concerns and fears. Invite children to express the concern behind the question; the expression may help them more than any answer you can give. For example, "How are we going to get out of the city when the bombs come?" If you do not have workable plan (and who does?), you can sim-

ply say, "Yes, I've wondered about that, too. What do you imagine might happen here? What feelings do you have about that?"

8. Don't feel you must relieve your children of their painful feelings. They are *their* feelings, and appropriate to the situation. You can clear up misconceptions that cause unnecessary distress ("No, Jimmy does not have a bomb in his house, and he can't start a war"), but anguish over the nuclear peril is a component of our experience in this time that cannot be taken or wished away. As parents we tend to want to do our children's worrying and suffering for them; but when we try to do that, we convey the message that we think our children are too weak to handle scary feelings. And to say "Now just don't worry about such things," teaches them repression and denial.

9. Let children make choices. Support them in making decisions about their activities and lives, to the extent they can do so without distress or harm. This helps them build their own sense of power. Express your respect for their copefulness.

10. With your children, take joy in life. Take time to watch a snail, talk to a star, plant some seeds, tend the sprouts. We are born with a capacity for wonder and children can help us recapture it. We in turn can convey our own sense of the sacredness and beauty of the web of life, sharing delights we have found in art and music, the inspiration we have drawn from stories of courage, and the treasures of our spiritual traditions. Second to our loving, supporting presence, these are the greatest gifts we can give our children in the nuclear age.

11. Show them you care enough about your world and about them to engage in actions to avert disaster. Children do not need a safe cocoon so much as a community of shared beliefs and adventures. During the London blitz, many children were evacuated to rural areas for safety. Psychologist Anna Freud compared their emotional responses with those children who stayed with their parents under the bombings, and she found greater psychic stability among the latter group. Similarly, John Holt studied children undergoing the psychic stresses of the civil rights movements in the South amidst all the fear and occasional violence attendant on school desegregation. He found a higher level of emotional health among those whose families were actively engaged in the struggle, in spite of the dangers to which it exposed them. Vivienne Verdon-Roe tells of a second grade class where all but one of the children said they expected a nuclear war to occur. When the remaining child was asked why he was so confident of the future, he answered, "Because my mother and father go to meetings to stop nuclear war."

12. Support children in taking action in their own right. There is a great deal that they can do to work for peace and justice. They can write or draw a letter to the President. They can telephone the White House (202-456-7634); a courteous operator takes all messages. (One parent says, "We keep the number by the breakfast table; if there's something particular in the morning paper, we call, or maybe we just call anyway.") They can make posters and join rallies. They can volunteer at a local organization, stuffing envelopes, making calls, running errands. They can organize or join a children's action group, where they can discuss, learn, leaflet, march, and raise money for their cause in a variety of ways from lemonade stands to car washes. In addition to the impact such actions can have on the community, they do two important things for the youngsters themselves. They provide a strong and meaningful sense of peer support, so they no longer feel isolated and powerless with their fears for the world, and they enhance their sense of self-respect and self-esteem.

Despair and Personal Power in the Nuclear Age

A Review by Paula Hendrick

Essential for achieving peace on our planet is the work of healing, restoring clarity and life to our hearts and minds—and to the hearts and minds of all people. We begin this aspect of peace work within ourselves, opening ourselves to the pain we hold within. It takes great awareness and great strength to avoid armoring ourselves against our knowledge of the suffering and destructive processes of our time. Joanna Rogers Macy, in her important book *Despair and Personal Power in the Nuclear Age*, helps us understand our situation and presents a systematic process for releasing, healing and empowerment.

Macy pioneered "despairwork," a process by which groups of people are provided safe situations in which to experience and share the despair, fear and anger we feel in confronting the realities of our time. The theory behind the work is that the denial of these emotions amounts to a cultural illness, blocking the creativity and love inherent in the individual and the collective. Among the reasons for this numbing process are our fear of pain, our fear of causing distress, our fear of appearing too emotional, and our fear of powerlessness. Macy describes despairwork as she reflects on the seminar in 1978 at which the process happened spontaneously, for the first time:

> *We knew that it had something to do with a readiness to face the dark and take that darkness into us, that it had to do, in other words, with a willingness to acknowledge and experience pain, and that this pain…is a measure of caring. We also knew that the joint journey into the dark had changed us, bonding us in a special way, relieving us of pretense and competition. Something akin to love had occurred, an alchemy that caused us to feel less alone and bolder to face without flinching whatever challenges might lie ahead. (p. 18)*

Despair and Personal Power in the Nuclear Age is designed to serve several purposes. A primary purpose is as a handbook for leaders of groups in despair and empowerment work. Macy presents a myriad of ideas for facilitating group experience. At a workshop I attended a few years ago at the Traprock Peace Center in Massachusetts, led by two of Macy's colleagues, we began by "Sharing Our Nuclear Stories." I told of my nuclear nightmares, the impressions I still carry with me from my childhood early in the nuclear age.

Growing out of release and sharing comes the point called "The Turning." At this point, "the very distress which had seemed to isolate us from people around us now manifests as part of the connective tissue in which we cohere—revealing us to be not isolated atoms, but cells of one living body" (p. 115).

The workshop culminates with the empowerment stage, in which the sense of power that is released by the sharing process is consciously nurtured. The participants discover power not as power over others but as the energy of our open, growing system. In an exercise for this stage, the leader may suggest that the participants draw what power feels like to them at that moment. Macy includes the following response to this exercise:

> *The drawing of one man, an engineer, appeared to be a huge fish net. "I started to draw my anger. See this part here's a gun, but then it started connecting with the anger of others, and then with their needs, and then with their hopes. And now I'm not sure which part of the net I am. I am part of it all. I guess that is my power." (p. 133)*

The book includes not only suggested exercises and formats, but also many guidelines and pointers for putting together a successful workshop. Macy also clarifies how those not trained in counseling can lead a workshop safely.

In addition to being a well-designed handbook for group leaders, this book also has immense value for use by groups, partners and individuals who want to look within, open to feelings and move toward sharing and healing. The many responses of participants and leaders that Macy includes involve the reader on a personal and deep level with the process.

The book also contains sections on despairwork in counseling sessions and on how to help children and young people deal with these issues. Finally, Macy gives suggestions on that most important topic, how to talk with people in our everyday lives about our feelings and their feelings about the critical situation confronting us in our time.

Where to Go from Here

Interhelp
This organization will help arrange empowerment workshops in your community.

Interhelp
P.O. Box 331
Northampton, MA 01061
(413) 586-6311

Despair and Personal Power in the Nuclear Age. Joanna Rogers Macy. New Society Publishers, 4722 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143. $8.95 plus $1.50 postage and handling.

Humpty Dumpty Report. Quarterly from Interhelp (see address above). $10 for 20 issues. Explores the intersection of global issues and our daily lives.

> *"I refuse to accept the cynical notion that nation after nation must spiral down a militaristic stairway into the hell of nuclear destruction. I believe that unarmed truth and unconditional love will have the final word in reality."*
> *—Martin Luther King, Jr.*

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Showing At
A VISION OF AMERICA AT PEACE

3

How You Personally Can Prevent Nuclear War

Dear Mr. Reagan,

I think that you should stop making any kind of bomb just because I am in 2nd grade does not mean I do not care because I do. In the world we have unuf bombs to blow up the world 10 TIMES! You migt think that I am just a stupid little girl but I am not. It is so discusting that there was going to be a war whith us, I would take a knife and kill my self.

I am not the only one who cares. It is not funny at all! We want peace in our world! You might not no what happend in Japan in 1945, but I do and I and thousands of other people do not want it to happen again any were, I am going to tell my children about this. I am not being funny. I am not doing this because I heard someone say that they did. There is a time to play and a time not to and I am not playing. I am Sarah Kerlin and I want this to stop.

(This letter to Mr. Reagan was written by 7-year-old Sarah Kerlin of Albany, CA, and published in Herb Caen's column in the *San Francisco Chronicle* June 3, 1982.)

Introduction

This chapter contains two kinds of information. One is what you might expect from the title: important, concrete things you can do that will have a significant influence over whether or not we have a nuclear war. For instance, the actions described in Dr. Ginosar's article probably produce more results for less effort and time than anything else an average citizen can do.

The other kind of information is directed at how we think of ourselves in relation to the problem. If you think there is a problem, what do you do? (If you don't think there's a problem, read Chapter 1.)

What effect can one person have? How can I put myself up against "the experts"? What do I know, anyway?

These thoughts are probably familiar to all of us. Often they stop us from acting. This chapter will give you solid ground for answering these questions in ways that will inspire and support you as you act to influence the outcome of the most important issue the human species has ever faced.

The list of things you can do is not confined to this chapter, of course. You will find things to do in nearly every chapter. I encourage you to look at the possibilities and either choose or create one of your own. Whatever you do, it is vitally important that you do it.

The Hundredth Monkey

Ken Keyes, Jr.

Here is the story
of the Hundredth Monkey:
The Japanese monkey,
Macaca fuscata,
has been observed in the wild
for a period of over 30 years.

In 1952,
on the island of Koshima
scientists were providing monkeys
with sweet potatoes
dropped in the sand.
The monkeys liked the taste
of the raw sweet potatoes,
but they found the dirt
unpleasant.

An 18-month-old female
named Imo
found she could solve the problem

by washing the potatoes
in a nearby stream.
She taught this trick
to her mother.
Her playmates also
learned this new way
and they taught
their mothers, too.

This cultural innovation
was gradually picked up
by various monkey
before the eyes of the
scientists.

Between 1952 and 1958,
all the young monkeys
learned to wash
the sandy sweet potatoes
and make them more
palatable.

Only the adults
who imitated their children
learned this social
improvement.

Other adults
kept eating
the dirty sweet potatoes.
Then something startling
took place.
In the autumn of 1958,
a certain number of
Koshima monkeys
were washing sweet
potatoes—
the exact number is not
known.

Let us suppose
that when the sun rose one
morning
there were 99 monkeys
on Koshima Island
who had learned
to wash their sweet
potatoes.

Let's further suppose
that later that morning,
the hundredth monkey
learned to wash potatoes.

THEN IT HAPPENED!

By that evening
almost everyone in the
tribe
was washing sweet
potatoes
before eating them.

The added energy
of this hundredth monkey
somehow created
an ideological
breakthrough!

But notice.
The most surprising thing
observed by these scientists
was that the habit
of washing sweet potatoes
then spontaneously
jumped
over the sea—

Colonies of monkeys
on other islands
and the mainland troop of
monkeys
at Takasakiyama
began washing
their sweet potatoes!

Thus,
when a certain critical
number
achieves an awareness,
this new awareness
may be communicated
from mind to mind.

Although the exact
number may vary,
the Hundredth Monkey
Phenomenon
means that when only
a limited number of people
know of a new way,
it may remain
the consciousness property
of these people.

But there is a point at
which
if only one more person
tunes-in to a new
awareness,
a field is strengthened
so that this awareness
reaches almost everyone!

Reprinted from *The Hundredth Monkey* by Ken Keyes. This is a deceptively simple little book that explores the roots of violence in our own consciousness. $2.00. Vision Books: St. Mary, KY 40063. For other fascinating details, see *Lifetide* by Lyall Watson, pp. 147-148. Bantam Books, 1980.

Preventing Nuclear War

Dr. Roger Fisher

Preventing Nuclear War?" "Boy, have *you* got a problem." That reaction a few minutes ago to the title of these remarks reminded me of an incident when during World War II, I was a B-17 weather reconnaissance officer. One fine day we were in Newfoundland test-flying a new engine that replaced one we had lost. Our pilot's rank was only that of flight officer because he had been court martialed so frequently for his wild activities; but he was highly skillful.

He took us up to about 14,000 feet and then, to give the new engine a rigorous test, he stopped the other three and feathered their propellers into the wind. It is rather impressive to see what a B-17 can do on one engine. But then, just for a lark, the pilot feathered the fourth propeller and turned off that fourth engine. With all four propellers stationary, we glided, somewhat like a stone, toward the rocks and forests of Newfoundland.

After a minute or so the pilot pushed the button to unfeather. Only then did he remember: In order to unfeather the propeller you had to have electric power, and in order to have electric power you had to have at least one engine going. As we were buckling on our parachutes, the co-pilot burst out laughing. Turning to the pilot he said, "Boy, have *you* got a problem!"

As with the crew of that B-17, we're all in this together. Professionals, whether lawyers like myself or doctors like you, tend to put the problem of preventing nuclear war on somebody else's agenda. But whoever is responsible for creating the danger, we're all on board one fragile spacecraft. The risk is high. What can we do to reduce it?

There are two kinds of reasons for the high risk: hardware reasons and people reasons. We—and the military—tend to focus on the hardware: nuclear explosives and the means for their delivery. We think about the terrible numbers of terrible weapons. We count them by the hundreds, by the thousands and by the tens of thousands. There are clearly too many. There are too many fingers on the trigger. There are too many hands through which weapons pass in Europe, in the United States and in the Soviet Union.

Yes, changes should be made in the hardware. I believe we should stop all nuclear weapons production; we should cut back on our stockpiles. But even if we should succeed in stopping production, and even if we should succeed in bringing about significant reductions, there will still be thousands of nuclear weapons. We keep our attention on the hardware. The military think it is the answer; we think it is the problem. In my judgment it is not the most serious problem.

The U.S. Air Force and the U.S. Navy both have enough weapons to blow each other up; and they have disagreements. There are serious disputes between the Air Force and the Navy: disputes that mean jobs, careers; disputes that are sometimes more serious in practical consequences than those between the United States and the Soviet Union. But the two services have learned to fight out their differences before the Senate Appropriations Committee, before the Secretary of Defense, in the White House and on the football field.

The case of the Navy and the Air Force demonstrates, in a crude way, that the problem is not just in the hardware; it is in our heads. It lies in the way we think about nuclear weapons. And if the problem lies in the way we think, then that's where the answer lies. In Pogo's immortal phrase, "We have met the enemy and they are us."

The danger of nuclear war is so great primarily because of the mental box we put ourselves in. We all have working assumptions that remain unexamined. It is these assumptions that make the world

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so dangerous. Let me suggest three sets of mistaken assumptions about: (1) our goals, that is, the ends we are trying to pursue; (2) the means for pursuing those ends; and (3) whose job it is to do what.

First, what are our goals? Internationally, we think we want to "win." We go back to primitive notions of victory. We look at a situation and we ask, "Who's winning?" But that is an area in which we must change our thinking. Internationally and domestically, we do not really want a system in which any one side—even our own—wins all the time. Yet this concept of "winning"—that there is such a thing and that it is our dominant objective—is one of our fundamental beliefs.

In fact, like a poker player, we have three kinds of objectives. One is to win the hand. Whatever it is we think we want, we want it now. We want victory. The second is to be in a good position for future hands. We want a reputation and chips on the table so that we can influence future events. In other words, we want power. Our third objective is not to have the table kicked over, the house burned down, or our opponent pull a gun. We want peace.

We want victory; we want power; we want peace. Exploding nuclear weapons will not help us achieve any one of them. We have to re-examine rigorously our working assumption that in a future war we would want to "win." What do we mean by "win?" What would our purpose be?

Last spring I gave the officers at the NATO Defense College in Rome a hypothetical war in Europe, and asked them to work out NATO's war aims. The "war" was presumed to have grown out of a general strike in East Germany, with Soviet and West German tanks fighting on both sides of the border. Deterrence had failed. I told the officers: "You are in charge of the hotline message to Moscow. What is the purpose of this war? What are you trying to do?" At first they thought they knew—win! Very simple. But what did that mean? What was the purpose of the war? They began to realize that NATO did not plan to conquer the Soviet Union acre by acre as the Allies had conquered Germany in World War II. They did not plan physically to impose their will on the Soviet Union. They were seeking a Soviet decision. That was the only way they could have a successful outcome.

With further thought they reached a second conclusion; they were not going to ask for unconditional surrender. That gave them a specific task: Just define the Soviet decision that would constitute success for NATO and that NATO could reasonably expect the Soviet Union to make. The officers worked through the day considering how the Russians probably saw their choice, how we wanted them to see it, and what kind of "victory" for us we could realistically expect the Soviet Union to agree to.

It turned out that the only plausible objective was to stop the war. "Winning" meant ending the war on acceptable terms. The goal was some kind of cease-fire, the sooner the better. It was with difficulty and even pain that some officers discovered that winning meant stopping, even if some Soviet troops remained in West Germany; even with only a promise to restore the *status quo ante*.

They found it hard to draft a fair cease-fire that didn't sound like a unilateral Western ultimatum. It might say, "Stop firing at 0100 hours tomorrow, promise to withdraw, promise to restore the status quo within 48 hours, and we will meet in Vienna to talk about serious problems as soon as the status quo is 'more or less' restored." But the NATO draftsmen did not know whether the Soviets would prefer Geneva to Vienna or whether they wanted 0200 hours instead of 0100 hours, etc.

We cannot make our end of the boat safer by making the Soviet end more likely to capsize. We cannot improve our security by making nuclear war more likely for them.

Someone creatively suggested, "Wouldn't it be a good idea if right now we worked out with the Russians some standby cease-fire terms? Then in a crisis we wouldn't have to be demanding that they accept our terms or they demanding that we accept theirs. Let's produce some cease-fire drafts that we can both accept." One of the other officers was incredulous: "What did you say? You are going to negotiate the armistice before the war begins? In that case, why have the war?"

The need to re-examine assumptions about our foreign policy objectives is also demonstrated by our self-centered definition of national security. Typically, political leaders and journalists alike suggest that the primary goal of foreign policy is national security, and only after that has been assured should we worry about our relations with the Soviet Union.

Such thinking assumes that we can be secure while the Sovet Union is insecure—that somehow we can be safe while the Soviet Union faces a high risk of nuclear war. But in any nuclear war between the

United States and the Soviet Union missiles will go both ways. There is no way we can make the world more dangerous for them without also making it more dangerous for ourselves. The less secure the Soviets feel, the more they will be doing about it, and the less secure we will become. Security is a joint problem.

We must make the Soviet Union share responsibility for our security problem. We should say, "Look, you Russians have to understand why we build these missiles and how it looks to us when you behave as you do. You must take some responsibility for helping us deal with our security problem." Similarly, we must take on responsibility for dealing with their security problem. We cannot make our end of the boat safer by making the Soviet end more likely to capsize. We cannot improve our security by making nuclear war more likely for them. We can't "win" security from nuclear war unless they win it too. Any contrary assumption is dangerous.

Here I may point out that we in the peace movement do not always practice what we preach. I am always ready to tell friends at the Pentagon that it does no good to call Soviet officals idiots, but am likey to add, "Don't you see that, you idiot?" We who are concerned with reducing the risks of war often think that our job is to "win" the war against the hawks. In advancing our interests we assume that our adversaries have none worth considering. But our task is not to win a battle. Instead, we have to find out what the other side's legitimate concerns are, and we have to help solve their legitimate problems in order to solve our own. At every level, domestically and internationally, we need to reexamine our working assumptions. We are not seeking to win a war, but to gain a peace.

A second set of dangerous assumptions are those we make about how to pursue our objectives. The basic mistaken assumption is that for every problem there is a military solution. We will first try diplomacy. We will talk about it; we will negotiate. But if that doesn't solve the problem we assume that we can always resort to force. We tend to assume that if we have the will and the courage, and are prepared to pay the price, then we can always solve the problem by military means. Wrong. For the world's big problems there is no military solution. Nuclear war is not a solution. It is worse than any problem it might "solve."

We have mislearned from the past. During World War II the Allies could physically impose a result on Hitler and his country. Acre by acre it was done. But the world has changed. We can no longer impose such a result on any nuclear power. We cannot physically make things happen. The only means we have available is to try to change someone's mind.

There is no way in which nuclear hardware can bring about a physical solution to any problem we face except the population problem. Just as you cannot make a marriage work by dynamite or make a town work by blowing it up, there is no way we can make the world work by using nuclear bombs. When people hear that they say, "Yes, that's true." Yet they go right ahead, operating on the assumption that there are military solutions.

Like Linus in the Charlie Brown comic strip, we cling to our security blanket, military hardware. Both U.S. and Soviet officials clutch their plutonium security blankets as though somehow they offer real security. Somehow, we think, this bomb, this hardware, will give us strength, will protect us. We will be able to avoid the necessity of dealing with the real world. Our assumption is that the problem is simple—it's us against them. We want to believe in a quick fix. It is like cowboys and Indians. Whatever the problem, John Wayne will arrive with his six-guns blazing, and the problem will be solved.

Those are our common assumptions about how to deal with international problems. We operate on them although most of us know they are not true. The fact that conventional weapons remain useful and that conventional wars, such as that between Iraq and Iran, continue, reinforces our mistaken assumptions about the use of nuclear weapons.

We have far better ways to deal with international problems. Break up big problems into manageable pieces. Look at each item on its merits. Sit down side-by-side and discuss it. Don't concentrate on what our adversaries say their positions are, but try to understand and deal with their interests. Communicate and listen. What's in their minds? What's bothering them? How would we feel?

If you were sitting in Moscow and looking off to the left saw Japan thinking of rearming; if you saw your long-time strongest ally, China, with a 2,000-mile common frontier, now your worst enemy; if you saw Pakistan apparently getting a nuclear bomb; if you heard Western voices saying, "We must help the rebels in Afghanistan"; if you saw American military equipment now in the Gulf, in Saudi Arabia, in Egypt and in Israel; if you saw Greece rejoining NATO and Turkey in the hands of a military government; and if cruise missiles were about to be located in West Germany—how must that all look from Moscow? We should put ourselves in their shoes and understand their problems. The only way we can succeed is to affect their future thinking. The starting point is to understand their present thinking.

Second, we have to invent wise solutions. We have to figure out not just good arguments, but good ways to reconcile our differing interests. And they must participate in that process. There is no way, in any conflict, in which one side can produce the right answer. The understanding that comes from both sides working on a problem, and the acceptability that comes from joint participation in a solution, make any good answer better. We need to engage in joint problem-solving.

The same process of working together is equally applicable to our domestic differences. The peace movement is not the only source of wisdom; we are part of the conflict. There are a lot of people in this country who have legitimate concerns about the Soviet Union. We must try to understand these concerns and meet them, not carry on a war. We need to put ourselves in their shoes—in Pentagon shoes. We have to listen as well as talk. With their participation, we will invent better solutions.

By this process we will promote joint learning, not just at the intellectual level but at the level of feeling, of emotion, of caring, the level of concern. International conflict is too often dealt with cerebrally, too often dealt with as a hypothetical problem out there. We need not only to apply what we know, but to keep on learning about human behavior, how to affect our own behavior and that of others, not just manipulate it.

The danger of nuclear war lies largely within us. It lies in how we think about winning, in how we define success, and in our illusions of being able to impose results.

The danger of nuclear war lies largely within us. It lies in how we think about winning, in how we define success, and in our illusions of being able to impose results.

The danger also comes from my third set of assumptions—about whose job it is to reduce the risk of war. If there were a military solution, there would be a case for leaving it to the military—to policy-science experts, and to professional strategists. Physicians, for example, have said: "We are just concerned with the medical aspects of nuclear war and will limit ourselves to that area. We will tell you how bad a nuclear war would be. It is somebody else's job to prevent it."

Such statements rest on the assumption that the solution is in th hardware department. But we are not facing a technical military problem "out there." The solution lies right here: in changing our own assumptions and those of other people; in growing up; in abandoning our plutonium security blanket.

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The Soviet Union and the United States cling to nuclear weapons as symbols of security; other national leaders want them. If someone is clinging to a plutonium blanket which is bad for his health, you do not call in an engineer and say, "Design a better plutonium blanket." The problem is in the heads of those who are clinging to it.

There is no one I know who has a professional license in the skills of reducing the risk of nuclear war. Fortunately, however, no professional license is required. But who are those with skills in dealing with psychological problems like denial, like distancing, like turning flesh and blood issues into abstract problems thorugh the use of jargon? Who is likey to notice that people are denying responsibility because a problem seems too overwhelming? Nuclear engineers? I think not.

A few minutes ago I left you in a B-17 over the hills of Newfoundland. The co-pilot was saying to the pilot: "Boy, do *you* have a problem." Well, we didn't crash; we weren't all killed. On that plane we had a buck sergeant who remembered that back behind the bomb bay we had a putt-putt generator for use in case we had to land at some emergency air field that did not have any electric power to start the engines. The sergeant found it. He fiddled with the carburetor; wrapped a rope around the flywheel a few times; pulled it and pulled it; got the generator going and before we were down to 3,000 feet we had electricity. The pilot restarted the engines, and we were all safe. Now saving that plane was not the sergeant's job in the sense that he created the risk. The danger we were in was not his fault or his responsibility. But it was his job in the sense that he had an opportunity to do something about it.

We professionals tend to define our roles narrowly. I sometimes ask my law students: "What would have been the responsibility of a professional musician judging Nero's performance on the fiddle while Rome burned? Should he limit himself to discussing the music?" A member of the lay public would probably get a bucket and put out the fire. By becoming professionals do we become less responsible? Can we say, "No, I'm a professional. I'm not a firefighter. That's someone else's job."?

Such special knowledge and training as we have may not make it obligatory for us to try to prevent nuclear war. Rather, it gives us an opportunity. My notion of whose job something is is best defined by who has an opportunity. We have an opportunity. I enocurage you, as I encourage myself, to use it. The world is at risk. The very danger of nuclear war means that there is more opportunity to make a difference than ever before.

If everyone with any significant power made the right decision every time, that's as near utopia as we can get. There are only three reasons they don't. One is that they are poor decision-makers. Our job is to change them; that is what politics is about. Second, they are operating on bad assumptions, thinking poorly. Our job is to correct their assumptions. And the third possibility is that they are subject to harmful constraints. Our job is to free them from those constraints.

In a simple chart I have put all problems on the left-hand side, divided into those three parts. Across the top are the activities in which we can engage: research on facts and theory; communication in terms of learning ourselves and teaching others; devising things to do (that is, turning a problem into a possible answer, inventing possible proposals or action ideas), getting a proposal onto somebody's agenda; advocating ideas; or doing something ourselves.

To get a wise decision we need good answers *in every box*. No amount of useful research will overcome poor deciders; no number of good deciders will overcome bad assumptions or harmful constraints. Somebody has to invent what's to be done. Somebody has to put it on the agenda. Somebody has to persuade others that it is a good idea and somebody has to do it. All those activities are needed for each category of problem. There is enough to keep all of us busy.

All of us can do any of those things. No single activity will be sufficient. We need theory on how to reduce instability. We need to develop knowledge about nuclear war, about the consequences and about ways to reduce the risks. We need to communicate that knowledge both to the public, who constrain our decision-makers, and to the people who are making the decisions. We need to communicate both the bad news and the opportunities for reducing it.

If all we do is deliver bad news and say that there's nothing we can do about it, the bad news does not become operational. We have to turn that news into something we can do.

My favorite activity is inventing. An early arms control proposal dealt with the problem of distancing

CHART OF USEFUL ACTIVITIES

PROBLEMS	ACTIVITIES					
	Research: facts, theory	Communicate: learn, teach	Devise things to do	Build an agenda	Advocate	Do it yourself
Poor deciders						
Poor thinking on ends on means						
Harmful constraints						

that the President would have in the circumstances of facing a decision about nuclear war. There is a young man, probably a Navy officer, who accompanies the President. This young man has a black attache case which contains the codes that are needed to fire nuclear weapons. I could see the President at a staff meeting considering nuclear war as an abstract question. He might conclude: "On SIOP Plan One, the decision is affirmative. Communicate the Alpha line XYZ." Such jargon holds what is involved at a distance.

My suggestion was quite simple: Put that needed code number in a little capsule, and then implant that capsule right next to the heart of a volunteer. The volunteer would carry with him a big, heavy butcher knife as he accompanied the President. If ever the President wanted to fire nuclear weapons, the only way he could do so would be for him first, with his own hands, to kill one human being. The President says, "George, I'm sorry but tens of millions must die." He has to look at someone and realize what death is—what an innocent death is. Blood on the White House carpet. It's reality brought home.

When I suggested this to friends in the Pentagon they said, "My God, that's terrible. Having to kill someone would distort the President's judgment. He might never push the button."

Whether or not that particular idea has any merit, there is lots to do. Action is required to convince the public that it is in our interest to have the Soviets feel secure rather than insecure. Much of the press apparently thinks that the more terrified the Soviets are the more we benefit. The Committee on the Present Danger (perhaps better called the Committee on Increasing the Present Danger) ignores the fact that if we raise the risk of nuclear war for the Soviet Union we also raise it for ourselves.

If you don't know what to do, that's great. That gives you something to do right there. Get some friends together on Saturday morning and generate some ideas. Separate this inventing process from the later process of deciding among them. Identify three or four other people who might make a decision of some significance. What can you do to increase the chance they'll make some desired decision next week? Whoever it is—journalists, congressmen, governors, legislators, newspaper editors, businessmen, a civic organization, a medical association, a friend of President Reagan's, a school teacher, a publisher—what are some things they might do that would illuminate our faulty working assumptions to help establish better ones? Figuring out what to do is itself an excellent activity. In intellectual efforts, as in gunnery, aiming is crucial.

Don't wait to be instructed. Take charge. This is not an organized campaign that someone else is going to run. If you share these concerns, get involved. There is a lot to do to reduce the risk of nuclear war. Reading, writing, talking, perhaps a radio program, or perhaps a letter-writing campaign to your congressman. Tell him, "Grow up. Give up your plutonium security blanket."

But perhaps you are still holding on to your own security blanket, that neat definition of your job. The security blanket most of us cling to is, "Don't blame me. It's not my job to plan nuclear strategy. I'm not responsible for the risk of nuclear war." You can give up that security blanket any time.

The way to enlist support is not to burden others with guilt but to provide them with an opportunity to volunteer. I find it an exciting venture. It is a glorious world outside. There are people to be loved and pleasures to share. We should not let details of past wars and the threat of the future take away the fun and the joy we can have working together on a challenging task. I see no reason to be gloomy about trying to save the world. There is more exhilaration, more challenge, more zest in tilting at windmills than in any routine job. Be involved, not just intellectually but emotionally. Here is a chance to work together with affection, with caring, with feeling. Feel some of your emotions. Don't be uptight. You don't have to be simply a doctor, a lawyer, or a merchant. We are human beings. Be human.

People have struggled all of their lives to clear ten acres of ground or simply to maintain themselves and their family. Look at the opportunity we have. Few people in history have been given such a chance—a chance to apply our convictions, our values, our highest moral goals with such competence as our professional skills may give us. A chance to work with others—to have the satisfaction that comes from playing a role, however small, in a constructive enterprise. It's not compulsory. So much the better. But what challenge could be greater? We have an opportunity to improve the chance of human survival.

In medicine there is a traditional call that strikes a nice balance between duty and opportunity, that invites us to lend a hand with all the skill and compassion we can muster: "Is there a doctor in the house?"

Preventing Nuclear War: Our Privilege and Responsibility

Dr. Helen Caldicott

We must reach out to the Russians, who are people like ourselves. I suggest that many Americans visit the Soviet Union as soon as possible, and that we encourage more visits from Soviet delegations. We must demystify the Soviet culture, and they must learn to understand ours. Cultural exchanges and scientific exchanges must increase, and trade between the superpowers must become the utmost priority. Russia for years has been begging to become a major trading partner. Let's do it. Let's move toward them as Richard Nixon once did with that long-hated enemy, Red China. Overnight, China became an ally and a major trading partner. If we did the same thing with Russia, it would cease to be an enemy and the weapons would become anachronistic. It is so simple, obvious, and easy. We must drop our ancient need for a tribal enemy and grow up and become responsible nations.

It is true that we have the secret of atomic energy locked in our brains forever. But this does not mean we can't alter our behavior. Once we practiced slavery, cannibalism, and dueling; as we became more civilized, we learned that these forms of behavior were antithetical to society, so we stopped. Similarly, we can easily stop making nuclear weapons, and we can also stop fighting and killing each other. We must move beyond war, because any small conventional war in the nuclear age could trigger a nuclear war. It was difficult initially to design and construct the weapons, but it would be very easy to dismantle them. It just needs a decision. Disposal of the plutonium will not be easy and safe, and permanent disposal may, indeed, be impossible.

Einstein said we must change the way we think. The answer lies, in fact, in the brilliant psychological teachings of Jesus. If we follow his admonitions and practice what he preached, it will be easy to make friends with Russia.

> *Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time,*
>
> *Thou shalt not kill; and whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of the judgement:*
>
> *But I say unto you,*
>
> *That everyone who is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgment.*
>
> *Therefore if you bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.*
>
> *Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.*

In other words, the anger is the instinct behind the kill. We must stop projecting our anger and dark side out onto others.

Here is another relevant quote:

> *Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?*
>
> *Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye; and, behold, a beam is in thine own eye?*
>
> *Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.*

This admonition is very relevant for the people of America. They must learn to understand their own past and present history before they can possibly start criticizing that of the Soviet Union.

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Ye have heard that it hath been said Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy.

But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you.

For if ye love them which love you, what thank have ye? for sinners also love those that love them. And if ye do good to them which do good to you, what thank have ye? for sinners also do even the same.

Ye shall be children of the Most High: For he is kind toward the unthankful and to the evil. He maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust.

Be ye therefore merciful as your Father also is merciful.

Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.

These admonitions are obviously directed in modern times toward the Americans to love the Russians. In other words, we have to learn to love our enemies.

The American Catholic Bishops have written a pastoral letter on nuclear weapons and nuclear war, and they used these teachings of Jesus as a moral foundation. I consider this document to be the single most profound statement ever to be made by the Catholic Church. Other churches and Jewish organizations have made similar statements about the total immorality of the preparation for and probability of nuclear war.

Many people are moving toward this ultimate solution. Journalist Walter Cronkite recently told me that for years he has been in favor of unilateral nuclear disarmament. He thinks that America should totally disarm within ten years and some of the money saved should be used to create satellites and communications systems to educate the people of the

Beyond War: A New Way of Thinking

> *"The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything save our modes of thinking and we thus drift toward unparalleled catastrophe."*
>
> **Albert Einstein, 1946**

Today we know what "unparalleled catastrophe" would mean for life on this planet. The Beyond War movement has evolved as a cooperative effort among a growing number of individuals and groups concerned with the threat of nuclear war. The world will not be free of this threat until nations have rejected war as an acceptable response to conflict. To create this fundamental shift requires an active, committed group of people with the vision and basic understanding needed to live without war at both the personal and global level.

To this end Beyond War has embarked on a massive educational program aimed at communicating four points:

- *Nuclear weapons have made all war obsolete. Therefore, we must resolve all conflicts without violence.*
- *We live on one planet with one interdependent, interrelated life support system. This implies maintaining a spirit of goodwill toward all people and not preoccupying ourselves with the enemy.*
- *The process of changing our mode of thinking begins with deciding to abandon war and to create strategies which allow all to win.*
- *There is a plan of action through which a world beyond war can become a reality.*

These points are presented and discussed in a variety of settings and formats. One of the most effective is a three-session "Orientation to a World Beyond War", which incorporates audio-visual material and motivates individuals to take positive action.

Research studies have shown that when 5% of a society accepts a new idea it is "embedded" in its population. As the idea spreads and reaches 20% of the population it is "unstoppable." The goal of the Beyond War effort in 1985 is to embed the new mode of thinking in the United States. Currently the effort is focused in 11 key states: California, Colorado, Georgia, Iowa, Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, Wisconsin, Washington and Oregon.

With the survival of all life at stake there is no more important educational effort to be undertaken at this time. It will require unprecedented commitment and cooperation . The individual is the key because without individual change, societal change will not occur.

For information about how to become involved and/or for educational materials, see "Where to Go from Here."

world about how to live in peace. The money could also be used for food programs, and to help the industrial conversion process from weapons to peace. He said that he favors passive resistance—that if tens of thousands of people just sat down in front of Russian tanks, what could they do? He said we should make the arms negotiators sit at the table, and stop the clock and lock the door until they achieve appropriate arms reductions.

It is time for people to rise to their full moral and spiritual height, to take the world on their shoulders like Atlas, forgetting all other priorities in their lives and to say *I* will save the earth. Each person can be as powerful as the most powerful person who ever lived. I have achieved a lot in a foreign country. I am an Australian and a woman, but neither of these factors has been an impediment. Think how much Americans could achieve by using and working through the democracy they have inherited from their forebears. All it takes is willpower and determination.

This quest is a spiritual adventure. It is time for mankind (men and women) to achieve spiritual fulfillment. Each person has a huge amount to offer. Each has a special creativity and potential that can be used—doctors, lawyers, merchants, artists, mothers, women, an endless variety. However, it is imperative that the ego be controlled. Ego needs are enormous and can be extremely destructive when working with others. I have learned in this work that if my ego becomes dominant and I engage in negative thoughts, things always go wrong. If I meditate or pray and decide simply to do what is right—not because it *feels* right but because it *is* right—and I drop my own egocentric needs, things always fall into place in the most amazing way. This takes willpower, but such action is enormously rewarding. As we work with others, we must remember only one thing and that is our final common goal, elimination of nuclear weapons. We don't need our egos fulfilled; we need only to fulfill our destiny on the planet in the twentieth century—to save the world. We must learn to reinforce and support one another. True happiness lies in helping one another. We are all the sons and daughters of God, and under the universal horror of the nuclear Sword of Damocles, we will be united to work together in mutual respect and peace.

No other generation has inherited this enormous responsibility and the privilege of saving all past and all future generations, all animals and all plants. Think of the enormous variety of delicate butterflies; think of the gorgeous birds of the earth, of the endless designs of fish in the sea; think of the beautiful and exotic flowers with their gorgeous and seductive perfumes; think of the proud lions and tigers and of the wondrous prehistoric elephants and hippopotamuses; think of what we are about to destroy.

Rapid nuclear disarmament is the ultimate issue of preventive medicine.

It is the ultimate parenting issue.

It is the ultimate Republican and ultimate Democratic issue.

It is the ultimate patriotic issue.

Above all, it is the ultimate religious issue.

We are the curators of life on earth; we hold it in the palms of our hands. Can we evolve spiritually and emotionally in time to control the overwhelming evil that our advanced and rational intellect has created? We will know the answer to this question in our lifetime. This generation will die having discovered the answer.

> *"The right man sitting in his house and thinking the right thought will be heard a hundred miles distant."*
>
> *—Chinese saying*

What Can I Do?

Thursday Night Group

The threat of nuclear war is the most critical issue of our time. If an exchange of weapons occurs, meaningful life on earth would probably end. Each of us has the responsibility to help eliminate this threat even though the issue seems so overwhelming and complex. Many people who are concerned about it do not know how to put their concerns into positive action. The purpose of this Guide is to help you get started.

Decide that you will help

1. Recognize that one person can made a difference. The problem is so large, everyone has the opportunity to help find solutions.
2. Recognize that the way to make a difference is through action. By taking meaningful action you will feel better, meet others who are making a difference, and take a positive role in shaping the future.
3. Recognize that this issue can raise strong feelings in each of us and that it is important to work with others. Joining with others not only increases our strength, but the strength of the group as well.

Get to know the issue

1. Learn about the nuclear issue by reading, attending meetings and lectures, and watching films and videotapes.
2. Listen to how others think and feel about the nuclear issue. Understand why they believe as they do. Tell them how you feel and why. Talk with those with whom you live, work, and play (even people with you in check-out lines).

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Join with other concerned people

1. Find others working in groups or individually who share your views and work with them. If there isn't a group in your area, start one. Contribute as much time, energy, and money as you reasonably can.
2. The Thursday Night Group can help you arrange a nuclear information program for your friends, co-workers, school, club, or religious organization. To arrange a program, call Sue Miller at (213) 472-1194. (*Ed. note: Outside the Los Angeles area, check the Directory of Groups. Call and ask even if a speakers' bureau is not specifically mentioned.)*

Let people know your views

1. Write or telephone your elected officials.
2. Write or telephone your newspapers, television and radio stations, school boards, religious groups, service organizations.
3. Keep your family and friends informed about your concerns.

Bring the issue into your life

1. Be informed and vote for candidates who support your views on nuclear issues.
2. Find out if those you work for and buy from support your views so you can make conscious choices.
3. If you own stock, attend shareholder meetings and raise issues.
4. Attend rallies and events which direct attention to your position.
5. Be creative. Look within yourself for ideas. Find things that are easy and comfortable for you to do. If you need help, write or telephone The Thursday Night Group.

How to Influence Congress to Reverse the Nuclear Arms Race

An Organizing Guide for Activists

Dr. Matania Ginosar

Personal Story: My first clear understanding of the devastating power of nuclear war was during my Masters studies at UCLA 20 years ago as a manager in the military-industrial complex. However, I did not come to grips with this awesome danger until late 1981 when I became concerned about the Administration's escalation of the nuclear arms race. I proceeded to study this problem in depth, and came to the conclusion that the possible elimination of all humankind is much more important than my career, advancement, high standard of living or any other issue. I could not escape from the reality that all our typical life goals are meaningless if we don't drastically reduce the possible destruction of life on earth. After five months of soul searching and out of my desire for the survival of my five children, I resigned my position as a senior scientist (reducing my income four to one) to work full time against nuclear war.

Searching for the most practical and effective ways to help reverse the nuclear arms race and using my training and experience in system engineering and management, I came to the conclusion that the only effective way to reverse this race is to create massive citizens' pressure on selected Congresspersons. I then proceeded to develop this pressure in a number of congressional districts in California. This manual is based on my own and co-workers experience of adding 5,000 people to nuclear arms alert networks and influencing 20,000 people to pressure their Congresspersons via our flier *You Can Stop Nuclear War in 15 Minutes a Week.*

My hope in writing this booklet is that the enclosed information will motivate you to be a dedicated activist working to generate massive grassroots pressure on your Congresspersons. Your contribution to the survival of humankind will then be important and satisfying.

Thank you for your dedication.

Matania

Do you feel frustrated about the escalating nuclear arms race?

Do you feel we should do something soon, that we must not let it continue, it's too dangerous?

Do you know that the $100 million per day Congress gives the nuclear weapon industry is the only means available to continue this race?

Do you know that to stop these funds we must pressure individual Congresspersons to vote against the Administration's budget requests?

If you do and want to do your part to stop this dangerous path, then this guide is for you!

A National Plan to Influence Congress

It is clear that the Administration is determined to continue to accelerate the nuclear arms race to the detriment of the human race. Their arms control talks are misleading, they are deploying the MX and the Pershing II missiles and their plans call for allocating $450 Billion for nuclear war over the next six years. Therefore, the only way to stop the current flow of $100 Million per day for nuclear weapons is through Congress. Congress can control the purse strings, if it has the courage and is pressured to do so. The Senate is not a vehicle for action at this time, since over half its members are Republicans who support the Administration's militant nuclear

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Recognizing the criticality of the struggle against nuclear war, DR. MATANIA GINOSAR resigned in early 1982 from his position as a senior environmental scientist to work full time (using his own life savings) to help reduce the likelihood of nuclear war. He is now Chair, Nuclear Disarmament Task Force and a member of the ND Coalition of Sacramento. His main emphasis is on developing massive and effective grassroots pressure on select congresspersons to reverse the nuclear arms race. He is training leaders of various groups in developing more effective grassroots pressure by their organizations.

policies. The only avenue, therefore, is the House of Representatives. It has many members who are opposed to nuclear weapons, but are reluctant to take the perceived political risk in voting against funding for these weapons. For example, in the aftermath of the public support of the Nuclear Freeze, in November 1982, the House voted overwhelmingly against the MX missile. However, as the Administration started to generate strong pressure, many "middle-of-the-road" Democratic Congresspersons switched and voted for the MX. Tragically, we lost all the MX votes during 1983 because many Congresspersons did not sense a strong public concern about this weapon to counteract the Administration's orchestrated pressure.

What can we do to reverse the actual support the Administration is continuously receiving from the heavily controlled Democratic House on the nuclear arms escalation? There is only one effective way: generate massive public pressure on selected House members through letters and phone calls before every critical vote. We must use to our advantage the key motivating force behind most Congresspersons' actions: the strong desire to be re-elected. They face re-election every two years and this pressure is continuously on their minds. They seek constituents' support. If they perceive that their Congressional District (CD) is strongly in favor of nuclear disarmament (ND) they *will* eliminate funding for additional nuclear weapons, such as the Pershing II.

Concentrate on swing congresspersons

Let me share with you briefly what we can do nationally and how it was done successfully in many CDs around the country. We start by selecting Representatives that are likely to be influenced. Out of the 434 House members, about 100 are dedicated to ND and have sufficient local support to vote consistently against the Administration's program. About 180 consistently support nuclear escalation. The remaining (about 155) may be influenced by massive grassroots pressure in their CD. On a national level we need to concentrate on these 155 "swing" Congresspersons and gain consistent votes for ND from at least 130 to get a comfortable majority in the House. (House-Senate disagreements must be settled before bills go to the President for signature. Generally, the larger the majority in the House the more likely is the House vote to prevail in the final House-Senate conference.)

Build up large membership in nuclear alert networks

To obtain this majority, we need to build up memberships in the 155 swing CDs in national mail-alert networks, such as SANE and Common Cause, in addition to building up effective local phone networks. (Few people pressure their Congresspersons unless alerted to do so each time.) We need to generate at least 1,000 letters and phone calls per CD to make a significant impact on a swing Congressperson. Since usually about half the people do not act on a typical alert, we need at least 2,000 members on local and national networks per CD. (This number may seem large, but it is only about 2% of the number who voted for the Freeze in a typical CD in California in November '82.) To get 2,000 members we recruit people by personal contacts and from peace groups and alert them by mail (or locally by phone) to write and phone their Congressperson six to eight times a year. That is all they have to do. However, if enough people do it, the total influence on a Congressperson is very significant. This is possible because only very few people write their Representatives and each letter typically represents the views of 200 to 300 people. Once briefed on the importance and ease of pressuring their Congressperson, most people join these non-fee, no-membership, mail-alert networks quite easily. They realize the fact that their combined effort is more likely to influence a Congressperson and reduce the nuclear arms race than any other single action they can take.

We can rapidly increase our influence on Congress on a national scale by utilizing the in-house strength we already have. There are now several hundred thousand members of national nuclear disarmament and peace organizations. However, this potentially significant political power is being wasted. Only a small fraction of these members are now on nuclear alert networks and exert influence on their Congresspersons. We can increase our impact on Congress by several times if these national organizations will put all their members on existing mail-alert networks, and specifically educate and motivate their members to be active in this simple and undemanding but critical activity.

Pressure is required with any administration

Even if the present Administration will be defeated in the 1984 election (and this is by no means very likely) it is critical to continue to build pressure on swing Congresspersons. Without wide citizens' pressure, they will continue to follow the well established, "safe" path of continuing the nuclear arms race as Congress has been doing now for the last 35 years, under both Democratic and Republican Administrations. Remember, Congress is the instrument of the people. If we don't guide it with strength, the Military-Industrial-Administration forces will continue to lead us towards a nuclear war!

"There is no question that people in Congress are impressed with a great volume of mail." (Senator Bob Packwood, R, Oregon). "When people write, Congress listens." (Warren Cassidy, Chief Lobbyist for the National Rifle Association, known to be "one of the most skilled practitioners of the art of lobby-

You can stop nuclear war In 15 minutes a week

Your Congress controls the funds for nuclear weapons. Only Congress can stop the nuclear arms race. Communicating your beliefs to your Congressperson is the most effective and easiest way you can stop the nuclear arms race.

Actions are effective. Wishful thinking isn't.

You can be the voice of 900 people!

Few people communicate with their Congresspersons. Your voice is important.

Send a letter to Washington, make a local phone call and ask five friends to do so. All together you and the team are equal to 900 people.

- A phone call represents the view of 50.
- A letter represents 100.
- A phone call and a letter, 150.
- A telegram, 250.

It only takes 5 minutes to write a short, effective letter.

- Keep your nuclear arms action file in one place.
- Address and stamp several envelopes at one time.
- When you're asked to write, do it immediately. If you delay, you'll forget or be too late.
- Write your two Senators and your Representative. Others will ignore your letters.
- Write your Senators every week or two and before each nuclear disarmament vote.
- Write your Representative each month and before each vote.
- Keep writing. Your views will be tabulated and you'll receive a form letter in response.
- Ask to be put on the mailing list for the legislator's newsletter and answer questionnaires you will receive that address nuclear issues. Include your comments.

How to write

1. Spell names correctly. Type or write legibly.
2. Keep it short and simple.
3. Do not mail preprinted letters. Use your own words and thoughts.
4. Write on current pending legislation. Cover only one issue. Where possible include the bill number or title of legislation.
5. Don't threaten. Be polite. If possible, acknowledge a vote or courageous stand and encourage continued leadership.
6. Be specific about what you want your representatives to do.
7. Give brief reasons for your position.
8. Ask your legislator a direct question about his or her position.
9. Write as an individual, not as a member of an organization.
10. A clear handwritten letter is good. Any letter is better than no letter, but postcards are less effective.

When to write

- Two weeks to four days before a vote, send a letter *and* call locally.
- Two to four days before, make a local phone call or send a telegram.
- In the last two days before a vote, call Washington or send a telegram.

Where to write/phone

The Hon.
United States Senate
Washington, DC, 20510
(202) 224-3121

The Hon.
House of Representatives
Washington, DC, 20515
(202) 224-3121

You may also write short letters to the editor of your local newspaper, to be published two weeks before a crucial vote.

What to write

The following is a sample letter to a representative. Use your own words.

Jan. 1, 1985

The Hon. Robert Smith
House of Representatives
Washington, DC, 20515
Dear Representative Smith:

I urge you to vote against the (xxx) system. I believe it is a dangerous nuclear weapon, threatens our safety and increases the likelihood of nuclear war.

How do you plan to vote on this issue?

Sincerely,
John Doe
123 Main Street
Anytown, CA
95852

For a leaflet with this information, suitable for posting or giving to a friend, send a self-addressed, stamped envelope to Matania Ginosar (see "Where to Go from Here").

ing") "It's a basic political rule: No Congressman wants to write back thousands of constituents saying that he doesn't agree with them." (Rep. James Shanon, D, Massachusetts).

From: "What's New in Lobbying, Mail that Speaks Louder than Words," David Shribman, *New York Times*, 6/5/83.

We must effectively aim for results because reversing the nuclear arms race is time-critical, our resources are limited and the opposition is well organized, powerful and determined to get its way. It is important to remember that we want our Congresspersons to vote according to our beliefs. Therefore, our actions must be geared to create the desired impact on them. We should refrain, as much as possible, from activities that may be exciting but do not directly pressure individual Congresspersons to stop budgeting money for the nuclear weapons build-up. Unfocused and unnecessary effort is one of the biggest obstacles to our success. The others are lack of clear, effective planning and lack of determined and persistent execution.

How Nuclear-Alert Networks Operate

There are basically three types of alert networks: national mail-alert, national phone-alert and local phone-alert. Each has advantages and limitations.

National mail-alert

The main advantages to this network are the ease of recruiting a large number of members and alerting them automatically by mail with minimal organization effort. Direct communication is provided by this network between those monitoring Congress and concerned citizens ready for action. A brief mail alert is sent to each network member when a pertinent bill is pending in Congress (typically eight times per year). The alert explains the bill and attempts to motivate the network member to write her Congressperson. (Network members will be assumed here to be women since most are.) However, the disadvantages are that alert letters do not too successfully motivate people to act (therefore, only about half the people write/phone). Also, there is typically a built-in delay of four to ten days between when the alert letter is written and when it is received. (This delay is overcome by early mailing.)

Currently the most effective national mail-alert network is the Rapid Response Network of SANE. This network requires no fees or membership in the organization to be a network member; most other organizations do.

The main advantages of the national phone-alert network are its quick response to changing Congressional developments and, due to the personal nature of the contact, it is more effective in motivating people to act. Its main disadvantages are the slow build-up of membership, the difficulty in attracting reliable volunteers to operate the local branches of the network in addition to the continuous need to replace inactive phone callers. National and local memberships of phone-alert networks are likely to be noticeably smaller than mail-alert networks and require especially dedicated activists to operate the network. These are important drawbacks to the operation of very large and effective national networks.

Local phone-alert

Local phone-alert networks are usually set up by locally independent groups or chapters of national organizations. These local networks are usually smaller than the organization's full local membership, because only a fraction of the membership is willing to be actively involved. Extensive experience has demonstrated that several small networks (under 50 members) are more likely to continue to operate effectively than one large unit. Another common problem is the breakdown of some portion of the network during alerts. Systematic checks are required to minimize these breakdowns. Phone networks continuously lose callers because people burn out or the networks are infrequently used. Therefore, they require capable and active leadership to maintain them in effective order which is difficult to accomplish, especially on a long term basis.

How To Organize Large Networks in Your Community

Needed, 2,000 people per CD

Research indicates that to strongly and effectively pressure an uncommitted House member on this issue, he or she should receive no fewer than 800 to 1,000 letters and calls, a week or two before the vote. (The majority should be letters, for more impact.) It is very difficult, probably impossible, to significantly influence Representatives who consistently vote against ND. Do not waste your efforts on them. Concentrate only on Congresspersons who are likely to be influenced to vote for your views. They are called "swing" Congresspersons. You can recognize them by their mixed voting patterns, both for and against nuclear-weapons related bills. Obtain their voting records from:

Coalition
120 Maryland Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 546-8400

Friends Committee on National Legislation
245 2nd St. NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 547-6000
(Send $1)

If your House member is not a swing, help organizing efforts in an adjacent CD with a swing Congressperson. If it is not practical, raise significant funds in your CD for this effort.

To generate 1,000 letters and calls, 2,000 people per CD need to be alerted by various local and national networks. Usually one half of the people write. (The rest either cannot be reached in time, or won't write despite promising to do so.) Because a large percentage of people do not like to write often, it is important to ask them to write only when important Congressional votes are pending. Preferably they should not be contacted more often than every three or four weeks. If asked too often, they will ignore the results.

Sources of grassroots pressure

The following sources of grassroots pressure are available in your community: the general public, ND/Peace groups and members of national mail and phone alert networks. Unorganized people usually send about 50 to 100 letters/calls per CD. Most local ND groups spend little effort to educate or alert their own members to create citizens' pressure. Here you can help. Educate the leaders of these groups to create their own phone networks, get their members on mail-alert networks and *phone*-alert all their members to write when required. (It is best to influence a group through a few people among the leadership who agree with you.) As a minimum, put the leadership on a mail-alert network and phone each leader to alert the membership when national alerts arrive. Your main emphasis, however, should be on generating large local membership in mail-alert networks.

Effective Techniques for Organizing Large Networks

Impacting your Congressperson will occur faster if you spend more hours recruiting network members. However, since volunteers usually have other obligations and do not put many hours into this type of effort, the best approach is to hire a full-time organizer per CD to rapidly build up network membership. A full-time organizer, with help from volunteers, will require typically 6 months, working from home, to achieve our goal. (50 hrs/wk. at the cost of $800 to $1,000/mo.) *I strongly recommend this approach,* if at all possible. It is not too difficult to raise $40 per month from 25 people per CD for a six month period.

If this is too costly for your community, hire a part-time organizer for a 9 month period (25 hrs/wk; $400 to $550/mo.) and provide him/her significant support from volunteers. If this money is also too difficult to obtain quickly, organize several active, committed volunteers in your CD to build up network membership as fast as possible. If you hire an organizer, look for an energetic self-starter, dedicated, alert and a good communicator with some previously successful relevant experience. Work closely with him/her. There are many capable people today willing to take a break from their careers to make a significant contribution to the nuclear disarmament effort. The problem is finding them and funding them.

Experience demonstrates that the organizer must work exclusively on building up membership in alert networks and on *nothing else.* Raising money and all other activities *must* be directed and performed by volunteers or this organizing effort will be doomed to failure.

> *"I like to believe that people in the long run are going to do more to promote peace than our governments. Indeed, I think that people want peace so much that one of these days governments had better get out of the way and let them have it."*
> *—Dwight D. Eisenhower*

The trend in government lately has been toward decentralization and more autonomy at state and local levels. This trend fits perfectly with the Nuclear Free Zone movement, which is based on local—even personal—decision.

For many people, there is something satisfying about declaring one's home, business or city off limits to nuclear weapons and everything that comes with them, including nuclear war. This is exactly what a Nuclear Free Zone declaration does.

There is a special Religious Nuclear Free Zone movement among churches, temples and other religious bodies, who have found that the discussion and declaration of a Nuclear Free Zone can be a very appropriate and powerful thing to do.

The movement is growing very rapidly all around the world. Here are several snapshots of it. Most of the information in this section is from Nuclear Free America. For their address and others, see "Where to Go from Here."

A Nuclear Free World Begins at Home

Nuclear Free America

In the declaration of Nuclear Free Zones, citizens and communities proclaim their unconditional opposition to the nuclear arms race by banning not only nuclear weapons from their midst but also any facility, equipment or supply associated with them. This is the essence of being nuclear-free. Some communities may go further and also renounce the right to be "defended" by the use or threatened use of nuclear weapons.

Nuclear Free Zones represent a next step beyond the Freeze. They lift the struggle for nuclear disarmament from the realm of political demands into the realm of practical actions—an opportunity not just to influence the nuclear policies of governments but to *make* those policies. Nuclear Free Zones build on the powerful grassroots experience and political base established by the Freeze campaign. At the same time, they begin to fill the gap between the public's call for a Freeze and the continued acceleration of the nuclear arms race at the expense of human needs.

The value of Nuclear Free Zones is that their proliferation at many levels—from individual declarations to those of cities, states and nations—promotes a climate in which true alternatives to the nuclear arms race become possible. Such declarations are not merely symbolic, they are *very* symbolic, as are the Flag, the Cross and the Star of David. Above all, Nuclear Free Zones speak directly to the greater goal—a Nuclear Free World.

On May 3, 1982, the citizens of Garrett Park, Maryland, voted overwhelmingly to declare their community a Nuclear Free Zone—the first in America. A month later, Sykesville, Maryland, became the second, and in November, Ashland, Oregon (pop. 15,000), became the third. A wide variety of Nuclear Free Zone campaigns are now under way around the country.

Nuclear Free Zones have proliferated in England, Europe, Australia, New Zealand and Japan. All of Wales is Nuclear Free and there are broad-based popular campaigns toward the same end in Canada and the Pacific Islands. Nuclear Free Zones are thus an important global link. They bring diverse national peace movements closer together and, through "twinning" with cities in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, can link East and West.

Garrett Park, MD
America's First Nuclear Free Zone

The people of this Town hereby declare the Town of Garrett Park to be a Nuclear Free Zone. No nuclear weapon shall be produced, transported, stored, processed, disposed of, or used within Garrett Park. No facility, equipment, supply or substance for the production, transportation, storage, processing, disposal or use of nuclear weapons shall be allowed in Garrett Park.

Ordinance passed 245 to 46
May 3, 1982

Mr. President, we spend a great deal of time in this Chamber talking about the threat of nuclear war, but I am proud today that the citizens of Garrett Park, a town in nearby Maryland, are doing something about it. I hail the citizens of Garrett Park in pioneering an effort to change our modes of thinking. As Victor Hugo said: "No army can withstand the strength of an idea whose time has come."

Senator Charles Mathias, (R, MD)

Nuclear Free Zones have existed for years at the international level: in South America (the Treaty of Tlatelolco, 1967), the Antarctic (1959), Outer Space (1967) and the Seabed (1971). Treaties under consideration include a Nordic NFZ, Balkan NFZ, Mid-East NFZ, African NFZ and South East Asian NFZ. The negotiated status of these Nuclear Free Zones and the non-nuclear powers' continued interest in them strengthen the credibility of grassroots declarations and testify to their legitimacy. Similarly, local campaigns provide an important stimulus for further initiatives at the international level.

There are as many legitimate approaches to Nuclear Free Zones as there are manifestations of the nuclear arms race.

A Nuclear Free Zone may be:

- Tailored to local issues and priorities—as broad or specific as desired
- Achieved through petition, referendum, Town Meeting or negotiation
- Formalized by resolution, legally binding ordinance or charter amendment
- "Twinned" with Nuclear Free Zones in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union
- Linked with the Freeze campaign, Jobs with Peace, military-industrial conversion projects, Nuclear Free Investments, or anti-civil defense efforts

In whatever form, the declaration of a Nuclear Free Zone is an act not of politicians but of humanity. It is less a declaration of unilateral disarmament than an act of personal and social responsibility, a rejection of the nuclear arms race. Therein lies its strength. If your community is already nuclear-free, declaring it a Nuclear Free Zone will help keep it that way. If it is not, the declaration is a powerful challenge to the nuclear-weapons establishment. Either way, it cannot be ignored. No less than the rejection of slavery by the free states of the past, the declaration of Nuclear Free Zones will shake the conscience of Washington.

NUCLEAR FREE ZONE: Any well-defined geographical area, regardless of size, in which no nuclear weapons shall be produced, transported, stored, processed, disposed of or detonated. Neither shall any facility, equipment, supply or substance for their production, transportation, storage, processing, disposal or detonation be permitted within its borders.

Tell the World

If you declare a Nuclear Free Zone, let people know. Besides the President and your Representative and Senators, you can tell members of your city and state governments. Nuclear Free America keeps a running total of NFZs (see "Where to Go from Here" for address), and would love to hear from you. In addition, the following nations possess nuclear weapons (or "peaceful nuclear devices"). Your action deserves their attention, and you can request to be taken off any target lists.

Office of the Ambassador
Embassy of the USSR
1125 16th Street NW
Washington, DC 20036

Office of the Ambassador
Embassy of the United Kingdom
3100 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20008

Office of the Ambassador
Embassy of France
2535 Belmond Road NW
Washington, DC 20008

Office of the Ambassador
People's Republic of China
2300 Connecticut Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20008

Office of the Ambassador
Republic of India
2107 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20008

Nuclear Free Zones

Albert Donnay

Albert Donnay, founder of Nuclear Free America, recently visited Chico, California, as part of his nuclear-free-zone west coast tour. He addressed the City of Chico Planning Commission, joining other concerned citizens in airing their views on the proposed Chico nuclear-free-zone ordinance. The Planning Commission eventually endorsed the proposal and sent it on to the City Council. Donnay also met with Chico Mayor Karl Ory and other council members, Chico City Attorney Robert Boehm, and Scott Murphy, the man who drafted the Chico nuclear-free-zone ordinance.

In this interview, conducted after Donnay's meeting with Boehm, Albert Donnay speaks candidly about the nuclear-free-zone movement and explains the philosophy of his organization—think globally, act locally.

What gave you the idea for nuclear free zones?

Donnay: It was the local issues, the backyard issues, that galvanized public opinion and forced communities to assess the impact of the arms race in their hometowns. That, more than anything else, was what stirred people to action. I realized that. In Europe the nuclear free zone movement is way ahead of the U.S. Here the MX Missile and the Pershing and Cruise deployment in Europe doesn't mean anything to most people, but when it's our town evacuating to some other town or our town being a host community, and when it's radioactive fallout contaminating our children's schools, people get very, very involved. They can see the connection. Nuclear free zones point out this connection.

How does your organization operate?

Donnay: We are located in Baltimore. We are not a chapter or affiliated organization. There are lots of groups we work with. We serve as a clearinghouse and resource center. We also publish *The Abolitionist*, a monthly newsletter of the nuclear free zone movement. We coordinate a legal advisory committee that helps local campaigns with the wording and defense of their ordinances. That legal advisory committee will be working with Chico City Attorney Bob Boehm in presenting the arguments in favor of nuclear free zones.

The Chico group is a Nuclear Free America success story. Scott Murphy of the Chico Peace Center notified us and asked for help. We sent him our packet, which includes the basic information for organizing a nuclear free zone. This includes a pamphlet entitled *If Not Now, When, If Not Us, Who?*, notes on the history of the nuclear free zone movement, legal notes and organizing information.

What did you and City Attorney Boehm talk about?

Donnay: We talked about the wording of the ordinance and how it could be improved. We talked about his role as city attorney—how he was going to review and assess the ordinance and what he wanted from us.

He wanted some case law evidence that cities had the authority to regulate federal contractors. We both agreed that it is not possible to regulate federal agencies in a city ordinance. You couldn't, for instance, shut down a local military base. It is, however, possible to regulate contractors within a zoning ordinance. He doesn't think so though, so that's a very important issue.

There are also issues involving federal preemption of 1st Amendment rights, the power of Congress to provide for the common defense—they're all open

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ALBERT DONNAY is the founder and executive director of Nuclear Free America, the national clearinghouse and resource center for nuclear-free zones. He has been involved in the nuclear-free-zone movement since May 1982, when he initiated the successful nuclear-free-zone campaign in Sykesville, MD. Donnay was an active member of the Greenpeace Foundation in the 1970s and a founding member of the Baltimore Chapter of Physicians for Social Responsibility. As chair of PSR, he led the campaign that resulted in the state of Maryland becoming the first state to reject federal funds for crisis relocation planning.

Donnay holds a Master's degree in environmental health engineering from the John Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health. He has worked professionally as a consultant in the field of hazardous radioactive waste disposal.

This interview was conducted by Larry Levin, a freelance writer, and was published in the *Chico Times* November 21, 1983. Larry Levin, 229 W. 5th Avenue, Apt. C, Chico, CA 95926, (916) 894-2581.

issues. None of this has been decided by any court. It is well within Boehm's rights and responsibilities to make an opinion. I just hope that opinion will not deter the City Council from pursuing a free zone.

Slavery used to be legal. The initiatives of societies, communities and states to confront those slave laws, especially the runaway slave laws, were illegal. That didn't stop them, however. There's been a long tradition of civil disobedience in this country, going back to the Boston Tea Party. Laws that are unjust need not be obeyed. There are higher laws. In this case, international treaties that the U.S. has signed.

I talked to Mr. Boehm about whether or not he would be able to consider international law. He deferred, saying he didn't have the expertise but that

Takoma Park, MD: A City with No Money in Nuclear Weapons

Takoma Park, Maryland (pop. 16,231), became America's 36th Nuclear Free Zone by unanimous vote of the city council on December 12, 1983. It is also the first city in this country and probably the world to declare that it will do no business with nuclear weapons manufacturers.

The Takoma Park Nuclear Free Zone ordinance bars the city from investing in or doing business with companies involved in the nuclear weapons industry, as well as prohibiting the production, transportation, storage, processing, disposal, or use of nuclear weapons within the city limits. Another novel provision of the legislation directs the city to identify a "sibling city for nuclear sanity" in the Soviet Union.

Takoma Park's ordinance was vigorously denounced by conservative groups around Washington, who complained about the media coverage as much as about the ordinance itself. (In addition to national TV, radio, and press in this country, the story was carried by Soviet National Television, which sent a correspondent to interview the mayor and council!) David Hartin, speaking for the Maryland Conservative Union, said that "They're sending the wrong message to the Soviet Union. . . . Those people are what we call 'well-meaning but woolly-minded.' They're being used."

The Takoma Park campaign took almost eight months. The actual legislation was introduced in council the day after "The Day After" was shown on television. It was the first order of business at the newly elected council's first meeting, which fell, appropriately enough, on the city's centennial anniversary. "This ordinance represents a positive . . . response to the challenge 'The Day After' confronts us with—a challenge to imagine and to work for some alternative to our current nuclear stalemate," remarked Councilman Carl Iddings, one of the sponsors of the initiative. "As a first step towards 'preserving our future' we offer this ordinance. Since our work as a Council aims at improving the communal life of our City, it is only fitting that our first act as a Council be one of ensuring that we have a future to improve."

For more information on the Takoma Park campaign, contact Susan Abbott, Nuclear Freeze Task Force, 7416 Holly Ave., Takoma Park, MD 20912. (The task force videotaped the entire public hearing at which the ordinance was adopted and is now producing an edited version to share with other municipalities.)

Takoma Park Nuclear Free Zone Act (Excerpt)

SECTION 5. *Investment of City Funds*: The City Administrator in conjunction with the Nuclear Freeze Task Force and other interested citizen organizations shall propose a socially responsible investment policy and implementation plan, specifically addressing any investments the City may have or may plan to have in industries and institutions which are knowingly and intentionally engaged in the production of nuclear weapons or their components, and shall submit said proposal to the Mayor and Council for their consideration and implementation.

SECTION 6. *Eligibility for City Contracts*: The City of Takoma Park shall grant no awards or contracts for any purpose to any person, firm, corporation or entity which is knowingly or intentionally engaged in the development, research, testing, evaluation, production, maintenance, storage, transportation, and/or disposal of nuclear weapons or their components. It will be the responsibility of any recipient of a city contract or award to certify by a notarized statement to the city clerk that it is not knowingly or intentionally engaged in the above-defined activity. Notice of this certification shall be included in all "Requests for Proposals" issued by the City.

he would consider it if the City Council was willing to provide an attorney familiar with this area. I think that's a bit of a copout. Because although, as he said, international law might be esoteric and not yet applied to local initiatives, it's the United States government that was responsible for a great many of these international laws. The Nuremberg Principles grew out of the war trials that we conducted after World War II. The Geneva Accords were inspired by the United States government. And I don't think it's too much to ask that communities abide by them as well as the federal government.

Richard Falk, an international lawyer, has suggested that we all have a responsibility to fulfill our Nuremberg obligations. And he, in fact, suggested that acts of civil disobedience are really not civil disobedience but the fulfilling of our Nuremberg obligations. I obviously don't mean any civil disobedience, just those acts directed against nuclear weapons facilities.

What are the Nuremberg Principles?

Donnay: The Nuremberg Principles hold individuals accountable for their actions regardless of the directives of their government. The idea was to hold military officials responsible for their actions during World War II under the Nazis.

This is a quote from John Stahmer which I think really highlights what we are talking about when we talk about local responsibility.

> *The business of nuclear weapons is not isolated to any particular place or people. It has infiltrated our whole country, whole way of life and our economy like a deadly cancer poisoning America. Nuclear weapons have crept into our nice little towns the way Nazi trains crept into Bavarian villages on their way to the gas ovens. Because of this, nuclear weapons are everyone's responsibility. We all have to decide how we feel about the arms race and what we're going to do about it—and we can only do one of two things, either support it or oppose it.*

What was your impression of Mr. Boehm?

Donnay: He's a very conscientious and responsible attorney who is going to do a very good job with this ordinance. He is open to working with the council to improve it. We both agreed that if this is going to go before the public, go before the council for a vote, it should be as legally sound as possible. The legal merits of what we are trying to do are as important as the political merits. There's no use in pursuing an ordinance that's unenforceable or meaningless.

If and when nuclear free zones are challenged in court, Nuclear Free America and our legal advisory group are going to do everything we can to bring the international law arguments before the court. That's the essence of what we are doing. Nuclear weapons are illegal under international law and preparations for nuclear war are illegal. And at some point we'll find a judge and a court willing to hear us out.

What do you see as the next step after nuclear free zones?

Donnay: A lot of people have asked me, "suppose you get all these nuclear free zones and suppose all the cities in the U.S. were declared nuclear free zones (except Washington), what then?" My reaction to that question is that a lot of things would change if we ever got that far—if nuclear free zones really work. In other words, if communities are willing to take responsibility for the arms race and reject that role we will accomplish a tremendous change in the economy and structure of the nuclear weapons establishment. I won't use that word that begins with an "r" but I will say a lot will change.

There are risks involved. There are legal risks in challenging the federal government. There are political risks. It's difficult to take a stand. It still isn't popular. This is the cutting edge of the anti-nuclear movement, and there is going to be a group who will say we are going too far.

Nuclear Free Madison

Madison, Wisconsin (pop. 171,590), became America's 32nd and most populous Nuclear Free Zone on November 15, 1983. It is also the first nuclear-free state capital. The NFZ "policy ordinance" adopted by the city council (14 to 7) forbids the production of "nuclear weapons, delivery systems for such weapons, or components expressly intended to contribute to the operation, guidance, or delivery of a nuclear weapon." It also forbids the storage of high-level nuclear waste in the city and makes it city policy to oppose any high-level radioactive waste shipments through Madison.

The council vote came after a six-month campaign by Nuclear Free Madison, which collected over 7,000 signatures in a door-to-door petition drive. Nukewatch, which contributed a great deal to the campaign, is now working to raise public consciousness about the role played by banks and other institutions that support the nuclear arms race through their loans and investments.

How far do you think the nuclear free zone movement will go?

Donnay: I think it will go very far—all the way. I feel the same feelings, the same helplessness and despair, as anyone else, but I like winning. I like winning and I know we *can* win!

We spoke earlier of divestments of funds to nuclear industries. Can you comment on that?

Donnay: We seek nuclear free investments, i.e., cities would divest or withdraw their public investments from companies engaged in the nuclear arms race. It is an important part of nuclear free zones in terms of not supporting the arms race; boycotting those companies and not giving them public works contracts. If that takes hold and spreads it would have a tremendous economic impact on the nuclear weapons establishment.

I really feel that in a capitalist society the arms race is driven in great part by capitalist forces. If the profit incentive is taken out of the arms race—it doesn't necessarily have to be through nuclear free zones—I'm sure that will have an effect. I'm sure that if we move Pentagon contracts away from cost plus to competitive bidding a whole lot of firms would leave right away. They are in it to make money.

However, we can make the arms race less profitable. It's like the old saying, what if they gave a war and nobody came? What if they gave a contract and nobody took it?

[Ed. note: On November 28, 1983, Chico, California, became a Nuclear Free Zone by vote of the City Council.]

"We have not yet experienced a global thermonuclear war—although on more than one occasion we have come tremulously close. I do not think our luck can hold forever. Fortunately, it is not yet too late. We can safeguard the planetary civilization and the human family if we so choose."

—Carl Sagan

The Opposition

The Nuclear Free Cambridge campaign demonstrated just how seriously the nuclear weapons establishment takes the Nuclear Free Zone movement. Nuclear weapons industries and their supporters from around the country, including Lockheed, GE, AT&T, Sperry, and Honeywell, contributed $290,310.50 to the "Citizens Against Research Bans" (CARB), a group formed to fight the initiative. The Bay Bank/Harvard Trust Company lent another $250,000. Altogether, CARB spent $507,708.02 which, at $17.50 per vote, stands as *the most expensive political campaign (per vote) in American history.*

The opposition was spearheaded by Draper Laboratories, a Cambridge nuclear weapons research firm that receives about $120 million a year in defense contracts.

"Courage is the price that life exacts for granting peace."

—Amelia Earhart

Nuclear Free Zones in the Religious Community

What justification is there for religious organizations to involve themselves in this issue?

There is no such thing as being "a-political" on the pressing issues of our day. Being neutral on issues like nuclear armaments is in reality supporting the status quo. Considering present-day world tensions and the horrifying consequences of nuclear war, the status quo is simply too great a risk. The Catholic Bishops state in their Pastoral Letter on War and Peace, "We are the first generation since Genesis with the power to virtually destroy God's creation. We cannot remain silent in the face of such danger."

Nuclear Free Zones (NFZs) are a locally based movement. Churches, synagogues and other religious bodies are important institutions at the local level. Their membership is large, diverse and influential. There is great capacity and potential in the religious community for earnest discussion on issues like nuclear armaments and human needs. Nuclear warfare and its related systems represent a fundamental violation of the holiness of creation; therefore, to declare a religious organization a NFZ is a logical place to begin.

It's such a vague idea, what does a religious NFZ really mean?

Religious Nuclear Free Zones (RNFZs) are the religious community's commitment to pursue peace and justice by reflecting and acting first behind its own doors and then outwardly in the local community. After discussion and soul searching within a synagogue, for example, the synagogue may declare itself an NFZ, the conditions of which are derived from a number of options based on the local realities and level of consciousness.

Religious Nuclear Free Zones have four central requirements, which can be specifically tailored to the local environment as mentioned above. These are:

1. To declare the religious organization a Nuclear Free Zone and pledge to work towards disarmament.
2. To work toward strategies and activities that lead to local self-empowerment on issues traditionally in the national or international domain.
3. To work toward the proliferation of NFZs in both the religious and general communities.
4. To link peace and human needs issues and programs within the NFZ.

Aren't Nuclear Free Zones just a symbolic gesture or a gimmick?

Nuclear Free Zones go beyond symbolism; indeed, they have great advantages precisely because of their practical and programmatic aspects (see next question). But NFZs are *very* symbolic. They serve notice to the world that nuclear weapons are immoral and thus unacceptable. *There is nothing wrong with symbolism.* Symbols such as flags, holidays, the Cross, and the Star of David are very important to millions of people.

NFZs involve a serious process that will not achieve overnight success. *They are not gimmicky.* Rather, they have some practical and visible "handles" that make them attractive to many people, such as converting religious buildings that have been designated Civil Defense Shelters into RNFZs and "twinning" between churches and synagogues in different countries and communities. These should not be confused with gimmickry, since they are a part of an ongoing and most important practical and consciousness-raising process.

Do NFZs really work?

On the most simple level, by discussing civil defense, disarmament and economic justice in relation to RNFZs, consciousness raising is taking place. Although hard to measure, this is "working."

On the most visible level, the UN Strategic Trust islands of Pelau in the South Pacific, which are under U.S. protectorship, have declared themselves nuclear free. The U.S. government has various nuclear designs for the islands, yet so far Pelau has been successful in maintaining its nuclear-free constitution. [Ed. note: The U.S. Navy would like to use Pelau as a Trident submarine base.] There is a growing list of communities around the U.S. and the world that are declaring themselves nuclear free.

Of necessity, NFZs require cooperation by many groups at the local level to pass resolutions, ordinances and charter amendments. If there are nuclear facilities already in a community, obviously it will be much more difficult to get rid of them than to pre-empt them before they are installed. Under both scenarios, however, the laws will be explicit and *binding*. This obviously works infinitely better than nonbinding resolutions that can be easily circumvented.

RNFZs also work to:

1. Link international and domestic issues. For example, through international twinning; showing that arms spending displaces social services spending in the U.S., creating international tension and propping up Third World regimes that consistently violate human rights.
2. Prevent "issue cooptation" by politicians. With binding legislation, politicians cannot rhetorically agree with disarmament and then do nothing about it.
3. Forge cooperation between different groups and classes. For example, twinning between churches in a community and food sharing.
4. Move comunities to assess and decide their own roles in the nuclear arms race and to consider and implement alternatives.

What about the Freeze? Why overload the peace agenda with yet another campaign?

The Freeze Campaign has catalyzed support for disarmament more than any other factor. NFZs are a next logical step in the disarmament process. The declaration of an NFZ is a local action that is not contingent upon the support or approval of Congress or the President. By mandating NFZs, not only will local communities begin chipping away at the nuclear weapons establishment, but they will add strength to the Freeze at the national level.

NFZs are tailored to *local needs, priorities and realities*. Of necessity, they must be linked with *human needs* issues at the local level. These two important NFZ factors are distinct in this campaign and indeed point to the imperative of this project.

NEW YORK (AP)—A group of religious leaders who visited Europe's nuclear hot spots asked: What if every U.S. church declared itself a nuclear-free zone and "twinned" itself with an overseas church that did the same?

There would be no air-raid shelters in buildings that bear the cross or the Star of David, said Father Paul Mayer. The churches, he said, would be "disassociating themselves from the whole nuclear culture."

And Mayer, convener of the Mobilization for Survival's religious task force, which organized the trip to Europe, said the gesture would also affirm something he learned on the tour this fall: "We are in fact one human family, faced with one disaster."

"And when Jesus drew near and saw the city he wept over it, saying, 'Would that even today you knew the things that make for peace! But now they are hid from your eyes.' "

—Luke 19:41-44

Where to Go from Here

Information

How to Influence Congress to Reverse the Nuclear Arms Race. Matania Ginosar. Send $1.00/copy, $8/10 copies (includes first-class postage) to:
Dr. M. Ginosar
2645 La Mesa Way
Sacramento, CA 95825

For a free copy of "You Can Stop Nuclear War in 15 Minutes a Week" send a business-size self-addressed, stamped envelope to Dr. Ginosar at the above address. This is a concise, action-oriented summary of how you can influence Congress most effectively, with little cost, effort, or time.

In order to influence your Congresspersons to vote against the development and deployment of nuclear weapons, you need to know when to write and on what specific bill. Several national mail-alert networks are operating just for this purpose: to alert you by mail, six to eight times a year, to write on specific bills pending in Congress. (No fee or membership required.)

To be on a network send your name, address, zip code and your Congressperson's name to: Rapid Response Network, SANE, 711 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003.

For current information about issues pending in Congress call the Nuclear Arms Hot Line (202) 543-0006—24 hours a day, updated at least once a week.

Missile Envy, The Arms Race & Nuclear War. Dr. Helen Caldicott. Morrow, 1984. If you were to read one book to learn about the issues involved in the arms race, this would be an excellent choice. Dr. Caldicott writes well about a wide range of topics and includes a wealth of fascinating detail.

Only You Can Prevent Nuclear War, a special magazine supplement available free of charge from Common Cause, 2030 M St. NW, Washington, DC 20036. Attention: Grassroots Lobbying. Includes other resources and local groups.

Nuclear War Prevention Kit, from the Center for Defense Information. An action guide full of solid advice, encouragement and resources. $1.00 from CDI, 303 Capital Gallery West, 600 Maryland Avenue SW, Washington, DC 20024. (202) 484-9490.

High School Organizing Packet includes a comprehensive guide for student and nonstudent organizers, students' First Amendment rights, 12 case histories and resource list. $5 plus $1 postage from War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012.

Our Future at Stake, A Teenager's Guide to Stopping the Nuclear Arms Race, Melinda Moore and Laurie Olsen. Citizen's Policy Center, Philadelphia, PA: New Society Publishers, 1984. A resource for education and action. Illustrations, photographs, personal statements by teenagers, glossary and chronology. Ideal for school, church and community groups.

Organizing Manual. A comprehensive reference manual for organizing convocations, teach-ins, lectures, debates, and other public events on nuclear arms issues. Contains information on how to work with the media to publicize events. Listings of publications, audio-visual resources, and arms control organizatons. 1983. 80 pp. $4.00. Union of Concerned Scientists, 26 Church St., Cambridge, MA 02238.

Groups

See the Directory of Groups for one near you, or for one that suits your interests.

The Thursday Night Group 2210 Wilshire Blvd., #183 Santa Monica, CA 90403 (213) 395-4123.

Information, resources, meetings in the Los Angeles area. Bibliographies for children, young adults, adults.

Nuclear Free America 2521 Guilford Ave. Baltimore, MD 21218 (301) 235-3575

National clearinghouse and resource center for NFZ campaigns. NFZ organizing packet and "The New Abolitionist," the newsletter of the movement, $10.00. Also has information on nuclear-free investments.

Nukewatch 315 W. Gorham St. Madison, WI 53703 (608) 256-4146

The Midwest NFZ clearinghouse. Has information on nuclear-free investments.

Nuclear Free Zone Registry P.O. Box 172 Riverside, CA 92502 (714) 674-6576

Provides community organizing support literature, information, stickers and other fundraising materials.

Religious Task Force of the Mobilization For Survival 85 S. Oxford St. Brooklyn, NY 11217

Offers a "Nuclear Free Zone Organizers Packet" for activists in the religious community. $3.00.

Beyond War National Office 222 High St. Palo Alto, CA 94301 (415) 328-7756

4

How the United States Can Prevent Nuclear War

> *"It is time we faced up to the folly of saying that the dichotomy is either 'Red or dead.' We could, for instance, get smart."*
>
> **Reverend Timothy S. Healy, S.J.**

Introduction

Are there any steps the United States could take that would significantly reduce the likelihood of a nuclear war? Yes, there are. Several are described in this chapter.

Some possibilities, such as a Crisis Control Center, already have wide support in Congress. Others, such as the Freeze and a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, have been held up partly through fears that the Soviets would cheat. "Trust the Russians?" addresses this fear and demonstrates that we have a very good idea of what goes on in the Soviet Union, in any way that matters militarily.

Questions about treaties, vulnerability, Euromissiles and other issues are answered here, and then there is an explanation of the very important No-First-Use proposal. Finally, the McCloy-Zorin Agreement, signed by the U.S. and the USSR in 1961, laid the groundwork for an approach to complete worldwide disarmament. Resolutions calling for renewed attention to this historic agreement have been introduced in Congress. We bring it to your attention here.

What We Can Do To Avert Nuclear War

William L. Ury

Nuclear war can happen two ways: by cool calculation or by runaway escalation. The public debate and official discussions dwell mostly on war by design. Yet, unintended war through the uncontrolled escalation of a crisis is by far the more likely scenario. To prevent nuclear war, we need arms control; but just as much, we need crisis control.

Today, the United States and the Soviet Union each has marshaled enormous military forces poised to strike. Fearing total mutual destruction, the two sides are talking, but gingerly, suspiciously, and sometimes very little. The truce has lasted more than 30 years, but at any moment an accident, a miscalculation or a regional conflict could trigger the war no one wants.

Fascinated by the awesome destructiveness of a nuclear bomb, we have focused on the weapons themselves. Should we freeze them? Should we reduce them? Should we even increase them? Yet, with 50,000 weapons in the arsenals, even a radical reduction to half would not save us if war broke out. It would take only a few hundred to destroy America, if not the world.

The greatest danger now is not the weapons, but people making mistakes. We can stabilize the weaponry so that no sane leader deliberately starts a nuclear war, but, in times of intense crisis, can we control the human factors of miscommunication, miscalculation, stupidity, panic and organizational snafus?

Too many paths exist by which an unexpected nuclear crisis could erupt—and they are gradually multiplying. The superpowers could become embroiled in their friends' wars, as in the Middle East. Missiles might be fired by accident or without authorization. A "mad" leader with a few atomic bombs, believing that his nation or terrorist group would be better off without the superpowers, might detonate a bomb in an American city, hoping thereby to trigger a Soviet-American exchange. Perhaps most dangerous is the scenario no one foresees.

The most serious threat in such a crisis is not to American and Soviet military capabilities, but to each side's capacity to make wise decisions. To improve that capacity is the task of "crisis control."

The existing Washington-Moscow hotline is one important step for crisis control. But we need to build further on its success.

In September 1982, the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency asked a group of specialists at Harvard, including Dr. Richard Smoke and myself, to study past U.S.-Soviet crises and to suggest better ways of controlling them. We asked ourselves: If you were an American (or Soviet) leader as a crisis broke out, what would you wish you had discussed *beforehand* with the other side so as to ensure both sides reached a wise decision? Let me describe three crisis control measures our report suggested for the government's consideration.

If a nuclear bomb suddenly destroyed San Francisco, American suspicions would fasten immediately on the Soviet Union. Feelings of outrage, calls for immediate retaliation and expectations of further nuclear attacks might drive the world toward war. But the bomb might have been detonated by a terrorist group, a third nation or even by accident. In such cases, American leaders would want proof, and the Soviets would surely want to cooperate. No one would want to go to war over a mistaken assumption.

DR. WILLIAM LANGER URY directs the Nuclear Negotiation Project at Harvard University and is currently writing a book on crisis control with Richard Smoke, Research Director of Peace and Common Security. It will be published by Houghton-Mifflin, and its working title is ***Beyond the Hotline.*** *It is expected to be available Winter 1985.*

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The hotline might be inadequate for the delicate tasks of intepreting and authenticating information. We would be much safer if there existed a group of highly trained military and diplomatic experts from both sides who knew each other and had prepared intensively together for just such a crisis. Hence the usefulness of a U.S.-Soviet crisis control center with headquarters in Washington and Moscow, each staffed around the clock with American and Soviet experts.

Even better than crisis control is crisis prevention. At such a center, the United States and the Soviet Union could share intelligence and even act jointly to prevent nuclear terrorism or a nuclear attack from a third nation. It is not only possible; it has already been done. In August 1977, the Soviets tipped off the U.S. government that South Africa was planning to test a nuclear device. A strong but quiet American protest followed, and no test took place.

The center enjoys bipartisan support. The late Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington proposed the idea almost two years ago, and Sens. Sam Nunn of Georgia and John Warner of Virginia recently released a report urging the Reagan Administration again to consider such a center.

No idea is without problems. A crisis center could be misused for intelligence gathering or deceiving the other side. Clearly the arrangement should not depend on goodwill, for we are engaged with the Soviets in a global contest involving strong, conflicting interests. But, as Senator Nunn said: "You don't have to trust the Russians to do this; you only need to make an assumption that they are not madmen and they will act in their own interests."

The most important decision that the President of the United States would ever make would come during a severe crisis with the Soviet Union. The fate of billions may rest on his decision. There is, moreover, no second chance. Yet the President receives very little preparation for his critical role in controlling a nuclear confrontation.

Perhaps the simplest way to pass on the lessons of past crises and to prepare for future ones would be for the President to immerse himself, possibly over a long weekend, with his closest advisers. National security experts and former government officials with experience in crises could brief the President. The participants might also engage in a "crisis game," a simulation of an emerging U.S.-Soviet confrontation. If a crisis were later to break out, those three days might be the most valuable weekend the President—or anyone—ever spent.

The terrible downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 six months ago raises several sobering "what ifs." What if the Soviets had attacked an American airplane? What if the attack had come during a time of acute international tension?

Could this trigger a war? Unlikely. Is it possible? Yes. World War I began with the assassination of Austrian Archduke Ferdinand at Sarajevo in June 1914. Today, as two hostile superpowers confront each other around the globe, the potential accidental triggers multiply. How can we create safety mechanisms to avoid a nuclear Sarajevo?

In 1972, concerned by the growing number of collisions and near-misses between American and Soviet naval vessels, the two navies reached an agreement on ship-to-ship signals for avoiding and coping with these dangerous incidents. Under this Incidents at Sea Agreement, naval officers from both nations meet every six months to review the process. This low-profile professional communication goes on even at times of high tension. Many fear that we cannot work with the Russians. The truth is we already are doing so.

Why not an Incidents in the Air Agreement to prevent and cope with accidental foreign intrusions into national airspace? Even given Soviet paranoia and blunders, these agreed emergency procedures might have prevented the Korean Air Lines disaster.

The superpowers could extend these procedures to cover other possible accidental triggers as well. In a nuclear armed world, this seems the height of common sense.

The center, the Presidential exercise, and the agreed emergency procedures, together with the hotline, would constitute a comprehensive crisis control system much as our fire departments and fire safety regulations make up a fire control system. Just as fire controls are not guarantees against fires, however, so crisis controls are not guarantees against critical confrontations. Rather, they are small, practical steps that can reduce the risk.

Such steps are politically feasible. The superpowers both want to eliminate the risk of accidental war, and crisis control does not evoke the fears of military inferiority that stymie the arms talks.

The time is right; interest is growing. Last summer, the U.S. government started discussions with the Soviets on improving the hotline. Now we need to go beyond the hotline.

In a metaphorical sense, all humanity was aboard the Korean airliner. We are all passengers on a fragile craft, vulnerable to sophisticated technological attack, the possible consequences of miscalculation, fears, miscommunication and outright blunders.

The passengers on KAL 007 had no idea what hit them. We, however, can now see what might hit us. A runaway crisis is the greatest nuclear danger today. Crisis control is our greatest opportunity to reduce the danger. And it lies within our grasp. There is still time for the world to step back from the brink.

Trust the Russians?

Richard Flyer and Cedric Garland, Dr. P.H.

Arms-limitation treaties are not based on trust. Modern treaties have provisions for verification.

Verification is the process of checking compliance with arms-control agreements. It is accomplished by national technical means, cooperative international technical means, international commissions, and human intelligence.

National Technical Means

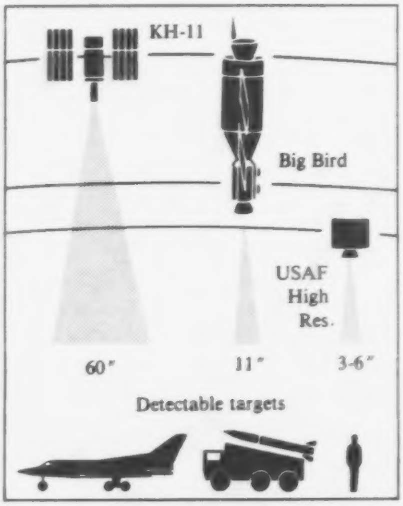
National technical means refer to satellites, specialized radars, and other devices which are controlled by the nation performing verification. According to Senate testimony by former U.S. Secretary of Defense Harold Brown concerning SALT II, "national technical means enable us to monitor all key aspects of Soviet strategic programs, including the development, testing, production, deployment, training, and operation of Soviet strategic capabilities. *We can perform these tasks despite the closed nature of Soviet society.*"[1] "We regularly monitor key areas of the Soviet ICBM test ranges. We monitor missile test firings with a wide variety of sensors: cameras taking pictures of launch and impact areas; infrared detectors measuring heat from the engine; radars tracking ICBMs in flight; and radios receiving Soviet telemetry signals."[2]

"These means enable us to assemble a detailed picture of Soviet forces, including the characteristics of individual systems, by using information from a variety of sources...In most areas, the chances of detection are so high that the issue of the utility of cheating would never arise."[1]

"We are confident that no significant violation of the treaty could take place without the U.S. detecting it."[3]

Satellites

Optical reconnaissance satellites take television pictures and photographs of objects on land and sea. There are three types. *Search-and-find satellites,* such as Big Bird and KH-11, observe large areas of land or ocean.[4,5] *Close-look satellites,* such as the USAF High Resolution Satellite[4,5] make detailed observations of areas identified for attention by search-and-find satellites. Two improved satellites are under development. These are an improved version of the KH-11[7] which will use a charge-coupled device (see Glossary) for improved ground resolution, and an Itek® Large Format Camera to be deployed from the space shuttle.[7,8] *Nuclear explosion detection satellites* and sensors use optical and radiation detectors to identify nuclear explosions in the atmosphere and outer space, and provide verification of the Limited Test Ban Treaty[4,5] (see drawings and map). There are three or more Vela Hotel satellites[5,9] deployed by the United States for this purpose, and a lower-orbiting system, the Integrated Operational Nuclear Detection System (IONDS) is becoming operational.[10] IONDS sensors will probably be attached to all 18 NAVSTAR Global Positioning System (GPS)[11] satellites (see Glossary) now scheduled for deployment.



Ground resolution of optical reconnaissance satellites.

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Early warning satellites use infrared sensors to detect exhaust from ballistic missiles,[4,12] and, in the near future, will be able to detect exhaust from cruise missiles and jet aircraft.[11,13,14] They provide the U.S. with early warning of nuclear attack, and monitor Soviet ICBM and submarine-launched ballistic missile testing.[12] Existing satellites such as the TRW® Code 647[12] orbit at the same speed as the earth's rotation, and therefore stay over a single point on the surface in geosynchrous orbit (see map). The Teal Ruby[11,13,14] satellite project will use infrared photomosaic sensors (see glossary) to detect jet aircraft and cruise missiles and determine their flight paths.

Electronic intelligence satellites intercept communications and radar from areas of military operations. They include Ferret,[11,15,16] Rhyolite;[11,15,16] Aquacade,[17] and Electronic Intelligence (ELINT) Ocean Reconnaissance Satellites (EORSATs).[11] Aquacade satellites perform advanced electronic intelligence functions, including telemetry. They are designed for launch by the space shuttle.[17] EORSATs are a part of the Navy's project White Cloud,[11] and listen for communications and radar from surface ships.

Cooperative International Technical Means

Cooperative international technical means refer to technical methods for verification of treaty compliance which are based on cooperation between two or more countries.

Seismic monitoring stations (see map) are a proposed cooperative international technical means of verification.[18] They would be used to monitor compliance under the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. This treaty would prohibit nuclear testing in all environments. New ground was broken in 1980 when the U.S., USSR, and Great Britain agreed that such a treaty would include provisions for challenge on-site inspection, a moratorium on nuclear explosions for civil engineering purposes, and international exchange of seismic data through the World Meteorological Organization.[19]

Although the technology for verification is available,[18] negotiations on this treaty were held in abeyance during the last months of the Carter administration, and the Reagan administration has announced that they will not be resumed.

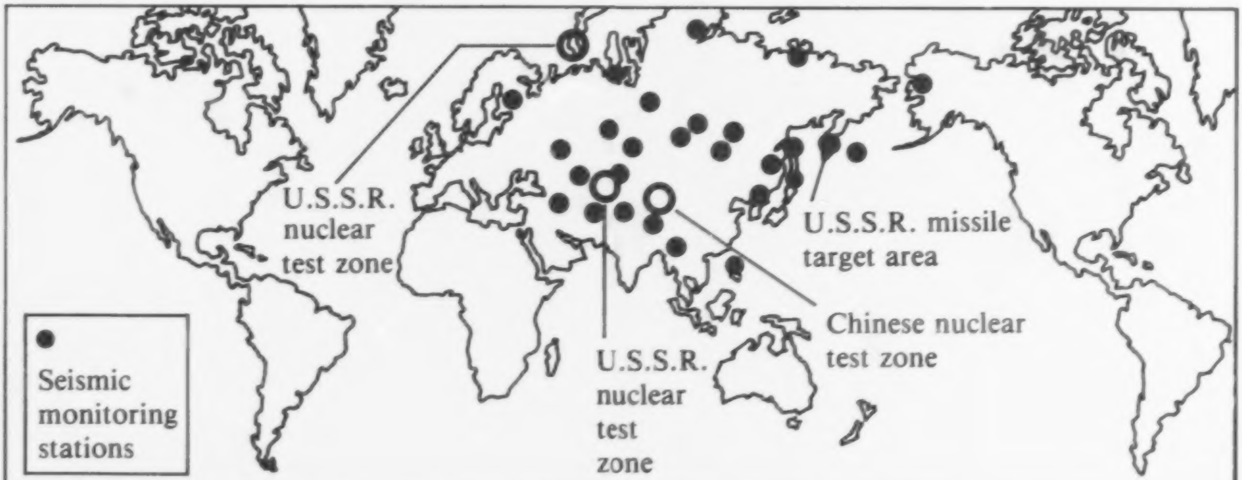
Treaties

Treaties have been signed by the U.S. and USSR concerning nuclear weapons several times during the past 21 years, and none have been broken.[20] The treaties include:

- 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty
- 1967 Treaty prohibiting nuclear weapons in outer space
- 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty
- 1972 SALT I Treaty
- 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty
- 1979 SALT II Treaty (not ratified by the U.S. but generally upheld by both countries)

International commissions provide forums for resolving issues of compliance with arms-control agreements.

Since 1972, each time the U.S. or USSR suspected that the other party had violated a treaty, the question was brought before a joint U.S.-USSR commission (the Standing Consultative Commission). Every question brought before this commission has been resolved to the satisfaction of the United States.[21,22,23] According to a report to the Senate prepared by the


U.S.S.R. nuclear test zone
U.S.S.R. missile target area
Chinese nuclear test zone
U.S.S.R. nuclear test zone
●
Seismic monitoring stations

Proposed seismic monitoring network to be supervised by the World Meteorlogical Organization. This is a cooperative international technical means of verification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

U.S. Department of Defense, U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and the U.S. Department of State, Soviet compliance under nuclear arms control agreements "has been good."[20]

Conclusions

- *Verification* frees the parties to a treaty from dependence on trust as the sole means for assuring that the conditions of the treaty are being met.
- *National technical means* allow the United States and other countries to observe nuclear weapons systems with great accuracy and reliability.
- *Cooperative international technical means* will allow the United States and other countries to verify compliance with the *Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty* with similar accuracy and reliability.
- *Technical means make it possible for the United States and other countries to participate with great confidence in arms-control treaties, such as the proposed bilateral freeze on testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons.*

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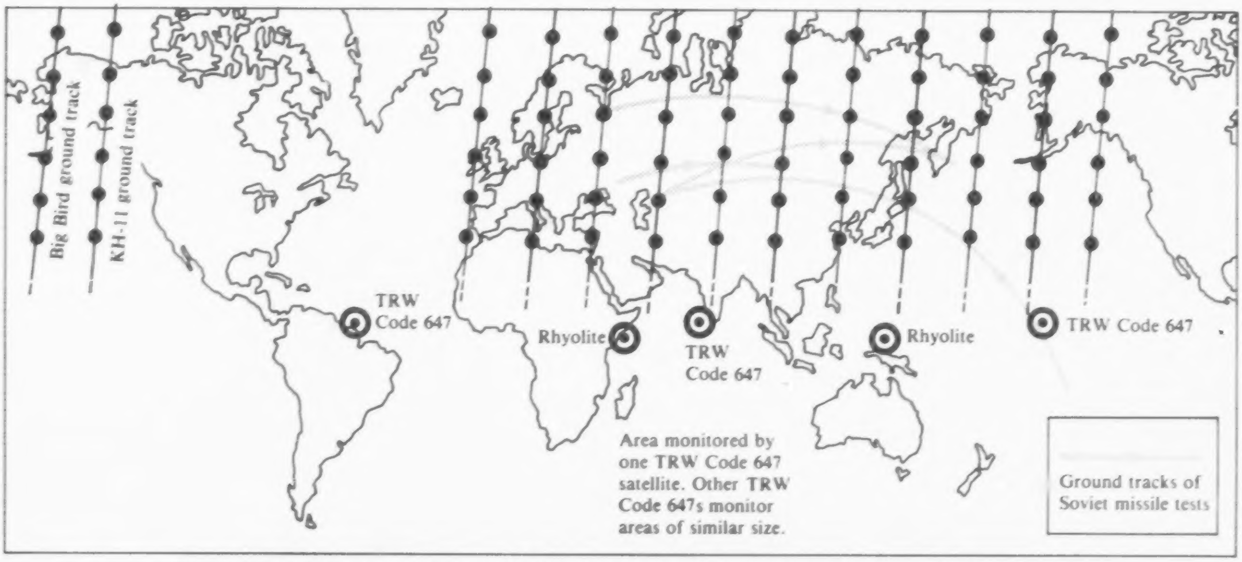
Big Bird ground track
KH-11 ground track
TRW Code 647
Rhyolite
TRW Code 647
Rhyolite
TRW Code 647
Area monitored by one TRW Code 647 satellite. Other TRW Code 647s monitor areas of similar size.
Ground tracks of Soviet missile tests

Positions of satellites used to verify U.S.S.R. compliance with arms control agreements. Typical ground tracks of Big Bird and KH-11 optical reconnaissance satellites are shown. Ground tracks at the latitude of Moscow move westward 850 miles every 90 minutes. Three TRW Code 647 and two Rhyolite satellites remain in geosynchronous orbit over fixed positions on the surface.

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For reprints of this fact sheet, see "Where to Go from Here."

Glossary

Challenge On-Site Inspection: Inspection performed when a party to a treaty expresses concern about some aspect of compliance. The proposed Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty allows challenge on-site inspections of certain nuclear weapons test facilities in the USSR.

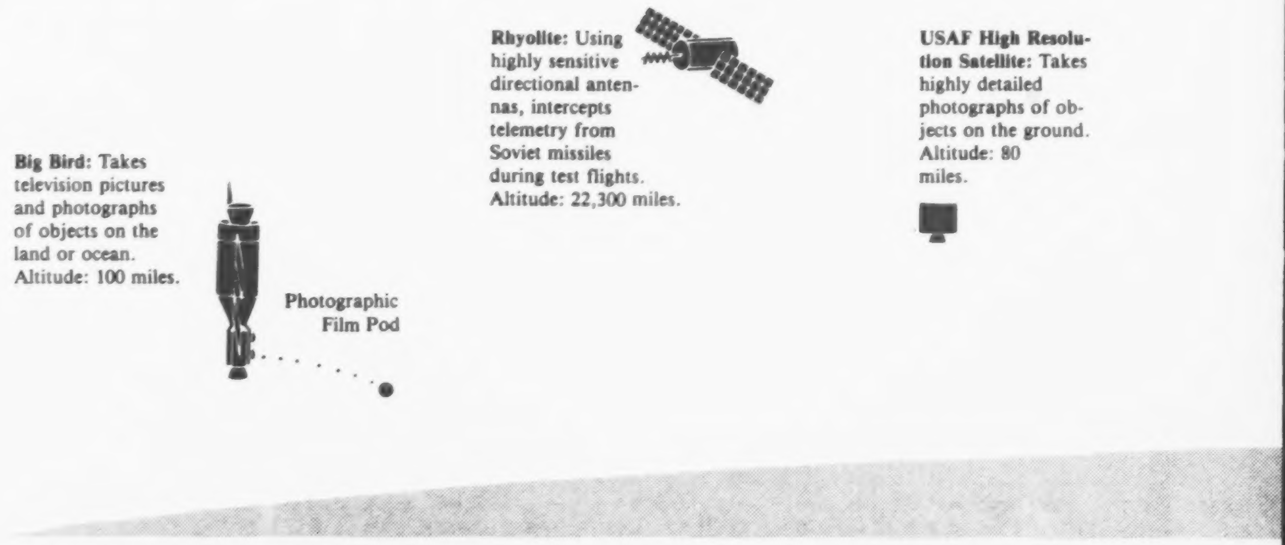
Charge-coupled device: A high-resolution imaging system using many elements that read light intensities received from the ground. This information is transmitted by microwave to the ground, where it is computer-enhanced and can be displayed on television screens.

Close-look: Type of mission performed by optical reconnaissance satellites emphasizing examination of a small area of the ground or ocean surface.

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty: A treaty which would prohibit nuclear weapons testing in all environments.

Cooperative international technical means: Technical means for verification of treaty compliance which are based on cooperation between two or more countries, such as the proposed worldwide network of seismic monitoring stations.

Cooperative measures: Measures which involve cooperation of two or more countries to verify compliance with arms-limitation treaties. For example, the SALT II Treaty provides that the U.S. and USSR will not interfere with satellites or other national technical means of verification, and that both nations will provide numbers of strategic weapons in a semi-annual exchange of data.


Rhyolite: Using highly sensitive directional antennas, intercepts telemetry from Soviet missiles during test flights. Altitude: 22,300 miles.

USAF High Resolution Satellite: Takes highly detailed photographs of objects on the ground. Altitude: 80 miles.

Big Bird: Takes television pictures and photographs of objects on the land or ocean. Altitude: 100 miles.

Satellites used for verification. *Big Bird* satellites eject photographic film pods over the Pacific Ocean following *close-look* missions.

Early warning satellite: Satellite used for early detection of a nuclear attack and monitoring missile tests.

Electronic intelligence satellites: Satellites that intercept radio, radar, television, telemetry, or other electronic signals. Also, satellites that transmit to earth radar images of ships and surface submarines. These include Electronic Intelligence Ocean Reconnaissance Satellites, Radar Ocean Reconnaissance Satellites, Rhyolite satellites, and Ferrets.

Geosynchronous orbit: An orbit that keeps a satellite over a single point on the earth's surface by using an orbital speed equal to the speed of the earth's rotation.

Limited Test Ban Treaty: 1963 treaty that prohibits nuclear explosions in the atmosphere, the oceans, and space. This treaty has been signed by more than 120 nations, including the U.S. and the USSR.

NAVSTAR Global Positioning System satellite: An 18-satellite system to be deployed in 12-hour orbits at an altitude of approximately 12,400 miles to provide navigational data for civilian and military users and for targeting of submarine-launched ballistic missiles. Part of this system has been deployed.

National technical means: Technical means of weapons verification which are under control of the nation using them.

Non-Proliferation Treaty: 1970 treaty to prevent spread of nuclear weapons.

Optical reconnaissance satellites: Satellites which take television pictures and photographs of objects on land or sea.

Photomasaic sensors: Collections of many heat-sensing elements that combine to create an infrared image.

Resolution: The minimum distance between two objects at which a detector can distinguish them as separate.

SALT I Treaty: A treaty between the U.S. and USSR limiting the number of land-based missile launchers, submarines, and other strategic weapons systems.

SALT II Treaty: A proposed treaty between the U.S. and the USSR that includes prohibitions on production, testing, and deployment of certain large Soviet ICBMs and testing of submarine-launched ballistic missiles having more than a specified number of warheads per missile. It limits each nation to one new ICBM system and prohibits interference with national technical means of verification.

Search-and-find: Type of mission performed by optical reconnaissance satellites surveying a large area of land or ocean.

Seismic monitoring stations: Underground nuclear explosions create shock waves that travel great distances. The shock waves can be detected with electronic instruments known as seismometers. Seismic monitoring stations contain the seismometers needed to verify adherence to treaties which limit underground testing.

Specialized radars: Radars used for specific functions, such as monitoring of missile tests or early detection of nuclear attacks. The U.S. maintains a worldwide network of specialized radars for monitoring Soviet missile tests. Radars located in the Aleutian Islands (Cobra Dane), Turkey (Cobra Talon), and on board naval ships (Cobra Judy), have a range of 1,800 miles, and can determine the numbers of warheads carried by Soviet missiles as they reenter the atmosphere. The Cobra Dane system is capable of simultaneously tracking 100 basketball-size objects in space. The Ballistic Missile Early Warning System (BMEWS) radars in Clear, Alaska; Thule, Greenland; and Flyingdales Moor, England; also monitor Soviet missile tests. Their range is 3,000 miles. Specialized radars provide redundant information which allows the U.S. to cross-check other technical means of verification of missile tests.

Standing Consultative Commission (SCC): A permanent U.S.-USSR commission first established in accordance with the provisions of the SALT I Treaty. The SCC serves as a forum for raising and clarifying issues of compliance with arms control agreements, and has provided a confidence-building role by defusing allegations of cheating by the U.S. and the USSR under the SALT I Treaty. Its future roles may include supervising any dismantling of strategic weapons and formulating new arms-control strategies.

Telemetry: Electronic signals transmitted to the ground by radio describing the functions and performance of a missile during its flight.

U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency: Government agency that plans and carries out arms-control policies, conducts research, and disseminates public information about arms control.

World Meteorological Organization: A Geneva-based agency of the United Nations. It promotes rapid weather data exchange throughout the world. Under the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, this organization would perform a similar role in seismic monitoring.

KH-11: Takes enhanced color and infrared television pictures of objects on the land or ocean. Altitude: 160 miles.

TRW Code 647: Infrared sensing satellite that provides early warning (3-4 minutes after launch) of a nuclear attack. Also monitors Soviet missile tests. Altitude: 22,300 miles.

Nuclear Explosion Detection (Vela) Satellite: Detects flash and radiation from nuclear explosions. There are 3 or more in orbit. Altitude: 60,000 miles.

Ferret: Eavesdrops on other satellites and ground communications. Altitude: 400 miles.

Call to Halt the Nuclear Arms Race

Proposal for a Mutual U.S.-Soviet Nuclear Weapons Freeze

The following statement is from the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. It contains the basic arguments in favor of the Freeze. For more information on the Freeze, see "Is the U.S. Preparing for a First Strike?" (Chapter 1); "Trust the Russians?" on verification, and "Comprehensive Test Ban Negotiations," both in this chapter; and "A Nuclear Freeze: Its Costs and Consequences" (Chapter 11).

To improve national and international security, the United States and the Soviet Union should stop the nuclear arms race. Specifically, they should adopt a mutual freeze on the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and of missiles and new aircraft designed primarily to deliver nuclear weapons. This is an essential, verifiable first step toward lessening the risk of nuclear war and reducing the nuclear arsenals.

The horror of a nuclear holocaust is universally acknowledged. Today, the United States and the Soviet Union possess 50,000 nuclear weapons. In half an hour, a fraction of these weapons can destroy all cities in the northern hemisphere. Yet over the next decade, the USA and USSR plan to build over 20,000 more nuclear warheads, along with a new generation of nuclear missiles and aircraft.

The weapon programs of the next decade, if not stopped, will pull the nuclear tripwire tighter. Counterforce and other "nuclear warfighting" systems will improve the ability of the USA and USSR to attack the opponent's nuclear forces and other military targets. This will increase the pressure on both sides to use their nuclear weapons in a crisis, rather than risk losing them in a first strike.

Such developments will increase hairtrigger readiness for a massive nuclear exchange at a time when economic difficulties, political dissension, revolution and competition for energy supplies may be rising worldwide. At the same time, more countries may acquire nuclear weapons. Unless we change this combination of trends, the danger of nuclear war will be greater in the late 1980s and 1990s than ever before.

Rather than permit this dangerous future to evolve, the United States and the Soviet Union should stop the nuclear arms race.

A freeze on nuclear missiles and aircraft can be verified by existing national means. A total freeze can be verified more easily than the complex SALT I and II agreements. The freeze on warhead production could be verified by the Safeguards of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Stopping the production of nuclear weapons and weapon-grade material and applying the Safeguards to U.S. and Soviet nuclear programs would increase the incentive of other countries to adhere to the Nonproliferation Treaty, renouncing acquisition of their own nuclear weapons, and to accept the same Safeguards.

A freeze would hold constant the existing nuclear parity between the United States and the Soviet Union. By precluding production of counterforce weaponry on either side, it would eliminate excuses for further arming on both sides. Later, following the immediate adoption of the freeze, its terms should be negotiated into the more durable form of a treaty.

A nuclear weapons freeze, accompanied by government-aided conversion of nuclear industries, would save at least $100 billion each in U.S. and Soviet military spending (at today's prices) in 1981-1990. This would reduce inflation. The savings could be applied to balance the budget, reduce taxes, improve services, subsidize renewable energy, or increase aid to poverty-stricken third world regions. By shifting personnel to more labor-intensive civilian jobs, a nuclear weapons freeze would also raise employment.

Stopping the U.S-Soviet nuclear arms race is the single most useful step that can be taken now to reduce the likelihood of nuclear war and to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to more countries. This step is a necessary prelude to creating international conditions in which:

- Further steps can be taken toward a stable, peaceful international order;
- The threat of first use of nuclear weaponry can be ended;
- The freeze can be extended to other nations; and
- The nuclear arsenals on all sides can be drastically reduced or eliminated, making the world truly safe from nuclear destruction.

For more information, see "Where to Go from Here."

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Common Questions

Is a comprehensive test ban possible and desirable?

A Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB) would prohibit all nuclear explosions, whether for military or peaceful purposes, in all environments. The Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963 currently prohibits testing nuclear explosives in the atmosphere, outer space and underwater. The Threshold Test Ban Treaty forbids tests over 150 kilotons underground and, although unratified, is being observed by the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union pending ratification.

A CTB Treaty would have several substantial benefits. A halt to nuclear testing would bring to an end any further development of new nuclear weapons. Although warheads are already available for the missile systems now in the final stages of development, a ban on all testing would prevent further improvements that might be useful for future systems. For example, were the Soviet Union to consider doubling or tripling the number of warheads on its missiles, it might be hampered in getting miniaturized nuclear explosives for these smaller warheads. A CTB would stop the continuing race for more efficient, usable nuclear weapons.

A ratified CTB would provide new momentum for arms control negotiations. The successful conclusion of a CTB would be a significant contribution to curbing the nuclear arms race and establishing a better climate for further arms limitations. It would complement measures to limit and reduce strategic and theater nuclear weapons.

A major component of U.S. foreign policy has been to discourage other countries from acquiring nuclear weapons. Unless the United States and the Soviet Union start exercising restraint in their own nuclear weapons programs, this policy objective can never be obtained. Article VI of the 1968 Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons obligated its signers, which include the United States and the Soviet Union, to "pursue negotiations in good faith on effective measures relating to cessation of the nuclear arms race at an early date." For many non-nuclear-weapon states, a CTB has become a symbol of superpower commitment to fulfilling their disarmament obligations.

Opponents of a full test ban argue that a Comprehensive Test Ban is unverifiable. However, there is general agreement that modern seismic verification capabilities are able to detect very low yield nuclear explosions. There is also agreement that tests above a few kilotons would have a high probability of being detected and identified. As the yield decreases, this probability shrinks. But any test will have some probability of being detected, whether through seismic means or through other intelligence sources. Since the Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963, there have been major improvements in seismic detection and identification capabilities, so that now virtually all tests that can be detected can also be identified.

A related question is, would clandestine low-yield tests have sufficient military benefits to warrant the risks of discovery? Significant military results are likely to be achieved only from a series of tests rather than from a single shot. Multiple tests would substantially increase the likelihood of detection. Any risks from possible Soviet low-yield tests would be more than offset by our gains from halting the further refinement of weapons of higher yield.

Who Is Ahead in the Nuclear Arms Race?

In one sense, the question of who is ahead is meaningless, given the current capabilities of the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Each country now possesses over 7,000 "strategic" nuclear weapons designed to be delivered by bombers and land or submarine-based missiles of intercontinental range (each also possesses additional thousands of short and intermediate-range nuclear weapons). The number of strategic weapons on both sides—each of which is three to one thousand times more powerful than the bomb dropped on Hiroshima—far exceeds the number of important targets. The warheads carried on a single U.S. Trident submarine, for example, could destroy the 200 largest Soviet cities.

Currently the Soviet Union and the U.S. are roughly equivalent in strategic nuclear capabilities. The argument that either the Soviet Union or the U.S. has now achieved "strategic superiority" results from selective calculations of particular pieces of the overall balance. It is extremely important to remember that, for a variety of military, geographic, and historical reasons, the U.S. and the Soviet Union have developed and structured their forces in

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Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB) Negotiations

Background. Efforts to negotiate an international agreement to end nuclear tests began in 1955 at the UN Disarmament Commission. In response to intensified public concern about the health and environmental effects of tests by the U.S. and the USSR, UN members pressed for discontinuing all nuclear tests. Discussions and negotiations continued for the next eight years in international forums and among the three major nuclear powers—the U.S., Great Britain, and the Soviet Union. The primary stumbling block was developing an adequate system of verification; only on-site inspections, it was believed, could determine whether a ban on underground testing was being observed. The Soviet Union was unwilling to permit more than three inspections per year, while the U.S. held out for a minimum of seven. The issue was resolved by agreeing to the Limited Test Ban Treaty, which only prohibits tests in the atmosphere, in outer space, and under water. These tests do not require on-site inspections to verify compliance. The Limited Test Ban Treaty was signed by the United States, the Soviet Union, and Great Britain in July 1963.

Efforts to extend the ban to cover underground tests, as required by the 1963 treaty, have continued. The Threshold Test Ban Treaty of 1974 and its companion, the Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty of 1976, set limits on the size of underground nuclear tests. Negotiations among the U.S., Great Britain, and the Soviet Union on a complete ban have also continued intermittently.

Draft Treaty Provisions (agreed upon among U.S., UK and USSR by 1982)

- Prohibit all nuclear explosions in all environments for a fixed period (3-5 years).
- Provide for on-site inspections (technical details still to be negotiated) and placement of specially equipped, seismic stations on the territories of the parties to the treaty.
- Provide for international exchanges of seismic data.
- Establish a committee of experts to consider questions related to the seismic data exchange.

Current Status. Substantial progress had been reported in the CTB negotiations, although important details still had to be worked out among the three parties. The Reagan Administration suspended the negotiations in mid-1982, stating that it first intended to seek modifications in the Threshold Test Ban Treaty to permit on-site inspection before proceeding with negotiations on a complete ban. A Joint Resolution has been introduced in the U.S. House of Representatives and the Senate urging the President to resume the CTB negotiations immediately.

Issues. Arguments for a CTB:

- Inhibits further development of new nuclear weapons, whose performance and reliability could not be tested.
- Aids efforts to prevent proliferation of nuclear weapons.
- Provides new momentum for arms control negotiations.
- Reduces further the environmental and health hazards of testing.
- Can be adequately verified for all militarily useful testing programs using current seismic technology without requiring on-site inspections.

Arguments against a CTB:

- Prevents improvements in warhead design.
- Prevents reliability testing of existing nuclear weapons stockpiles.
- Would not completely eliminate nuclear testing, as France and China have refused to take part in negotiations or endorse the concept of a CTB.
- Cannot be adequately verified, especially for low-yield tests, without a program of on-site inspections.

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The argument that either the Soviet Union or the U.S. has now achieved "strategic superiority" results from selective calculations of particular pieces of the overall balance.

significantly different ways. Focusing on only one portion of the balance can seriously distort an assessment of their relative capabilities. The most striking example: the Soviet Union concentrates 75% of its strategic forces in land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) as opposed to 30% on the U.S. side. Soviet ICBMs are generally larger than U.S. missiles, and carry more powerful warheads, but until recently Soviet missiles were far less accurate and, thus, needed greater explosive power to compensate. Soviet missile accuracy has improved substantially, but the U.S. still enjoys a technological edge. Moreover, with so much of its strategic force in ICBMs, the Soviet Union is more seriously threatened by growing U.S. ICBM accuracy and the consequent vulnerability of fixed targets such as missile silos.

The remainder of U.S. and Soviet forces are divided between submarines and long-range bombers. The U.S. has more, and more capable, bombers than the USSR; the much-discussed Soviet "Backfire" is a medium-range bomber with a theoretical potential to reach the U.S. on one-way missions. Bombers are very vulnerable to attack, however; to compensate, the U.S. maintains approximately one-third of its force on "alert" status, ready to take-off with only a few minutes warning.

The bulk of U.S. strategic forces are on submarines: over 4,700 warheads on 32 strategic submarines. The Soviet Union has more submarines (62 counted under the SALT agreement) but these carry only about 1,800 warheads. Soviet submarines are much noisier, and hence relatively easier to detect, than U.S. submarines. The Soviets only keep a small percentage of their submarines at sea at any time (some analysts suggest Soviet leaders are reluctant to trust submarine commanders with nuclear weapons); by contrast, between one-third and one-half of the U.S. submarines are always at sea. Submarine missiles are less accurate than ICBMs—although this is changing as guidance technology advances—but submarines possess one overwhelming advantage: once at sea, they are unlikely to be found. Nor is there any expectation that advances in antisubmarine warfare could change this until well into the next century. Neither side, therefore, could hope that a surprise attack on its opponent's ICBMs and bombers would leave that country without the means for devastating retaliation. Thus, while differences and inequalities exist within overall U.S.-Soviet strategic parity, each side remains capable of destroying the other as a functioning society.

What is the "window of vulnerability"? Are U.S. land-based missiles now vulnerable to a Soviet surprise attack?

For several years ominous warnings have been issued that U.S. land-based missiles are vulnerable to a disarming Soviet first strike: This "window of vulnerability" was a major issue in the 1980 campaign, with Ronald Reagan charging that Democrats' neglect of the nation's defense had left the U.S. seriously weakened. If the Soviets can launch a disarming first strike against U.S. land-based missiles and the U.S. knows it, this provides the Soviets with immense potential for blackmail in a crisis. Faced with such a threat, an American president would have only two stark choices: surrender or national suicide.

In fact, *both* U.S. and Soviet land-based missiles in fixed silos are becoming increasingly vulnerable as missile accuracy improves, but it is a long way from this emerging problem to the specter of a disarming Soviet first strike. The Soviet Union does currently possess enough accurate warheads on its huge SS-18s and SS-19s to permit it to target two warheads on each of the 1,052 U.S. land-based missiles (two warheads per silo is the standard requirement for an assured "kill probability"), but the operational difficulties of such a strike are immense. For example:

- Near total reliability of hundreds of missiles, which would be required for a disarming strike, could never be assured. Soviet strategic missiles and warheads are subject to at least as many possible breakdowns and malfunctions as U.S. systems. For example, tiny mistakes in the guidance system could cumulate into major errors—perhaps even complete misses—over the course of a missile's flight.

- If incoming warheads are too close together, there is a substantial risk that the explosion of the first would destroy the second ("fratricide"), but if they are spread too far apart and the first warhead misses, the U.S. missile could be launched before the second arrived.

- U.S. satellites and radar would provide some warning time (as much as 30 minutes) of the incoming Soviet missiles, and even if the President decided to "ride out" the attack and not launch U.S. intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), many strategic bombers would have time to get airborne and head for their targets in the Soviet Union.

Soviet leaders, moreover, could never be confident that the U.S. President, faced with the death of millions of Americans as the result of a "limited" strike on U.S. ICBMs, would not order a response against Soviet cities rather than surrender.

As important as the operational problems of a disarming first strike, is the fact that the "window of vulnerability" argument ignores the other two legs of the U.S. strategic forces—bombers and submarine-launched missiles. One can be quite sure that Soviet military planners do not ignore them. President Reagan's own Commission on Strategic Forces concluded in April 1983 that vulnerability was a future, not a current problem: "The different components of our strategic forces should be assessed collectively and not in isolation." Ironically, the Soviet Union, which concentrates 75% of its strategic forces in land-based missiles (only about 30% of U.S. nuclear forces are in ICBMs) is potentially far more vulnerable than the U.S. The gap between the assertion and the reality of ICBM vulnerability, thus, becomes far wider than any alleged opening in the window of vulnerability.

Could an extensive civil defense program reduce the casualties and damage in nuclear war? What about the Soviet program?

Civil defense planning would, at first glance, seem to contribute to overall national security—who can oppose efforts to protect one's citizens? In reality, civil defense in a nuclear war is unworkable; civil defense planning could make nuclear war more thinkable (and, hence, perhaps more likely) by implying the possibility of surviving or even "winning" such a conflict. The laudable aims of civil defense may, thus, actually have perverse and even dangerous consequences.

The U.S. government proposes to spend $4.2 billion on civil defense over the next seven years; critics see this figure escalating to at least $10 billion. The centerpiece of the government plan is to "relocate" two-thirds of the nation's population. Yet most independent evaluations of civil defense planning, including those by the American Medical Association, the National Academy of Science, and the Congressional Office of Technological Assessment, have concluded that there is no effective way to protect U.S. citizens in a nuclear war. Each of the four basic elements of proposed U.S. civil defense plans has serious flaws:

1. *Evacuation* won't work. The government plan assumes that: citizens would have more than a week to evacuate; the Soviets would not target the relocation sites; people would cooperate and not panic; and adequate food and supplies would be stockpiled. It vastly underestimates the shortage of trained medical personnel and facilities as well as the extremely widespread and long-term effects of radioactive fallout.
2. *Building temporary fallout shelters* at relocation sites assumes the immediate provision of enough materials in an atmosphere of crisis to construct tens of millions of shelters, and the competence of enough people to do so.
3. *Blast shelters* for 4 million key U.S. workers scheduled to remain in high risk areas to tend essential services and industries would still be vulnerable to accurate Soviet warheads. During World War II, hundreds of thousands of people hiding in blast shelters during conventional bombing raids were suffocated or cremated by the firestorms raging outside the shelters.
4. *Protection of U.S. industry* would be impossible. Many industries simply cannot be shut down or dismantled. Even if protected, the energy and raw materials needed for manufacturing would probably be unavailable. Areas that had been destroyed would not be safe to return to for months or even years.

Contrary to recent claims by civil defense advocates, the Soviets do not possess any civil defense "advantages." As a former high-ranking State Department official points out: "Civil defense counts for practically nothing on either side, given the overwhelming problems of blast and radioactive fallout. While American efforts are negligible, the potential effectiveness of Moscow's programs has been vastly exaggerated, as CIA estimates show." Soviet civil defense plans are similar in design to proposed U.S.

> *The belief that it is possible to achieve security through armaments on a national scale is a disastrous illusion—in the last analysis the peaceful coexistence of peoples is primarily dependent upon mutual trust...*
> *—Albert Einstein*

programs but depend on much more limited resources (roads, vehicles, and such) to carry them out. Soviet industry is more concentrated than in the U.S., and there is little evidence that any of it has been effectively hardened against a nuclear attack. Enough U.S. warheads exist, moreover, to strike all major military and civilian targets *and* every civil defense relation site in the Soviet Union. The Soviets could carry out comparable strikes on U.S. relocation areas without hampering its capacity to attack its primary targets.

Is it useful to build weapons as "bargaining chips"? Do we get better agreements because of them?

Historically, the policy of producing new weapons as "bargaining chips" has met with little success. Rather than forcing the reduction or elimination of such weapons at the negotiating table, bargaining chips tend to take on a life of their own, leading to new weapons deployments soon matched by the Soviet Union.

For example, in 1969, U.S. development of multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicles (MIRVs) was defended as a bargaining chip in the first Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT). When the U.S. actually began to produce and deploy MIRVs, however, they soon became "too important" to bargain away, and both the U.S. and the USSR subsequently installed multiple warheads on their land and submarine-based missiles. Former National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger has since acknowledged that failure to seek a ban on MIRVs added a new, seriously destabilizing development to the arms race. In 1972, cruise missile development was accelerated for use as a bargaining chip for SALT II. Now the U.S. is moving rapidly ahead with land, sea, and air-launched cruise missiles, and the Soviet Union will soon begin to produce its version of the cruise missile. Many arms control experts believe that these small, easily concealed missiles pose serious obstacles for negotiating verifiable arms control agreements.

The fundamental problem with the concept of bargaining chips is that it can be invoked to justify any major weapons program, no matter how costly or how unnecessary for U.S. national security. When a weapons system becomes vulnerable to cancellation or reduction, the bargaining chip rationale is advanced as a reason for further development or deployment; when its future was seriously threatened, the MX was suddenly touted as a bargaining chip. Once deployed, the enormous momentum and entrenched interests surrounding modern weapons program in both the U.S. and the Soviet Union make it unlikely they can ever be bargained away.

In sum, it is highly doubtful that the bargaining chip rationale contributes to reaching better arms control agreements. The best bargaining chip that the U.S. can possess is the willingness to negotiate seriously—which we can demonstrate by ratifying the last three arms control treaties to which the Soviets have agreed: SALT II, the Threshold Test Ban Treaty, and the Treaty on Peaceful Nuclear Explosions. Building new weapons for the ostensible purpose of bargaining them away is far more likely to result in cluttering the U.S. arsenal with weapons that add little to, and may even hamper, genuine national security interests.

> *In my view the blame for lack of progress lies not with the process and not with the intransigency of the Soviet Union. The blame lies really on the fact that we have not had the political will to push ahead to the extent that we could have pushed ahead.*
>
> *Paul Warnke*

How do nuclear weapons affect international stability? Which are most destabilizing?

In the crude logic of the nuclear age, East and West have held each other's populations hostage in order to prevent another world war. This "balance of terror" has helped maintain a relative degree of stability over the past several decades; it has worked because neither side has felt that it could attack the other without being dealt a devastating retaliatory blow. However, the accelerating pace of technological innovation is leading the U.S. and the Soviet Union into a new era of danger—both sides are racing to acquire the means to knock out the other side's missiles in a massive surprise attack.

In terms of stability, weapons technology is a double-edged sword—it can both contribute to and detract from national security. A good illustration is the U.S. fleet of submarines carrying sea-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs). On the one hand, recent advances in submarine design are making the sea-based leg of the U.S. nuclear force increasingly in-vulnerable to Soviet detection methods. This ensures our ability to retaliate after a Soviet first strike, thereby enhancing stability and our national security. On the other hand, new improvements in SLBM accuracy give the Trident D-5 missile a "silo-busting" capability, which poses a highly destabilizing threat to the Soviets' primarily land-based missile forces. If the Soviets became convinced that their forces were truly vulnerable to a disarming U.S. attack, they would have every incentive to strike first during a crisis. Some technological advances, thus, may actually harm U.S. efforts to prevent nuclear war.

The most destabilizing weapons will unfortunately constitute the core of the modernization currently planned for the U.S. arsenal. The MX missile, with its ten warheads and extremely vulnerable basing mode, provides a sitting-duck target fo the Soviets. The U.S. willingness to deploy the highly accurate and highly destructive MX in vulnerable Minuteman silos signals a step toward a first-strike (rather than retaliatory) strategy. Such a move is inherently provocative and destabilizing—it can only jeopardize our national security.

> *"If peace and survival are to be achieved, the search must almost certainly go beyond the effort to find a balance in thermo-nuclear terror."*
>
> *—John Kenneth Galbraith*

Other destabilizing weapons include cruise missiles and medium-range missiles such as the Soviet SS-20 and the American Pershing II. Cruise missiles will undermine security and stability in two critical ways. First, massive deployments of these easily concealed (and thus virtually unverifiable) weapons may well bring an end to arms control. By the end of the decade, the U.S. plans to deploy thousands of nuclear-armed cruise missiles. Second, its accuracy, large numbers, and ability to penetrate Soviet air defenses make the U.S. cruise missile an especially danger weapon in Soviet eyes. The Soviets are already developing their own cruise missiles to counter the American deployments.

Medium-range missiles can also be destabilizing. Able to reach their targets only 8-10 minutes after launch from bases in Europe or the USSR, in times of tension both sides will be driven to place such medium-range missiles on hair-trigger alert to avoid being taken by surprise. A false alarm or miscalculation by either side could prove catastrophic. The Soviets have hundreds of SS-20 missiles aimed at Western Europe, soon to be countered by U.S. Pershing IIs. Serious arms control negotiations to head off such destabilizing deployment have never been more urgent.

Is the deployment of new U.S. intermediate-range nuclear forces in Europe necessary?

In the late 1950s, both the United States and the Soviet Union began deployment intermediate-range (INF) or "theater" nuclear forces in Europe. The Soviets deployed SS-4 and SS-5 missiles in the western part of the Soviet Union, while the U.S. deployed Thor and Jupiter missiles in Great Britain, Italy, and Turkey. The British and French subsequently deployed independent intermediate-range forces as well. All the American missiles were withdrawn by the spring of 1963, and their missions reassigned to Polaris submarines, nuclear-capable aircraft based in Europe, and other systems. The Soviets maintained their INF missiles throughout the 1960s; by 1970 they had deployed some 650 SS-4s and SS-5s.

The Soviets began modernizing their intermediate-range nuclear forces in the 1970s, first with the Backfire bomber in 1974 and then with the SS-20 missile in 1977. Presently, the Soviets deploy about 250 of the obsolete SS-4s and SS-5s, and have added some 378 SS-20s; thus, the total number of Soviet missiles has gone down somewhat. The number of warheads and their accuracy, however, has increased; the SS-20 is MIRVed, with each missile carrying three 150-kiloton warheads. Moreover, the SS-20 is mobile, and hence less vulnerable than its predecessors.

In December 1979, NATO, after a lengthy review of the problem, decided on a "dual track" response to the Soviet deployments. First, the United States would prepare to deploy two new land-based missiles in western Europe: the Pershing II and the Tomahawk ground-launched cruise missile (GLCM). The more powerful and more accurate single-warhead Pershing II would replace the short-range Pershing IA currently stationed in Europe. The Tomahawk would be an entirely new INF deployment. Second, the United States would propose bilateral arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union to seek an agreement limiting both sides' land-based intermediate-range missiles, perhaps making their deployments unnecessary.

The initial plan called for deploying the 572 new missiles—108 Pershing IIs and 464 GLCMs—in five NATO countries: all 108 Pershings and 96 GLCMs in West Germany; 160 GLCMs in Great Britain; 112

GLCMs in Italy; and 48 GLCMs each in Belgium and the Netherlands.

U.S.-Soviet negotiations on the INF issue have been going on in Geneva since October 1980, with frequent recesses as each side presses its case to the wider audience of European public opinion. The Soviets conducted a major propaganda effort to induce the European governments to back away from their commitments to accept the Pershings and GLCMs by arousing public fears of nuclear confrontation and catastrophe. When the first GLCMs and Pershing IIs arrived in Western Europe, the Soviets, as they had repeatedly threatened, walked out of the INF negotiations, leaving the talks in recess indefinitely.

Ironically, the controversial deployments of Pershings and GLCMs were never necessary; they represented an inadequate "hardware" response to a political problem. Despite the publicity which has surrounded them, the SS-20s do not represent a significant new threat to Europe; furthermore, the increase in Soviet capabilities could have been effectively countered with existing U.S. submarine forces and nuclear capable aircraft. There was no military necessity to add U.S. land-based INF, but some U.S. leaders became convinced that it was politically necessary to introduce a directly comparable system as a show of NATO's will and determination.

The U.S., having persuaded its NATO allies to accept the new missiles, at a potentially steep domestic political price, cannot now unilaterally abandon the INF deployments. The answer to the INF controversy is an arms control agreement that reduces or eliminates both current Soviet and planned NATO capabilities.

A number of credible alternative proposals have been put forward. A limited interim INF agreement, followed by incorporating the issue into the broader strategic arms reduction talks (START), would end the pursuit of the nonexistent "Euro-Strategic" balance, and remove the greatest threat to NATO harmony in recent memory.

> *"It's very difficult and somewhat embarrassing for military men to accept the fact that we have no defense against Soviet missiles and that Soviets have no defense against our missiles. We can destroy the Soviet Union even though they destroy us first. There are no winners in a nuclear war."*
>
> *—Rear Admiral Gene R. LaRocque*

No-First-Use

In April, 1982, UCS issued a set of recommendations calling for a bilateral freeze on strategic weapons and delivery systems, a comprehensive test ban, negotiated deep cuts in the nuclear arsenals of the U.S. and the USSR, and adoption of a policy of No-First-Use of nuclear weapons by the U.S. and its NATO allies. These recommendations have been widely endorsed by thousands of members of the scientific community, including more than 500 members of the National Academy of Sciences and 42 out of 100 living Nobel laureates. The material below explains why UCS believes No-First-Use would be particularly important in reducing the threat of nuclear war.

The flat land of the North German Plain is considered by many strategists to be a likely starting point for a Soviet tank assault on Western Europe. If such an assault were to occur, defending NATO forces would first respond with a combination of armor and anti-tank weapons. The ensuing ground battle would be accompanied by a fierce air war with Russian attack and reconnaissance aircraft attempting to destroy NATO anti-tank detachments. If NATO forces were unable to halt the Soviet attack, NATO's long standing strategy to initiate the use of nuclear weapons might finally become reality. The Western Alliance could be forced to start a nuclear war.

Although no one expects such an attack in the near future, it remains a possibility. There are massive concentrations of Warsaw Pact troops deployed along the German border, an area which historically has been the focus of many military confrontations. Instability in a Soviet-dominated Eastern European nation or crisis in the Middle East could spark a conflict there again.

Current U.S. and NATO doctrine calls for the "limited" use of battlefield nuclear weapons in Europe to counter a Soviet assault if conventional defenses fail. To this end, more than 6,000 "battlefield" (tactical) and intermediate-range (theater) nuclear weapons are deployed by the U.S. and NATO in Europe—some in or very near the likely areas of combat along the Central Front, the border separating East and West Germany. If necessary, these weapons are to be used on a limited basis to break up concentrations of advancing Warsaw Pact tanks, to block mountain passes, or to destroy air bases and logistics centers.

This strategy has a fatal flaw, however: limited nuclear operations are not controllable. For a limited nuclear engagement to remain limited—to stop short of complete catastrophe—both sides would have to agree to and observe mutually acceptable restraints in the midst of a fast moving, rapidly escalating, 1980s high-technology war. Faced with different information, different weapons, different operational goals, and under appalling stresses of time with the continued existence of both nations in the balance, rational agreements would have to be struck. The mutually accepted restraints would have to include limits on the types and locations of targets and the kinds of weapons used. In the middle of a nuclear exchange, with only minutes in which to make decisions affecting the future of mankind, the adversaries would have to agree on a stopping point—although each side would have more than ample forces to destroy the other. In short, one side would have to accept defeat long before it had exhausted all its nuclear options. In such circumstances, escalation to an all-out nuclear war is more probable than not.

Creating the Firebreak

A No-First-Use declaration by the U.S. and NATO, accompanied by a strong conventional deterrent, would end this frightening scenario before it could begin. No-First-Use would create a "firebreak"—a clear and firm demarcation between conventional and nuclear war. Under No-First-Use, nuclear forces would be maintained *only* as a deterrent to hostile use of nuclear forces. Conventional forces would be counted on to defend against conventional attack. Preparing to wage limited nuclear war or developing nuclear war—fighting capabilities would no longer be part of NATO nuclear doctrine. Though the Russian threat would still exist and NATO could not abandon its retaliatory capability, the Alliance would no longer rely on nuclear weapons as the ultimate means to deter a conventional attack by the Warsaw Pact.

No-First-Use policy would significantly affect the execution of military policy in Europe. Weapons such as the neutron bomb would have no place on

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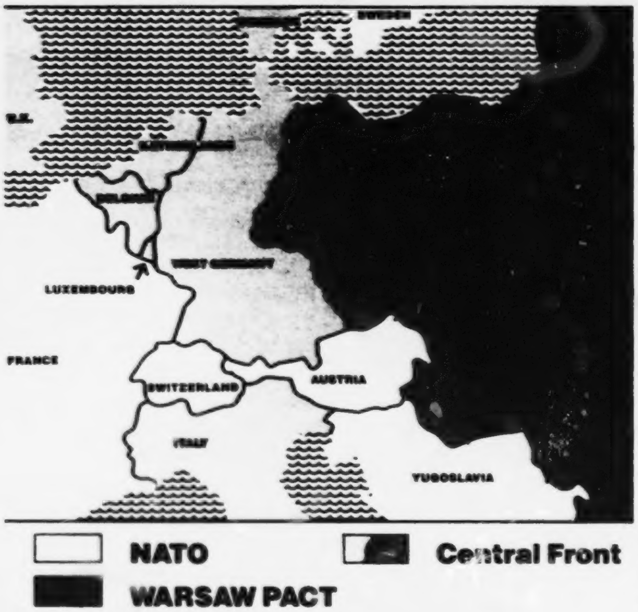
The Central Front Where East Meets West



the battlefield. Dangerous and vulnerable tactical nuclear weapons that are currently concentrated near the border could be thinned out, moved back to less provocative positions, and ultimately removed—alleviating the "use them or lose them" situation now in effect. Invulnerability, reliability, and endurance would replace "limited war fighting" capabilities as the primary factors influencing weapons procurement.

The Debate over No-First-Use

A No-First-Use declaration by the U.S. could be viewed by its NATO allies as undermining the deterrence to conventional attack that for thirty years has been guaranteed by the U.S. nuclear umbrella. Many Europeans, however, realize that a defense which relies on the threat of a nuclear Armageddon makes no sense. They are aware that they cannot be defended by nuclear warfare, but would be destroyed by it. And while they lean on the power of nuclear deterrence, they recognize the danger of its failing catastrophically, sooner or later, in one crisis or another. They need, as does the U.S., a strategy that does not depend on nuclear deterrence of conventional aggression, a doctrine that is no longer rational or credible.

Critics argue that No-First-Use would be merely declaratory diplomacy. Could a commander really refrain from using nuclear weapons in a crisis if national security were threatened? If No-First-Use were an integral part of military preparations and structure, the whole spectrum of military thinking would change.

Contingency planning, preparation, troop deployment, weapons procurement, and battle strategy would no longer be dependent upon nuclear weapons. It would be understood throughout the military command structure that *any* kind of nuclear exchange would not be in the interest of NATO or the U.S. This is a decision that should be made now, rather than under the stress of some future crisis.

Others argue that the threat of nuclear war is necessary to offset the Warsaw Pact's conventional superiority. It is true that the Pact has more troops and military equipment than NATO. This advantage, however, does not mean that Soviet leaders could confidently expect to successful launch a conventional attack on Western Europe. NATO's military equipment is superior in quality to the Warsaw Pact's, and its troops are better trained.

If certain improvements were made, such as better pre-positioning of supplies, better training of reserve troops, and better preparations for slowing a Soviet tank assault, NATO could provide the kind of defense that would allow a No-First-Use pledge without weakening the strength of its deterrent. Successful negotiations to reduce the conventional forces of both NATO and the Warsaw Pact, coupled with a No-First-Use pledge by both sides, would, of course, be the optimal solution.

Adoption of a No-First-Use policy would fill a critical gap left by other existing and proposed arms control measures. Current treaties eliminate specific weapons (e.g., the ABM Treaty, the Seabed Treaty, the Anti-satellite negotiations); some proposals which are now being debated would reduce or cap the numbers of weapons (e.g., SALT II and the Freeze); while still others would create nuclear-free zones in Europe and elsewhere around the world. These proposals all share the common, long-term goal of bringing the nuclear threat under control and ultimately mastering it.

None of the above measures would directly constrain the *use* of nuclear weapons, however. Even if the whole list were negotiated and implemented, both superpowers would retain awesome forces capable of destroying each other and their respective allies many times over. And military planners might continue the ill-fated search for a way to use the weapons they still had to win a "limited" nuclear battle or wage a "protracted" nuclear war.

No-First-Use would put an end to that kind of thinking, explicitly by addressing the way in which nuclear weapons are proposed to be used. No-First-Use would signify to the world that the U.S. recognizes one and only one role for nuclear weapons—deterrence of their use by others.

McCloy-Zorin Agreement

(with commentary by the World Federalist Association)

Most people do not realize that Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower and John F. Kennedy led the world in envisioning a new world security system to replace the war system. These presidents spelled out the requirements for gradual, verifiable disarmament, for its enforcement, and for the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

Nor are most people aware that an agreement was reached by the U.S. and the USSR that could have stopped the arms race back in the 1960s and saved both countries billions of dollars and rubles. Nor do they know that both countries drafted treaties that would have lessened international tensions and could have ended the international lawlessness that threatens nuclear holocaust. The negotiations that could have developed a common treaty text came to an abrupt end with Kennedy's death, and now both countries suffer economic disarray amid unconscionable numbers of nuclear warheads.

In 1961, at President John F. Kennedy's direction, John J. McCloy, advisor to President Eisenhower and eminent New York lawyer, held three meetings with Valerian A. Zorin, representing the USSR, in an effort to reach agreement on the fundamental principles for future disarmament negotiations. They met in Washington, DC, June 19-30; in Moscow, July 17-29; and in New York, September 6-19.

On September 20, 1961, they signed the Joint Statement of Agreement Principles for Disarmament Negotiations, known as the McCloy-Zorin Agreement. Both governments then reported their agreement to the United Nations General Assembly, which unanimously adopted it on December 13 as the *foundation for future negotiations toward general disarmament*.

A careful reading of the historic McCloy-Zorin Agreement reveals that it provides a safe and sound roadmap toward a disarmed world with adequate controls, adequate verification, and adequate provision for enforcement and for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. If we are to prevent nuclear war, we must honor this basic Agreement on fundamental principles and negotiate the details necessary to make its provisions a living treaty.

Text of McCloy-Zorin Agreement

Joint Statement of Agreed Principles for Disarmament Negotiations

The United States and the USSR have agreed to recommend the following principles as the basis for future multilateral negotiations on disarmament and to call upon other states to cooperate in reaching early agreement on general and complete disarmament in a peaceful world in accordance with these principles:

1. Secure disarmament and peaceful settlement of disputes . . . war no longer.

The goal of negotiations is to achieve agreement on a programme which will ensure:

(a) That disarmament is general and complete and war is no longer an instrument for settling international problems, and

(b) That such disarmament is accompanied by the establishment of reliable procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes and effective arrangements for the maintenance of peace in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

2. Retention of non-nuclear forces for domestic order and a UN peace force.

The programme for general and complete disarmament shall ensure that States have at their disposal only such non-nuclear armaments, forces, facilities, and establishments as are agreed to be necessary to maintain internal order and protect the personal security of citizens; and that States shall support and provide manpower for a United Nations peace force.

3. All military forces, bases, stockpiles, weapons, and expenses to be ended.

To this end, the programme for general and complete disarmament shall contain the necessary provisions, with respect to the military establishment of every nation, for:

(a) The disbanding of armed forces, the dismantling of military establishments, including bases, the cessation of the production of armaments as well as their liquidation or conversion to peaceful uses;
(b) The elimination of all stockpiles of nuclear, chemical, bacteriological, and other weapons of mass destruction, and the cessation of the production of such weapons;
(c) The elimination of all means of delivery of weapons of mass destruction;
(d) The abolition of organizations and institutions designed to organize the military effort of States, the cessation of military training, and the closing of all military training institutions; and
(e) The discontinuance of military expenditures.

4. Implementation by timed stages with compliance and verification agreed to at every stage.

The disarmament programme should be implemented in an agreed sequence, by stages, until it is completed, with each measure and stage carried out within specified time-limits. Transition to a subsequent stage in the process of disarmament should take place upon a review of the implementation measures included in the preceding stage and upon a decision that all such measures have been implemented and verified and that any additional verification arrangements required for measures in the next stage are, when appropriate, ready to operate.

5. Equitable balance at every stage so no advantage to anyone and security for all.

All measures of general and complete disarmament should be balanced so that at no stage of the implementation of the treaty could any State or groups of States gain military advantage and that security is ensured equally for all.

6. Strict control to make sure of compliance by all parties and creation of an international disarmament organization with inspectors having unrestricted access everywhere without veto for full verification.

All disarmament measures should be implemented from beginning to end under such strict and effective international control as would provide firm assurance that all parties are honoring their obligations. During and after the implementation of general and complete disarmament, the most thorough control should be exercised, the nature and extent of such control depending on the requirements for verification of the disarmament measures being carried out in each stage. To implement control over and inspection of disarmament, an international disarmament organization including all parties to the agreement should be created within the framework of the United Nations. This international disarmament organization and its inspectors should be assured unrestricted access without veto to all places, as necessary for the purpose of effective verification.

7. Disarmament process must be accompanied by measures to maintain peace and security and a United Nations peace force strong enough to deter or suppress any threat or use of arms in violation of the United Nations charter.

Progress in disarmament should be accompanied by measures to strengthen institutions for maintaining peace and the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. During and after the implementation of the programme of general and complete disarmament, there should be taken, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, the necessary measures to maintain international peace and security, including the obligation of States to place at the disposal of the United Nations agreed manpower necessary for an international peace force to be equipped with agreed types of armaments. Arrangements for the use of this force should ensure that the United Nations can effectively deter or suppress any threat or use of arms in violation of the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

8. States should seek widest agreement at earliest date while continuing to seek more limited agreements which will facilitate and form part of the overall program for secured general and complete disarmament in a peaceful world.

States participating in the negotiations should seek to achieve and implement the widest possible agreement at the earliest possible date. Efforts should continue without interruption until agreement upon the total programme has been achieved, and efforts to ensure early agreement upon the total programme has been achieved, and efforts to ensure early agreement on and implementation of measures of disarmament should be undertaken without prejudicing progress on agreement on the total programme and in such a way that these measures would facilitate and form part of that programme.

> *"There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace."*
>
> *—Woodrow Wilson*

Where To Go From Here

The Freeze Campaign coordinates local groups in most communities. See the directory or inquire of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, National Clearinghouse, 4144 Lindell Blvd., Suite 404, St. Louis, MO 63108. The clearinghouse has information about all aspects of the Freeze.

The **Committee for National Security**, 2000 P Street NW, Suite 515, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 833-3140. CNS sponsors national and regional Women's Leadership Conferences and maintains a list of over 800 speakers on foreign and military policy issues. A variety of publications are sent to subscribers on a quarterly basis, including a newsletter, fact sheets, conference reports, position papers, and others. Individuals $35/year.

The **Union of Concerned Scientists** has videotapes, films, slide shows, and printed material on several topics. The following are available from the Union of Concerned Scientists, 26 Church Street, Cambridge, MA 02238.

No-First-Use Study. A report from a study group headed by Vice-Admiral John Marshall Lee (USN-Ret.) on the feasibility of implementing the No-First-Use doctrine. 1983, 69 pp, $3.00.

Transcript of *Weapons in Space: A National Teleconference.* Transcript of the two-hour UCS teleconference on space weapons, aired April 5, 1984. Panelists were Carl Sagan, Richard Garwin, and Noel Gayler, headed by UCS Chairman Henry Kendall. 31 pp, $2.00.

Space-Based Missile Defense. A report on President Reagan's "Star Wars" initiative by a study panel including Hans Bethe, Richard Garwin, Carl Sagan, and Victor Weisskopf. The proposed ballistic missile defense systems are carefully examined in terms of their technical feasibility, economic impact, and effect on U.S.-Soviet relations. This 106-page report was the basis for a national teleconference aired April 5, 1984. $5.00.

Anti-Satellite Weapons: Arms Control or Arms Race? An introduction to the issue of Anti-Satellite systems. Explains the U.S. and Soviet ASAT systems under development and the dangers to global security that would arise under their deployment. Discusses the feasibility of a U.S.-Soviet ASAT treaty; contains draft model treaty. 1983, 44 pp, $3.00.

The **World Federalist Association** seeks progress toward global solutions to global problems through the principles of the federal system of government. Also seeks to strengthen the U.N. WFA is supporting the Common Security Resolutions in the U.S. Congress. WFA, 418 7th Street SE, Washington, DC 20003, (202) 546-3950.

The **World Without War Council** works to create the conditions necessary for a world under law. *To End War: A New Approach to International Conflict*, by Robert Woito, $12.95, The Pilgrim Press, sets forth their program in detail, with discussion of alternative views at every step. In addition, over 2,000 books are listed with annotations, as are over 500 world affairs organizations. Offices in Chicago, Berkeley, Seattle, Portland, OR, and New York City. Main office: 421 S. Wabash, Chicago, IL 60605.

Publications

Beyond the Hotline. William L. Ury, Director of the Nuclear Negotiation Project at Harvard and Richard Smoke, Research Director of Peace and Common Security. To be published by Houghton-Mifflin, Winter, 1985. This is a book on how best to stop a nuclear crisis.

Trust the Russians? Additional copies of the fact sheet and glossary reprinted in this chapter may be obtained from Physicians for Social Responsibility, 5666 La Jolla Blvd. No. 137, La Jolla, CA 92037, (714) 483-7774.

Primer on Arms Control. Robert Scott. The Arms Control Association, 11 Dupont Circle NW, Washington, DC 20036.

The Front Line—Civil Defense and Nuclear War. A newsletter opposing the proposition that civil defense against nuclear attack is desirable and feasible. Emphasizes articles with immediate and practical value for citizens, educators, and governments officials at all levels who question the wisdom and efficacy of nuclear attack civil defense planning. $12/6 issues/yr. The Front Line, P.O. Box 1793, Santa Fe, NM 87504.

The Counterfeit Ark: Crisis Relocation and Nuclear War. Jennifer Leaning and Langley Keyes, eds. Ballinger, 1983, 320 pp., paperback $11.95, hardcover $28.00. A thorough analysis sponsored by Physicians for Social Responsibility.

No-First-Use: Preventing Nuclear War. Film. Half-hour documentary featuring a number of prominent experts. The film emphasizes the need for a major shift in U.S. defense policy and shows we can both lessen the threat of nuclear war and improve our national security. 16 mm, $335.00 (rental: $30.00); video, $240.00 (and $5.00 handling fee for all orders, please). Available from the University of California Extension Media Center, 2223 Fulton Street, Berkeley, CA 94720. (415) 642-0460.

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What Is It About War, Anyway?

It was a thought that built this whole portentous war establishment, and a thought shall melt it away.

Ralph Waldo Emerson

Why We Should Drop the Bombs

it would be so exciting
it would be so powerful
it would punish us for our sins
things wouldn't be so boring anymore
we could get back to basics
we would remember who we love
it would be so loud
it would be so hot
the mushroom clouds would rise up
we could start over
we wouldn't have to be afraid of it
anymore
we wouldn't have to be afraid anymore
we would finally have done it
better than Raskolnikov
it would release our anger
in the ultimate tantrum
then we could rest

Alia Johnson

INTRODUCTION

The doctrine of "peace through strength" has many adherents. The arguments are simple and have, through the ages, led to bigger and bigger wars.

Wars have their advantages. Preparing for them and fighting them gives people something to do. It is stimulating to have a deadly, active enemy. In fact, if there weren't one handy we might even invent one. War is also profitable for many people (but see Chapter 10). Besides all that, we're used to it. We wouldn't know what to do with ourselves without a war somewhere on the horizon.

Newspaper headlines and the evening news would be dull if there were a reliable world peace. Domestic issues would be the only political topics left, and no President could unify the country behind him or her by pointing to some threatening domestic issue. Foreign enemies have always been extremely useful for this purpose. If we weren't living in a state of semi-emergency, we would probably start noticing lots of things we'd like to have changed. Who wants to deal with that? Let's face it. Peace has its problems.

We're well prepared for war, even nuclear war. Just dig a hole, climb in, put a door over it, and pile three feet of dirt on top. If there are enough shovels to go around, we'll all make it.

But how could we survive peace? Wouldn't we all die of boredom?

In this chapter, Robert Fuller explores our fascination with war and points out ways we might start developing feasible alternatives and how war itself could actually become a thing of the past.

A Better Game than War

Interviews with Robert Fuller

Part One

Where do you see the arms race going?

Fuller: I was running around the track one sunny day, and I saw right behind me, connected to my own feet, my shadow. No matter how fast I ran, my shadow kept up with me, and it occurred to me that that was the metaphor for the arms race—a race with one's own shadow. No matter how fast you go, the other guy's going to keep up with you and stay connected with you; in fact, he's a *part* of you. He is the projection of yourself—of your dark side—just as your shadow is the sun's projection of your body on the ground. No one will win the arms race, nor will anyone drop out. We can never outdistance the fear of those parts of ourselves that we have projected on others: Americans on Russians, Jews on Arabs, Protestants on Catholics, Whites on Blacks. Making the bomb the issue and disarmament the goal shields us only briefly from the realization that it is we ourselves—we human beings—that are the source of the danger.

What implications does this have for dealing with the arms race?

Fuller: Since the arms race is a race with our fear, we are going to have to deal with it on a psychological as well as a technical level. A real change can't be had in human affairs by focusing exclusively on the technology, the weapons themselves.[1] In addition, we must understand why it is we are afraid of our "shadow." What is the origin of the fear of "the other," and how can we deal with it? Why do we project on other people and societies qualities we have within ourselves, and then maintain that they are the bad guys and we the good? They are, of course, doing the same thing with us. Yet in our heart of hearts, we all know that it is only together that we constitute a whole. So I look at the arms race, and war itself, not in terms of a technical fix or some clever treaty that would reduce the number of weapons, which ultimately will be required, but rather at a different level having to do with the relationships among, and the psychologies of, peoples.

Could you give us an example of this projection in U.S.-Soviet relations?

Fuller: The Russians are our shadow. We project on them what we fear in ourselves and they project on us what they fear in themselves. The Soviets' paramount social values have to do with providing a sufficiency for everyone, with some rough ideal of material equality; so they guarantee housing and education and medical care and safety in the streets. Our ideals have less to do with the substance of equality and more to do with the process of individual realization—with freedom of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, and so on.

Each side feels vulnerable when attacked for falling short of its principles. For example, when we were criticized for denying Blacks the vote twenty years ago, we felt embarrassed and exposed. Similarly, the Russians squirm when instances of privilege are pointed out. Neither society yet lives up to its own ideals, and each projects on the other its own failures to do so and denounces it accordingly. At the same time, however, each society struggles to incorporate as much of the other's central values as it dares (the Russians, our freedoms; and we, their equity) without compromising its own primary commitment.

But saying that we're each other's shadow doesn't mean we are any less of a real threat to each other, does it?

Fuller: Certainly not. The Soviets threaten us precisely *because* they're afraid of us. The threat isn't so much that they're sitting there hoping to conquer our land: they couldn't govern it if they had it—nor we theirs. The greatest threat derives from the fear they have of us and we of them, and we're afraid of them partly because we know that they're afraid of us. There's nothing more dangerous than a scared

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bear—or a scared eagle, for that matter. Somehow we've got to interrupt this cycle of fearing each other to get at the problem, which is probably a more useful formulation than saying that we have to establish trust. Trust is one of the last things to develop, even in a personal relationship between two people. It comes only after years of intimacy, and it is never born directly out of conflict.

So how do we break this spiral?

Fuller: Well, not by focusing on disarmament. There's almost no chance that nations are going to disarm willingly in the near term. We must recognize that fear of the other society is the most dangerous thing, and take conscious steps to reduce this mutual anxiety. For example, the confidence-building agreements we have with the Soviets, giving each other advance notice of missile firings and troop exercises, are good ways to avoid arousing certain sudden apprehensions. The only real safety lies not in getting rid of one or another type of weapon—it lies in inoculating ourselves against acting upon fear.

This represents rather a major shift, historically speaking, doesn't it?

Fuller: Absolutely. Through human history it has been thought that to be stronger was to be safer, to be feared was to be more secure. Nuclear weapons change this: henceforth, to be feared is to be in jeopardy. By instilling fear in others, you diminish your own safety.

The only viable strategy that remains, given the presence of these weapons, lies in accepting parity, and eventually in mutually scaling back. We've got to stop trying, with one more technological thrust, to be number one again. That scares the other side more than anything, and it doesn't work. Your shadow keeps up with you.

What does this have to say about the policy of deterrence?

Fuller: It suggests the existence of a hidden but deadly flaw in this policy, for deterrence is a strategy based upon fear. The subject is more subtle than we've realized. We've taken it for granted that it is the fear of retaliation that has been deterring aggression. I'm beginning to question that. Such fear does not deter my 4-year-old son from initiating fights with his 6-year-old brother—fights he knows he'll lose. Perhaps it is actually something other than fear of retaliation (or the absence of such fear) that deters (or releases) aggression. And perhaps the induced fear on which deterrence strategy is based actually constitutes a hidden threat to the safety that deterrence is supposed to provide.

> *Trying…to be number one…scares the other side more than anything, and it doesn't work. Your shadow keeps up with you.*

Ultimately, to feel safer, we shall have to attend directly and explicitly to the safety of others. The ancient ethical prescriptions, common to all religions, become self-enforcing in a nuclear world.

Some of this is not so different in a personal relationship, is it?

Fuller: No, it's not. In fact, the analogy is an instructive one. You can usually get to a place in a personal relationship where the expression of anger is permitted—it's something the human animal seems to need. You do this with the understanding that it's just something that occurs, and then you let go of it—you don't hang on to it because to do so sours the relationship. Since apparently there is something necessary about expressing anger, we need to create within society channels for doing it which aren't lethal. Athletics, of course, is one realm where on occasion you can express a certain amount of anger and even violence and have it dissipate into the world and do negligible harm. We also need to learn which particular escalations of that impulse to violence finally get out of hand and produce uncontrolled spasms of mutual destruction. For in international relations we are now capable of the ultimate nuclear spasm; it has been called "omnicide."

So the fact of nuclear energy is forcing us to examine our tendency to violence?

Fuller: Yes, and to learn which of its manifestations we can no longer permit if we want to go on living on Earth. We have in the 20th century stolen God's fire for a second time, as it were, although this time the fire doesn't just burn your finger—it destroys your civilization. The ceiling this places over our impulse to escalate violence is going to force a transformation in the nature of the human animal. There is, therefore, a respect in which we can be thankful that God placed this extraordinary energy down there in the nucleus, and that we have teased it out. The Promethean theft, 40 years ago, of God's nuclear fire is forcing us to reheed His commandments.

The problem then isn't just nuclear war. Are you saying that because of the likelihood of escalation, war itself must somehow be eliminated?

Fuller: Yes, that's a necessary conclusion. In my twenties, I studied and worked with some of the physicists who first built nuclear weapons. The knowledge that these weapons work, how they work, and what they can do is lodged within me; and that secret knowledge sits side by side with the "secret" that human beings love war, as well as hate it. People fight, and when they do, things can get out of hand; but with nuclear weapons, to let things get "out of hand" is to commit suicide. This is more than a "historical dilemma;" it's the worst crunch we've ever faced. We're still prone to battle, yet horrified at where it may lead. We must find new channels for our fighting energy or we'll end up with one war too many, if only to let off steam and "get it over with."

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Do you see any way out of this crunch? Will war always be with us?

Fuller: It's illuminating in approaching war to look at the histories of some other human scourges such as illiteracy, slavery, and hunger. Let's deal first with illiteracy. A thousand years ago, the only persons who knew how to read were priests and the very wealthy, and it was believed at the time that you could not learn to read unless you were close to God, unless you were a priest, or else you were rich enough to have a tutor. This special knowledge was hoarded and transmitted selectively from elite to elite. Gradually, though, it dawned on people that anyone who went through a certain process could learn to read. Through new institutions for literacy called "schools," and then via universal compulsory education, a great transformation occurred: from the idea that only a special privileged few could ever learn to read, to the idea that anyone could learn to read, and ultimately to the idea that everyone should learn to read and to write.

This is a prototypical example of what I call a *psychotectonic* shift. It is not a shift in genetics or biological evolution; it is a shift of our deepest assumptions about ourselves, a shift in what we take for granted, in what we think we are capable of. A psychotectonic shift is to the realm of moral understanding and human behavior what a paradigm shift is to scientific understanding and behavior. It is a reconceptualization of what it is to be human—a transformation of our "self-model;" and it projects a shift in human destiny with a full range of legal, political, economic, social, and spiritual consequences.

Could you illustrate this concept with another example?

Fuller: A psychotectonic shift with profound implication for mankind was the one surrounding slavery. For thousands of years it was considered a natural thing, if you could manage it, to enslave other people. Sometime about the eighteenth century, in England and in Europe, significant numbers of people began to raise doubts about the justification of one human being owning another. By mid-nineteenth century the issue came to a head in America, and what was still a widespread practice rapidly became totally unacceptable and outlawed. Abraham Lincoln presided over and came to symbolize this shift in people's mind set. As decades followed, instances of slavery around the globe were eradicated, so that now it is essentially nonexistent. This does not mean, of course, that all exploitation has ceased. Someday "wage slavery" will undergo a similar transformation. In fact, I suspect that in the twenty-first century, leadership will fall to that society which provides the most satisfying work to its citizens of age 14 to 84 (or should it be 4 to 104?). By the way, in the course of this, we'll probably have to completely transform our present educational practices; in a phrase, we'll have to design "a better game than School."

These shifts in the shape and structure of the world mind are what I am calling "psychotectonic" shifts. Winston Churchill said, "We shape our buildings; then they shape us." Just as our architecture shapes physical space, which in turn shapes our movement and behavior, so too there is a "psychotectonics," created by us, that thereafter shapes our thought and action. Psychotectonics is the invisible "architecture" of the world moral "space." And although often appearing as given and rigid, it is, in fact, quite malleable. It is we who create it and we who change it. This is the real power of this concept: we begin to take into consciousness, and assume responsibility for, powers we have unknowingly abdicated. An example of a psychotectonic shift being created before our very eyes is the current work of Amnesty International on torture and political imprisonment.

Amnesty International

Amnesty International, recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1977, works to release "prisoners of conscience" and to stop the worldwide epidemic of torture and murder of these men and women, and even children. "Prisoners of conscience" are people "detained for their beliefs, color, sex, ethnic origins, language or religion, who have neither used nor advocated violence."

Documented stories of the brutal treatment these prisoners receive at the hands of over 120 governments are appalling. Yet they represent the daily experience of hundreds of thousands of people.

Amnesty International has been responsible for the release of thousands of these prisoners and works to release tens of thousands more. It uses many methods, all entirely peaceful. The foundation of the organization's work is letters, written by "adoption" or "urgent action" groups on behalf of individual prisoners whose cases have been investigated by AI. These letters can prevent or end torture, save lives, and secure the release of prisoners.

Amnesty International, USA, may be contacted at 304 W. 58th Street, New York, NY 10019. Contributions are tax deductible.

What is it that causes psychotectonic shifts to occur?

Fuller: We can transcend a condition like illiteracy or slavery when we can thoroughly imagine and know how to produce another condition that's manifestly preferable. Perhaps it's easiest to see this with regard to hunger, which is a shift we are just now creating. Hunger is a phenomenon that communicates at a very deep level between human beings, so that there is actually a direct pain one experiences when one sees a hungry person. The only way really to rid yourself of this pain is to see the other person fed. The dynamic is something like that of a yawn by another person creating a yawn in you: it happens on a psychological and physiological level; it's an imitative, direct coupling to another person—something similar to but much stronger than the "power of suggestion."

Now in the past we have mostly repressed this pain because we didn't know how to alleviate hunger systemically. But now that we do, I think nations will eventually adopt an implicit and explicit policy that human starvation and hunger are simply unacceptable. Actions that cause them, whether foreign or domestic, will be elevated into consciousness and will no longer be tolerated.

So to generalize, conditions like slavery, hunger, or illiteracy become morally repugnant when we discover ways to discontinue the practices that sustain them. As long as the only way we can see to get a job done is to force another person to do it, we inure ourselves to his or her pain, and consider this a "normal" condition. As long as we see no way to get food to hungry people, we repress our true reactions. But when we find a way of dealing with these situations, of alleviating the other person's pain and thus our own, we move quickly to do this.

We like to think of new moral ideas as preceding the technical solutions, but widespread moral acceptance may as often *follow* the technical solutions. It's pointless to speculate on which comes first; they are deeply intertwined, and both the moral and the technological shifts are necessary to move mankind and transform our practice.

Does all this suggest then that our job is partly that of the ad man, in a sense "selling" the world on ending hunger or making peace?

Fuller: Yes, I think so. If we're actually going to transcend war-making, and to end hunger as we've ended smallpox and slavery, we're going to have to use the skills of the best "ad men." An idea must be good *and* timely in order to strike a resonance. But the speed at which "an idea whose time has come" can go forth into the world and belong to everybody is just dazzling—it moves like a sharp knife through soft butter, taking hold of everyone who is exposed to it. One way in which nonpoliticians can support political leaders is to hone ideas to the point where, when they are given public expression by a leader, they have that kind of rousing effect. If we want to see the world changed, it's our job to craft the rhetoric so that when it's spoken from a public forum, it moves people towards better goals—towards feeding the world, ending material and educational deprivation, establishing justice and equity, eliminating torture, and bypassing war-making.

This calls to mind your attempts to get President Carter to take on the world hunger issue. Would you tell us about that?

Fuller: There were many who urged Carter to tackle the hunger problem, including members of his own family. The sources of my particular effort were manifold. Like many of us I had had images of starving children seared into my soul by television—especially by coverage of the Biafran starvation. In early 1977, as Jimmy Carter took office, I saw a film entitled *The Hungry Planet*[2], which simply and clearly detailed the steps necessary to the elimination of hunger in any social system. The technical answers—agricultural, economic, and political—were public knowledge.

Carter had been a farmer. He was clearly a spiritual man. I imagined that he might be willing to give the hunger problem the kind of leadership that Lincoln had given the issue of slavery. He was pushing human rights. What human right could be more basic than the right to eat?

I had been struck by the way President Kennedy's summons to put a man on the moon and return him safely within the decade had galvanized and focused the nation into producing this result. Of course, putting a man on the moon and ending hunger are goals alike in neither substance nor significance. Yet Kennedy's call had helped make an old dream plausible, feasible, and finally doable. I thought that Carter, recalling the power of that historic summons, and knowing of the recent success of the World Health Organization's global campaign to eradicate smallpox, could provide leadership in the elimination of hunger by the end of the century. He had an opportunity to go down in history as the person who named and orchestrated a World War on hunger, a psychotectonic shift of unparalleled importance in the creation of humane human beings.

So, armed with an outline of a plan to end hunger by the end of the century, I began a series of trips to Washington. There were many steps on the way to a meeting with the President, and the openness of leadership to "an idea whose time has come" was always astonishing. I began with the Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs, detoured through a dozen senators and congressmen (including Humphrey and McGovern), met with the Undersecretary of Agriculture, the AID Director, various presidential assistants, Energy "Czar" Schlesinger, Budget Director Lance, UN Ambassador Young, Vice President Mondale, and finally, the President. To all of them I communicated the message that there existed at the present time a historical opportunity to end hunger; that a formal commitment to doing so could now reasonably and responsibly be made; and that the making of such a commitment would in itself help in the realization of the goal. The budget for the program was approximately the same, on an annual basis, as that of the moon program, but extended for two decades instead of one.

President Carter did create a Commission on World Hunger which issued a report confirming and proclaiming the feasibility of actually ending hunger on a world scale. Soon afterwards, his term of office came to an end. The task of mobilizing the will to end hunger on earth remains unfinished. Hunger awaits its Lincoln.

Part Two

Returning to your earlier point about the relationship between technology and morality, if the invention of the cotton gin helped make slavery morally unacceptable and the printing press and schools did the same for illiteracy, what will it be for war? Can we say that the invention of the atomic bomb is the technological innovation that will make war unacceptable?

Fuller: Well, the existence of nuclear weapons creates a situation in which we have a sharp, compelling incentive to examine our war-making tendencies. But such an examination reveals an important difference between the three psychotectonic shifts I've mentioned—having to do with slavery, illiteracy, and hunger—and that of eliminating war. The difference stems from the fact that slavery, hunger, and illiteracy are conditions that people live under, and that it's possible to imagine another set of conditions that could replace each of them. This alternate set of conditions may be extremely complex and require far-reaching changes in a society, such as in the case of slavery. Nevertheless an alternative *can* be imagined—dimly at first, then more and more concretely. With respect to hunger, for example, you imagine a world well-fed; you can specifically imagine loaves of bread in every culinary style on every table in the world. And in the case of illiteracy, you imagine a world where everybody reads. You see books—millions of books. You see not just priests holding books with fancy calligraphy, but you see everybody reading, the Bible at first and then other books, printed books! And you imagine schools where reading is taught to all. This is not to say that imagination, although necessary, is also *sufficient* for transformation, for it leaves the actual work still to be done. But I want to stress that thoroughly imagining an opposite state is a prerequisite for the eradication of unwanted conditions.

Now the point is that we've been dealing with *conditions*; but war is an *activity*. War differs from hunger, illiteracy, and slavery because it is something we *do*, a complex societal activity that we participate in. If you imagine its absence, what you get is nothing; you get a nonactivity. We call it peace, but the problem with peace, and the reason it's hard to create a desire for peace except in the immediate aftermath of a war, is that no one can imagine it, or everyone imagines it so very differently. "Peace" is not a set of activities that people do. That's why I maintain that the bypassing of war will require the delineation of a set of activities that can serve certain of the purposes that war has served, that provide people with something to do, and can meet the real needs that wars have met in the past.

Are you suggesting that peace is actually not a viable goal for the "Peace Movement"?

Fuller: Yes I am, exactly. Peace is the absence of a very exciting activity—war. And nobody ever opted for nothing in place of something, especially something exciting. Peace has the connotation of peace and quiet, of serenity, of bliss; and people aren't actually attracted to that very much. It's boring after a while.

Also, if you look to see who *is* in favor of it, it's usually people who are living a privileged life, and who therefore wish to maintain the status quo. People who are experiencing hunger or injustice don't want peace; they are, in fact, willing to make revolutions and wars to secure food and justice. For people who are hungry or afraid, material well-being or security is of more immediate concern than peace.

So peace isn't the best way to express the goal of the anti-war movement. And you can't express it as "anti-war" either because that's merely "against." We've got to figure out what it is we actually want, and then be *for* that.

Is this the meaning of the question you've posed, "Is there a better game than War?"?

Fuller: Yes. And it's meant to be a provocative question, suggesting that war has in fact been an activity that men and women have played and have loved. They have also hated it, but it's crucial if we're ever going to bypass or transcend war-making that we admit our own eternal fascination with the business of it, with the fact that it provides moments of individual exhilaration, camaraderie, nobility, leadership, courage, and glory that other human activities seldom match. The horrible side of war is well known and usually focused on, but until we acknowledge our secret attraction to it we're likely to keep on "doing" it.

In using the word "game" I do not mean to suggest that war is in any way frivolous. War is war—an immensely complex, irreducible activity of institutional character involving virtually all facets of society. In addition to provoking the recognition of our attraction to it, referring to war as a game suggests there are roles, moves, transactions, strategies, outcomes, winners and losers—and, most important, that we do have a choice as to whether to keep playing it.

I suppose one of the reasons it's difficult to invent a game that is more engaging than war is that in playing war we get to experience vicariously the ultimate sacrifice, the giving of one's life. Denis de Reougemont[3] saw in the act of dying for the one we love the supreme expression of eros.

Fuller: Yes, we have to acknowledge what genuine purposes wars have served—psychological as well as political. Then we've got to see if we can invent and design and *authorize* another game, another set of activities which meet those needs which wars have met.

Incidentally, it's important to realize that the game of ending particular wars is completely different from discovering the game that replaces all war. Peacemakers who have an answer to the question "What would I do if peace broke out?" are apt to be more effective in their work.

What are the activities which will replace the game of war and meet some of the same needs?

At any rate, in my thinking I've moved past disarmament as a primary strategy and past peace as an immediate goal, and on over to the question of what the activities are which will replace the game of war and meet some of the same needs. We are beginning to design a game that is more fun to participate in than the old war games, or even the inseparably related "stop-a-war" games. The game that might be better than both these games is that of *Completion*—of completing ourselves through each other by incorporating into ourselves the empowering truths that other peoples embody and exemplify. That is really what our work in the Mo Tzu project is about.

Would you describe that project and explain what you mean by this "Mo Tzu" work?

Fuller: In the fifth century B.C., during the time in Chinese history known as the Warring States period, Mo Tzu and a few of his followers would travel on foot to sites of developing conflict among the various feudal "states" and there attempt a kind of diplomatic aikido. If the opposing parties would not agree to sit down together and mediate their dispute, Mo Tzu would join the weaker side, offer training in how to withstand a siege, and then again sue for a negotiated solution. Precisely what his magic consisted of is not known, but his willingness to commit himself personally to a vision of a world without war is a source of inspiration to us.

The definition of what among ourselves we call "Mo Tzuing" is "finding what you love in what you hate." You might admit that you sometimes hate the Russians, for example, but if you can remember what it is you love within all that and use it as a handle, you can hold your hatred in its proper, subordinate place. Until you know what you love in what you hate, your hatred can assume command value over your behavior. But when you've found what you love and can maintain it as a clear vision, it becomes possible to surround your hatred and get past it. That's "Mo Tzuing." And it applies as much to personal relationships as to relationships between whole cultures, societies, or nations.

The minute you find what you love in someone else, you're bigger yourself and stronger; you're more powerful. That will be, I think, the meaning of power in the twenty-first century. It's power that comes from the completion of self, from the incorporation into your behavioral repertoire of the other person's (or culture's) "secrets."

And there's an interesting flip side to this: it is finding what you hate (in your "enemy") in yourself. For we only hate in others—whether in individuals or whole peoples—what we cannot accept in ourselves.

What was the source of this understanding in your own experience?

Fuller: While teaching in a Black ghetto high school in Seattle in 1967, I came to feel that I was somehow incomplete as a person. There was something in these black teenagers, something they embodied, that I was attracted to and wanted to hang around. I noticed also that there was something attractive about me to them, something about me that they wanted to hang around. It was here that I first experienced the notion of the complementarity of cultures, and that's been a central idea for me ever since: that you can make yourself more whole and complete by assimilating the truths borne by other cultures. We need our enemies in order to complete ourselves.

It's interesting to trace the first stages of this process. As the sense of threat diminishes, we redesignate our former "enemies" as "adversaries." With the first hint of positive mutual value, "adversaries" become "rivals," a term which acknowledges each as a secret teacher of the other. Finally "rivals," recognizing their mutual dependency, come to see themselves as "partners."

"If we all can persevere, if we can in every land and office look beyond our own shores and ambitions, then surely the age will dawn in which the strong are just and the weak secure and the peace preserved."
—John F. Kennedy

Completeness is also a key concept in mathematics, so it's been with me since my formative intellectual years as a student of science. One learns that a set of things, a set of mathematical objects, can be complete or incomplete. If you want to say where something is located, you need three numbers; if you use only two, your knowledge remains incomplete. And if you want to locate an *event*, you need four numbers—three spatial coordinates plus time. The notion of completeness is central in science and I believe it is central to the present human predicament.

So this is how you relate to other cultures now?

Fuller: Yes, in looking at Black, Islamic, or Russian culture, I try to identify that aspect of the truth they bear most prominently. Our intial reaction to other people is often negative because we see that they fail to embody something we take as supremely important. Only after getting through this can we appreciate what it is that they have to offer. I don't expect ever to assimilate fully into my perspective the way a Chinese sees the world or landscape, or the way Muslims feel about their friends. But to begin to see what such qualities are, and to square another way of seeing or being with your own so the two are not in contradiction, is the work that the world has urgently to get on with. Otherwise we're going to react out of our initial distaste and annihilate the differences.

Television can be a very powerful tool in communicating this. It is interesting to note that the discovery of the transistor, which led to both television and computers, and the first man-made nuclear reaction occurred within a few years of each other. Used properly, the telecommunications revolution could serve as a technological counterweight to the threats posed by nuclear weapons technology.

Do you see television as being able in the future to substitute completely for direct human contact?

Fuller: No, I think first-hand exchange and experience will always be essential. The value of groups like those doing this Mo Tzu work is due less to whatever particular insights they might bring to a situation, than to the consciousness that the mere fact of their presence as witnesses creates in parties to a conflict: namely, that there is a "view from afar," visible to neither party.

Another function these groups serve is that of a mirror. And we need first to mirror the value, the truths of a given people, so that security and a sense of compassion will allow them some disidentification with the beliefs which are supporting their involvement in the conflict.

How did the Mo Tzu project originate?

Fuller: I suppose it goes back to my traveling to Vietnam during the war. I had learned in *War and Peace* about Pierre going to take a look at the Napoleonic War and how much it affected him to actually see war-making and to see people dying from violence. So I got on a plane and flew into Saigon on a regular tourist visa.

I was President of Oberlin College at the time, and when I walked into the American Embassy and said I'd come to learn what was happening, they grabbed hold of me, thrilled that someone was there to see for himself. They even provided me with a helicopter and a personal pilot and took me wherever I wanted to go. I traveled all over and saw a lot of people, some grievously wounded and dying of burns, some children who had lost limbs. It engraved in my consciousness what the consequences of this "glorious" activity of war actually were to individuals.

Then in 1978, another formative experience was a trip that my wife and I and our child made to the Soviet Union for a month, traveling by train across the whole continent to Japan, talking with hundreds of people on the way. It was on this trip that I began to see Soviet society as complementary to American.[4]

More specifically though, the Mo Tzu idea developed in response to the suggestion that a peace institute be created at the University of California. I started to imagine groups of people who would actually go to the world's trouble-spots, immerse themselves in the situations, learn about them, and then see if there was something that could be done to broker a better relationship amongst the "partners" in conflict.

There is today a great deal of knowledge and experience regarding the process of negotiation between antagonistic nations. But before this knowledge can be applied to alleviating ongoing tensions and conflicts, there must first exist the *sine qua non* of successful negotiation: mutual respect, or to put it in Mo Tzu terms, the willingness to see one's own culture and a rival one as complementary, as each bearing an aspect of a larger truth, a truth that embraces them both and compromises neither.

The peace institute I imagined was one which would focus at that more primary level of trying to build the willingness for diplomacy to work, to lay the groundwork needed before either governmental representatives such as Gromyko or Habib, or professional mediators such as Roger Fisher or John Burton,[5] could bring their specialized skills to bear on the issue.

In a sense we commit a kind of psychic suicide, then, by severing ourselves from other cultures.

Fuller: I think so—by making them wrong, by humiliating them, by invalidating them. They in turn become angry with us. We cut ourselves off from engaging with other cultures and try to crush and expunge our differences instead of celebrating them. We need only reinterpret the old French maxim, "Vive la Difference," to have the best anti-war cry imaginable.

In short, the activities that outmode and replace war must deal with incompleteness, whether it be of the body, mind, or soul. No one activity embodies all these aspects. Nonetheless, to deal with want in any of its forms is to move towards by-passing war; and conversely, not to deal with want is to court war. We begin to see the outline of another grand human game on the horizon, coaxing us away from the thrills of the battlefield. It is the discovery and completion of one's own self as experienced in one's culture, and one's self as manifested in one's supposed enemy or shadow. This may well be an activity exciting enough and profound enough to supplant war. Completing ourselves is actually what we've always wanted; in fact, it is partly what we've sought for in vain through the cruel instrumentality of war. We now, finally, have the wisdom to get at these nurturing, self-completing truths directly.

Heugel expressed this over a century ago:

> *Each...part lives only by participating in and eventually giving itself up to the whole...the "self" or identity which is given up, however, is only the claim on the part of a fragment to be the whole, a truth claiming to be truer than it is...*

"People who develop the habit of thinking of themselves as world citizens are fulfilling the first requirement of sanity in our time."

—Norman Cousins

What kind of "warrior" will be needed for this new game you're proposing?

Fuller: What the world needs now are *nonpartisans*—people who specialize in introducing different cultures to each other, people who develop the skill to create in antagonistic nations or cultures the capacity to hold in check that ancient familiar impulse to fight. And this involves a philosophical shift in thinking away from dualistic, possessive presuppositions to a more inclusive world-view.

In traditional political or economic terms, the focus has been on who has what privilege, what right, what "stuff," what power. Those issues tend to be divisive because the prevailing view, at least in the past, has been "If I've got something, you don't have it" or "If I control this, you don't"—categories of exclusion which make for dispute. But mathematics has taught us about non-zero-sum games. A zero-sum game is one in which my gain exactly equals your loss, whereas a non-zero-sum game is one in which it's possible that we both gain. It's going to become a central value in politics to move past this zero-sum game framework and hold out for that solution in which everybody experiences a win simultaneously.

What is the role of television in this work?

Fuller: Television is a revolutionary form of witness that makes us all onlookers. It can be a kind of world conscience. You know how each of us has a voice inside that serves as our moral conscience? Well television is the voice outside us. The images we received of the Biafran starvation and the My Lai massacre changed history.

But also, I want to find a way of showing on television the creativity and dignity of different people. At first, you don't experience another culture as having dignity; you tend to see a bunch of "Martians." You may experience them as different and wrong-headed, as inefficient and making a lot of foolish errors, because often they are inept in areas where we excel. If they were good at just what we are good at, they would be bad at just what we are bad at. So usually when we come into a culture we notice the ineptness. But eventually we may come to understand that through their "weaknesses," they are in part protecting and preserving their strengths. They are protecting a certain class of insights or a certain truth-seeking strategy that characterizes, even generates, their particular perception. They are protecting that and preserving it at all costs because that is their uniqueness, their essential gift.

Have your intial Mo Tzu efforts been encouraging?

Fuller: As we go about this work, we are constantly aware of how small our contribution is relative to the size and seriousness of the problems in which we're immersed. But it's like throwing a stone into a lake: you don't see the water level rise, but you know the stone is sitting at the bottom, so you conclude that the water level must have risen. In our work it's hard to measure the effects, but when we have done well by a situation we feel the water level has risen. In 1982, our little band of travelers went to the Middle East in April,[6] Ireland in May, Poland in October, and Kenya in November.[7]

We are not representatives of any government or any organization. But people who encounter us realize quickly that we're just as interested in the process and in the outcome as if we were professional diplomats. The human quality of our interest draws people into intense discussions. Our presence is an expression of our view that diplomacy has become too important to ordinary people to be left only to professional diplomats.

And we've noticed that government figures are often more open and forthcoming with us than they could be with either fellow diplomats or journalists. When people realize that we're coming from a nonpartisan place, that our focus is to discover the complementarity in the parties to conflict, they become less righteous, defensive, and belligerent. They often join us in looking for at least a theoretical solution—one which would leave both parties with their self-respect and each with a sense that they own a piece of the truth, while glimpsing the possibility of owning a larger truth by incorporating that of the other side.

So at this point, do you feel you've really got a better game than war?

Fuller: For Mo Tzu work to begin to fill this collective need it would have to be multipled many thousandfold and perhaps be given the status of an Event. Imagine that an agreement were negotiated among the nations of the world to exchange for two years, beginning in say 1985, a million people, going and coming from nation to nation in approximate proportion to populate—a mammoth, multinational

Peace-on-Earth Corps moving not just from America to developing nations but rather from each country to all the others, focusing on the issue of establishing relationships, and thereby building mutual security. An event on this scale could mark a turning point in human affairs and initiate the needed psychotectonic shift away from war.

The people of the earth are in a most dangerous passage. We have only the barest knowledge of each other, after centuries of relative isolation. And a little learning *is* a dangerous thing. We must move rapidly to reduce the danger, so greatly enhanced by nuclear weapons technology, by learning enough more about each other to overcome the fright of first encounter. Paradoxically, it is technology that makes this awkward passage both necessary and possible.

The global event here imagined could be financed with one percent of the world's defense budgets. Such as expenditure would surely enhance the security of individual nations, and that is precisely the purpose of national defense budgets.

The age-old mechanism for transcending civil strife—aligning against an external enemy—is no longer workable. There are no external enemies for all mankind to unite against. Thus, we'll have to transcend global civil war not by allying ourselves with former enemies in the face of a new enemy, but by learning enough about our adversaries to establish forebearance for the differences that have, during these first close encounters, so scared and agitated us.

The linchpin of forebearance for another people is to identify the truth or value their culture has borne forward through its particular history. And the key to evoking a reciprocal respect is to know the truths exemplified by one's own culture. Both sides must find what they love in what they may at first be inclined to hate. Then, and only then, can two cultures truly meet.

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6. For details of this trip and a general account of Mo Tzu work, see "The Mo Tzu Project" by Marlow Hotchkiss, *Co-Evolution Quarterly*, Fall 1982.
7. For details of this trip, see "Mo Tzu in Kenya and Poland," *Co-Evolution Quarterly, Spring 1983.*

Where To Go From Here

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Eliminating hunger is mentioned in this chapter. For more information on this topic, see *Food First* by Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins.

"Make peace as exciting as war."
—John Grierson

6

Nonviolence in the Family

Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.

Matthew 5:9

Introduction

Where do we get the idea that violent solutions to problems are satisfactory or desirable, or the only kind of solution available? Our cultural images are one source. TV, movies, and newspapers show us a great deal of violence every day. They make it easy for us to think of violent responses to situations. Constructive, nonviolent and loving models for dealing with situations and people are harder to find.

Our family is another primary source of impressions about relating to people. Attitudes we form as children affect us and the people around us until we die. Research shows that the parents of abused children were often abused children themselves. Isn't it likely that whatever children experience as they grow up tends to become the way they treat others, and the world in general?

If we are ever to have a peaceful world, we must begin to explore what peace means on every level, from our most intimate relationships to our social and political arrangements to our planetary relationships.

Jim and Kathy McGinnis are the parents of three adopted children, ages nine, seven and five. In these excerpts from their book, Parenting for Peace and Justice, *Jim shares the experiences this family has had trying to incorporate nonviolence into the fabric of their everyday lives. Jim and Kathy McGinnis are also the coordinators of the Parenting for Peace and Justice Network (see "Where to Go from Here").*

Parenting for Peace and Justice

James McGinnis

It was a crisp fall Saturday morning several years ago, and I was looking forward to the peace of chopping firewood alone in the back yard. But before long I realized I had company.

"I want it!" demanded five-year-old David.

"No!" shouted Theresa, eighteen months younger and half his size.

There in the garage was the classic standoff. David was on the seat of the family's Big Wheel tricycle. Theresa perched defiantly on the front wheel, straining to block his exit.

At first I was angry at their breaking into my chopping and meditating time. I wanted to grab the Big Wheel away from them both and drag them into the house. Some grace intervened, though, and I was able to recall our decision to work at mutual problem-solving and let the children resolve their own conflicts as much as possible.

Well, after two solid minutes of yelling, the children seemed to be at an impasse. At that I intervened. "Doesn't seem like either of you is getting to ride the Big Wheel. Are you happy about that?"

Both answered no.

"Then what could you do so that you could both be happy?" I asked.

After a few seconds David responded, "We could take turns"—then added, "for ten minutes each." (This had been the solution to a similar impasse not long before.) When I said I would be willing to say when ten minutes were up, Theresa volunteered to let David go first.

Sometimes it actually works! Sometimes I remember to give it—the process—and them—the children—a chance.

Peace is not the absence of conflict. Conflict is an inevitable fact of daily life—internal, interpersonal, intergroup, and international conflict. Peace consists in creatively dealing with conflict. Peace is the process of working to resolve conflicts in such a way that both sides win, with increased harmony as the outcome of the conflict and its resolution. The resolution is *peace-full* if the participants come to *want* to cooperate more fully and find themselves enabled to do so.

This style of parenting (and relating to others in general) is neither permissive nor authoritarian. It is *mutual.* That is, parents and children work together (so the theory goes), with no one winning or losing. Parents do not make all the decisions; but neither do they give in to the children when their own essential needs, values, interests, and responsibilities are at stake.

In many ways, problem-solving and shared decision-making with the children, and learning the necessary communication skills for this, takes much more time than either permissive or authoritarian approaches. But the payoffs are much bigger. Greater harmony, motivation, efficiency, children and parents sharing their lives with one another, happiness, communication, discovery of one's worth and potential, less need for punishment, and a practical way in which parents "can learn to exert influence instead of authority," are among the benefits.

On the other hand, as Thomas Gordon points out, the more that parental *power* is the basis of attempts to change their children's behavior, the more resistance, hostility, aggression, lying and hidden feelings, blaming others, bullying, needing to win and hating to lose, submission, conformity, and withdrawing are likely to be found in our children (see "Where to Go from Here").

Basic Ingredients in Building Family Community

An affirming, cooperative, accepting family environment

All persons have the physiological and psychological potential for violent behavior. But we believe that those who actually resort to violence are people who have learned violence. Unfortunately, in our society as a whole and in many of the families in our society, it is easy to learn violence. But we believe that children can also learn nonviolence. However, the experience of the educators at the

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Children's Creative Response to Conflict Program has led them to the conclusion that nonviolence *cannot* be learned as a series of *techniques* divorced from a nonviolent environment. Only in an environment that is more and more cooperative and affirming will children learn nonviolent conflict-resolution skills. We use the phrase "more and more" here to indicate our own only too clear realization that parents are not perfect, that fights will still happen, and that learning nonviolence is a life-long process through many a failure.

In trying to live more nonviolently, we do not believe we are preparing our children to live in an unreal world. "Street skills" or "survival skills" are important. But we are also concerned that the children learn a second set of skills, which they can improve by testing them out in the so-called real world, as well as at home, and talk with us about the difficulties involved.

> *Only in an environment that is more and more cooperative and affirming will children learn nonviolent conflict-resolution skills.*

So how do we build this affirming, cooperative, accepting environment? Examples are legion, and every family has its own special ones.

Affirmation: One of us tries to look over the children's schoolwork quickly when they come home or right before dinner. Positive comments should prevail over negative ones, though constructive criticism is also in order (as much from them as from us).

Conscious affirmation of one another sometimes happens at mealtimes or occasionally in the car. Especially after a string of meals at which we seem to be more conscious of the children's table manners than of their persons, we will ask each person to say one thing he or she likes about each family member, or one thing each person is good at. Sometimes we ask each other what our favorite foods, songs, and the like are, or what have been our favorite moments of the day.

Prutzman's *Friendly Classroom for a Small Planet* (see "Where to Go from Here") is a source of many other such possibilities, including "Affirmation Valentines," in which we write reasons we love one another.

Physical affection helps too. Lots of it. Bedtime and as the children leave for school are regular times for us. Holding hands as we pray before meals increases physical contact and at least symbolizes caring, although it does not always occasion feelings of affection among the children! (Be patient, we keep reminding ourselves.)

Family game nights, wrestling in the living room, the kids hopping into bed with us in the morning (sometimes), are all family affirmations as well as fun. Despite my residual rigidity, we are experiencing the truth of Elise Boulding's observation that "playfulness, openness and love go together. So do rigidity and violence."

Part of an affirming environment is an air of acceptance. Nonviolence is not bred in an environment where criticism overshadows acceptance.

An affirmative environment is more than likely a cooperative one too. Violence is nurtured by excessive competition. Nonviolence, on the other hand, springs from cooperation. Families have numerous opportunities to promote a cooperative environment at home. Some family chores require (or can be structured to require) more than one person to do them. Sometimes it is two or more of the children sharing the task—emptying wastebaskets and raking leaves work best when one person holds the bag while the other fills it. Sometimes a parent can work with the children—Theresa and I doing the dishes, David and Kathy baking.

Adult activities can often include one or more of the children—trips to the hardware store, the grocery store, the recycling center. Reading a story to a couple of the children at the same time, involving David as well as Theresa in painting her dollhouse, are examples of how we try to balance time with the children together along with time with them individually. Sometimes in family games we play as teams.

Before proceeding to the specific skills involved in nonviolent conflict resolution, it might be good to look at your own family environment and try to answer the following questions:

- Is the mood of your family a cooperative one? Is it relaxed or tense?
- Do you feel good about yourselves and others?
- Do you listen to one another?
- Do all communicate clearly?
- Do you have fun together? Enjoy being home?
- How do you generally resolve conflicts?

Nonviolent communication skills

Numerous books have been written on why and how to communicate nonviolently. Here we can only highlight what we have found worthwhile from our own experience and from reading generally helpful books like Gordon's *Parent Effectiveness Training* (see "Where to Go from Here"). Here are three communication skills and principles we see as important for nonviolent conflict resolution.

Love & Peace go together like pen & paper, like teeth & gums, like a grapes & a vine!
—Lance, age 11

1. Expressing wants in clear action-terms. We agree with Gordon on the importance of sending what he calls "I-messages" rather than "you-messages," and of referring to specific behavior rather than making general judgments. Thus if I have a problem with someone's behavior, then I need to name it as my problem, and name it in clear action-tems. Compare the following statements:

- "Hey, I can't concentrate. Why don't you think about anybody but yourself? I want some consideration around here!"
- "I'm trying to read, but I can't concentrate with the disco records on that loud. Can you turn it down, or put on some soft music, or wait a half-hour until I finish?"

Here, both complaints state my need. But the second offers possible solutions rather than merely stating my need and requiring the child to generate a solution; and it avoids the put-down and destructiveness the first statement falls into with its "you-message" and its call for "consideration" (whatever that might mean). The "I-message," if expressed in a voice and with words that fit, invites a response rather than a counter-attack! The child will now figure that I am probably willing to hear *his* wants, and he will more likely state them less defensively in his response. Now with my problem clearly named, the way is open to our finding a mutually agreeable solution.

2. Expressing our feelings honestly, along with our wants. But often our feelings are more important than our wants, and need to be expressed as clearly, honestly, and gently as we can. Compare:

- "Hey, get in here and clean up your room! You're really dependable! You can't even remember your own agreements. You want to make us late for Grandma's?"
- "I'm really disappointed. I thought we had an agreement where you'd clean your room on Saturday morning before going outside. I want you to come in and clean it now, since we're leaving for Grandma's in thirty minutes."

In the second statement, the feeling is named (disappointment) and the reason for it is given. In the first statement, besides the sarcastic, blaming tone, a feeling is not named—although anger is clearly the feeling communicated! Of course, there are times when the primary feeling *is* anger and this should then be stated. Here, however, the primary feeling is disappointment. The honest statement of our disappointment can be an invitation to growth for the other person. Communicating the secondary feeling, anger, as primary, is unnecessary and invites resentment.

Further, unless the feelings are expressed and understood, it may be impossible to deal with the wants. Hiding our feelings can cause resentment and can ultimately lead to violence. As Kathy and I become more comfortable with and skillful in expressing our negative feelings, we are trying to help the children grow in the same way. Many couples have recommended sharing their feelings and working through their conflicts occasionally in front of the children.

Often we can speak to the children's own feelings, naming those feelings with them: "You're feeling angry right now, aren't you?" This is where the next skill comes in.

3. Active listening. This expression of Thomas Gordon's refers to a kind of listening and response that does not judge, ridicule, praise, warn, order, or the like. Instead, the listener tries to feed back or paraphrase the feeling(s) and want(s) of the speaker, checking out the accuracy of the hearing. With children, this is also a way of helping them clarify their own feelings and wants. "You'd like me to stop yelling at you when I'm mad, is that right?" or "You're saying you were bored the last time we went to the demonstration at General Dynamics because there weren't any other children there?"

We are learning that the more we listen without judging, as hard as it is to do, the more we help our children accept their feelings, improve their own problem-solving ability, increase their willingness to listen to us, and expand the warmth and empathy in all of us. As Gordon points out, such listening requires certain attitudes: a desire to listen and be helpful, an acceptance of others' feelings and separateness, and a trust in their ability to solve problems.

Family meetings offer us a weekly chance to learn these skills, but dozens of other opportunities are available daily, especially at mealtimes and after school. We try to take turns talking at meals, making sure the older children do not drown out the younger ones. In conflict situations we try to help them hear one another's wants: "David, do you know why Theresa is so angry with you? Can you tell him, Theresa?" If she does, we might then ask, "David, do you understand what she said? Can you tell me?"

The importance of listening, as far as peace and justice is concerned, is expressed by Elise Boulding:

> *Many of the young people in these [social change] communities had the experience of being listened to and respected when they were children. They developed a sense that their thoughts and actions would make a difference. Probably in the childhood of every activist peacemaker there were one or many experiences of being trusted and attended to by an adult. Such experiences build up a reservoir of competence and inner security that makes it possible to take risks on behalf of what one believes.*

Nonviolent conflict resolution

The importance of active listening in nonviolent conflict resolution was brought home to me anew just recently. Nine-year-old Tommy and his friend Sean headed down to the basement to play, with seven-year-old David close behind, apparently to check on the security of his things. Sure enough, I heard the rattling of the hubcap David had found earlier. Loud voices soon joined the rattling, followed shortly by cries. I appeared, and found a punched nine-year-old and a bitten seven-year-old, each telling me the hubcap was his.

Sean was asked to leave for a while, and Tommy and David were sent to separate rooms to calm down. I went to each to hear his feelings and his side of the story (without comment—ordinarily I would have had a number of choice comments, but I had literally just been reading Gordon's chapter on active listening). In five minutes they said they were ready to talk about it. So I put them in their room with instructions to come to some agreement they both could live with and report it to me; then they could go back to play. Tommy protested briefly that he wanted to play first, but I said no.

The first six exchanges I heard as I walked down the stairs were remarkably similar: "It's mine!" "No, it's mine!" "No, it's mine!" "I said it's mine!" "I found it first!" "No, I found it first!" I did decide to intervene now, to remind them that they had to agree on how to play with the hubcap before they could resume playing. Well, in less than ten minutes Tommy was walking out the front door. I asked him to explain their agreement. He did. Then I asked David to explain it. He said it was just as Tommy had said. The agreement sounded pretty elaborate—where the hubcap would be kept, who could play with it first, who could play with it when the other didn't want it, what would happen if it were taken out of the drawer without consulting the other. But the complexity of the agreement seemed to boggle only my feeble brain. The boys seemed fine and were off to play.

Because of this and other experiences, we are coming to agree with the advice of friends, as well as of experts like Gordon, on a parent's role in child-child conflicts. Expressed as a series of principles or steps, this advice might be digested as follows.

1. Stay out of child-child conflicts altogether if possible. Intervene only if someone is getting hurt or your own needs are being interfered with by the conflict.
2. Intervene in such a way as to enable the children to resolve the conflict themselves.

Jerry and Martha, friends of ours with five children, have applied these principles somewhat as in our own hubcap incident. When their twelve-year-old and nine-year-old sons are fighting, tempers are usually very high. So the boys are separated for five minutes, to calm down and find possible solutions. Then they are brought together to arrive at an actual solution. If they cannot find one, then a parent imposes one. Because they generally do not like the solutions imposed, more often than not they find their own.

Other friends of ours, Mike and Barbara, are very clear with their five children, ranging in age from five to fifteen: "Solve your conflicts yourselves. If you cannot, then bring them to the weekly family meeting, where the whole family can help. If you absolutely cannot wait until then, then one of us will serve as a mediator." Rarely has either of them had to be summoned for mediator duty, once family meetings became weekly.

Problem-solving in parent-child conflicts is another matter. We agree with Gordon that there are three basic ways of dealing with most parent-child conflicts: modifying the environment, changing ourselves, and problem-solving with the children.

1. Modifying the environment. Sometimes conflicts can be reduced and mutual enjoyment increased by modifying the environment. *Enriching* the environment (providing more stimuli) encourages creativity and reduces boredom and conflicts. *Impoverishing* the environment, like calming children down before bedtime, can also reduce conflicts. *Simplifying* the environment, that is, making it easier for children to do things without causing problems, like using spill-proof cups, can help too. *Restricting* the environment, for example by confining loud indoor play to the basement, will often help considerably, as does *child-proofing* the environment: giving a one-year-old an old magazine to tear up rather than one we are still reading is an example of child-proofing by substituting one activity for another. *Planning ahead* with children and preparing them for changes also helps: if the children realize that Saturday afternoon and evening will be taken up by visiting Grandma, they will be more likely to complete their chores on Saturday morning without a hassle. Gordon adds a note with which Kathy and I agree, although we do not usually remember to implement it: as the children get older, modifications in the home environment should be by mutual decisions whenever possible. The home belongs to the children as well as to the parents.

> *"Solutions" with negative feelings prevailing are not non-violent conflict resolutions for us as a family.*

2. Changing ourselves. Expanding the possibilities of nonviolent conflict resolution by changing ourselves is a very real possibility for all of us. For Kathy and me this has come to mean four things. First, checking with other parents and with teachers, along with an occasional parenting book, is helping us form more realistic expectations of our children. Talking with parents of older children has helped us get a longer-term perspective on our children. Current problems often seem less monumental when viewed in relation to the problems of adolescents. Usually we feel more relaxed after such discussions and are a little more easy-going with our children.

Second, doing enjoyable things with the children balances the inevitable negative aspects of living with them. We want to increase our positive feelings about the children. "Solutions" with negative feelings prevailing are not *nonviolent* conflict resolutions for us as a family. More and more we are looking for experiences we can share which we enjoy as much as the children do. It is making a real difference for us.

Third, we are getting clearer about our own wants, and doing more things that give *us* real satisfaction. The more we feel positive about ourselves individually, the more positive we are in relation to the children. Not long ago I found myself saying, "Damn it, if I can't find time for so many of the things I want, I'll at least get you kids to do what I want!"—not exactly a prescription for mutual problem-solving. I decided then and there to change my own situation, to make time for my guitar, poetry, jogging, and friends, so that the children would not continue to suffer from my frustrations.

Last, and likewise, the more Kathy and I enjoy each other, the more positive and open we are to the children. If we want to be good for our children we had better be good for each other. Without this critical link the whole chain of parenting for peace and justice comes apart.

3. Mutual problem-solving with the children. Obviously, even after minimizing conflicts by modifying the environment and by modifying ourselves, parent-child conflicts occur daily. More and more of these, particularly the recurring conflicts, we—the children as well as ourselves—are bringing to our weekly family meeting. Other parent-child conflicts need to be dealt with on the spot.

Although we often short-cut the process, we recommend these steps as a systematic way of problem-solving as a family, of coming to a consensus.

Step 1. Name the problem or conflict clearly. That is, what are the conflicting needs? Expressing feelings as well as wants, and "active listening," are important aspects of this step. Each participant in the conflict needs to feel heard and understood.

Step 2. Brainstorm alternatives. Everyone's idea is listened to. (We do not allow evaluation yet, like "that's a stupid idea!")

Step 3. Evaluate the alternatives. Here is where short-cuts are often taken; younger children do not have the capacity for staying with a process for a long time. Kathy and I often kibbitz a little here—helping one or more of the children see how their needs will be met by someone else's suggestions, or how that suggestion could be modified slightly to meet others' needs.

Step 4. Poll the group to see if we have found an alternative that everyone can accept.

Step 5. Decide how to implement the solution. Who is responsible for which tasks, and (where applicable) when will we evaluate how well the solution is working?

Are there limits to our problem-solving with children? For what issues is problem-solving appropriate? At what ages? How much should the children be allowed to participate? Definitely there are limits. The limits are the values and needs of each family member, including the parents. As the children get older and more verbal, we are finding few if any issues involving the children that are inappropriate for mutual decision-making.

Nutrition is a basic concern of parents. Do we allow our children to eat whatever they want whenever they want it? No. We decided as a family when the children were eight, six, and four years old that they would choose their after-school snacks once a week for the whole week, and that the snacks had to be nutritious and low in sugar content.

Not that it always works smoothly. As I was writing the lines just above, the children came home from school. David and Theresa asked if they could go to the neighborhood store and buy some candy with their own money. "We haven't gone in two weeks," David pleaded, knowing his chances were not very good. When I asked pointedly whether they had spent some money for treats at a church movie the day before, tears formed in David's eyes. "I knew you'd say no!"

"No, David, let's talk about it. We're going to Cincinnati in two days on a special trip."

"Right," he retorted, "and we won't get to spend any money then either."

Recalling last week was Valentine's and the children had had their fill of candy (in our estimation, that is), I launched into our "cavities-and-dentist bills" speech, and ended up with, "No, David, I think more candy today is just too much candy. What's the snack today?" "Raisins," he mumbled. "How about if you get some peanuts and raisins both, as a special treat?"

The motion seemed to die for a lack of a second, but suddenly David was up in the kitchen cabinet getting two bowls and the bag of peanuts. "Everybody gets twenty peanuts, then," he proclaimed. "OK," said I, and, spotting two tiny candy hearts from Valentine's Day, I asked if the children would like to have them too. Simultaneous smiles indicated that we had stumbled on a truly acceptable solution.

It took about eight minutes to complete the process—eight minutes I do not often have the patience or flexibility to find. (But how could I go back to writing about shared decision-making without taking the time?)

For examples of increasing self-governance with older children, we recommend Charlie Shedd's captivating book about the Shedd family, *Promises to Peter*. For activities to develop nonviolent conflict resolution skills in younger children, Priscilla Prutzman's *Friendly Classroom for a Small Planet* and Stephanie Judson's *Nonviolence and Children* are excellent (see "Where to Go from Here").

Family meeting: regular shared decision-making

Like many other families, we are finding our weekly family meeting to be the main focus of our efforts at shared decision-making and problem-solving. Here everyone is an equal. Here permission has clearly been given to bring complaints and conflicts to the surface. Here there is the time needed for many of those issues that are not resolved well or mutually when everyone is on the run. Here, then, is a weekly class on nonviolence for all of us.

1. Definition and components. After having a number of family meetings, we came across a book called *Family Council* (see "Where to Go from Here"). What Dreikurs wrote there confirmed our own experience with family meetings. His definition of a "family council" (our family meeting) embodies the components we think essential. First the definition, then some of the key components.

Peace is living in a cactus reading a book.

—Terrance, age 6

> *The group shall have regularly scheduled meetings and operate under rules agreed upon in advance. The meeting shall be an open forum at which all family members can speak without interruption, with freedom of expression, without fear of consequences, and without regard for age or status. Its deliberations result in decisions only when all members present agree—that is, come to a common understanding.*

a. Regularly scheduled. At first we held our family meetings only every few months. But they became monthly, then weekly. Their frequency increased as the children got older and wanted to participate, as the agenda multiplied, and as the parents' willingness to meet deepened.

A regularly scheduled time is important for several reasons. First, schedules can be cleared more easily. Especially as the children get older, the family should choose the time that best fits everyone's schedule. Second, family members are more likely to plan to bring issues to a family meeting when they know there will be one, and when.

Time and place should be geared to maximize results. A place and time where people are relaxed is better than one where they are tense or distracted. Dinnertime works well for us and others. If people are tense, sometimes it helps to begin with something we call "excitement sharing"—something funny or interesting that happened to each person that day or during the past few days. We have also found it helpful if the family meeting is followed by a "fun" event—a family game, or special TV show, or trip to an ice cream parlor. It puts the meeting experience into an enjoyable, community-building context. This often increases the quality of the meeting.

b. Rules agreed upon in advance. The rules we have started with are very simple. Take turns talking, listen when others talk, talk about one item at a time, no voting, and anyone can put any item on the agenda. The only other rule is to stay with the present rules for a while or until the children specifically request a change. Sometime in the future, unless the children beat us to it, we will raise the question of rotating leaders. For now, though, we want the children simply to experience the process under our leadership.

The process we use for each item is essentially the same as that outlined above in section 3:

Step 1. The person who has put a particular item on the agenda is asked to explain it. Others may only ask clarifying questions.

Step 2. (If necessary) If the person raising the issue has not suggested a change or solution, he or she is asked to propose one.

Step 3. Others are asked for other possible solutions. (Sometimes everyone likes the one suggested at the beginning.)

The final three steps are (4) evaluating the alternatives, (5) deciding on one, and (6) working out a plan to implement it.

An example of how this has worked in practice for us:

An item appeared on the agenda listed as "naps."
Kathy: "Whose item is 'naps'?"
David: "Mine."
Kathy: "What do you want to say about naps?"
David: "No more naps! We're old enough now!"
Theresa: "But what if we want to stay up late sometime, when we go out or have a TV party?"
Jim (glancing at Kathy with delighted surprise): "That's a good point, Theresa. What should we do on those days?"

After a number of comments and suggestions had been heard, Jim suggested naps on the day of or day after a late night out. Theresa, David, and Tommy all agreed. Now, two months later, one or more of the children occasionally ask to take a nap on the weekend so that they can stay up late!

c. Open forum. Each person is free to speak without interruption, without being judged. Sometimes families experience the problem of one or more members dominating or talking for long periods of time. The best way to handle this (or any other source of dissatisfaction) is to evaluate the family meetings periodically. Each family member shares what he or she likes about the family meetings and what he or she would like to see done differently. Those changes are made which everyone agrees to.

Open forum means open agenda, too. Any family member can put any item on the agenda. To promote this openness, we tape the agenda to the wall of our breakfast room where we hold our family meetings. We try to get it up a day before the meeting to give everyone ample time to add items.

d. Consensus decisions. Although the children still suggest it at times, we have avoided voting altogether. Majority rule may be the "American Way," but it is less peaceful and community-building than consensus decision-making. There are losers in a majority-rule vote. Split decisions can sometimes mean tiny splits in a family. Sometimes, though, we have modified our consensus approach; for instance, if there is not total agreement on what game to play or where to go for dinner, then we sometimes decide by consensus to rotate who gets to choose for the whole family.

2. Ways of encouraging the children's participation. In addition to combining the family meeting with some kind of fun event, there are ways of holding the meeting itself so as to encourage the children's participation and everyone's good feelings.

a. Agenda items. It is important to include items other than problems. Otherwise, the spirit tends to be a little negative. Allowances are distributed at our family meetings. Some families settle their weekly schedule and transportation needs as part of the family meeting. Discussing family purchases is another generally creative item. At least once a month, we add two items called "family fun" and "family service." Both are enjoyable and creative. Here we decide on some special "fun" thing that does not cost much that we can do as a family. Then we decide on some way we can serve others and work for justice as a family.

Another thing we do is to make sure at least some of the children's agenda items are considered early in the meeting. We want them to see that the process can work for their needs as well as ours. In this vein, we encourage the children to bring personal problems to the family meeting if they want help from others.

b. How the items are handled. There are other ways to encourage the genuine participation of the children. One way is to exclude punishments where possible. For example, we proposed discussing how to encourage the boys to lift the toilet seat when they urinated. (You see, no real issues are excluded and this was a real issue). David suggested a five-cent fine for every time he or Tommy forgot. This would be in addition to making and posting signs next to each toilet and David and Tommy taking turns cleaning their toilets. But Kathy and I did not want a negative consequence involved right away. Thus we suggested that we see how it went for a week without the fines; if it was not working, then we would be willing to consider fines the next week. At other times, negative consequences seemed necessary; in such cases we found it worked best if they were determined together by consensus.

Not scolding (or, more realistically in my case, reducing the amount of scolding) between meetings for not doing what was agreed upon at previous family meetings is another help; bringing up the issue at the next family meeting where it can be handled more democratically is still further help. The whole climate of the house changes. And when each of us knows we have a regular forum for raising behavioral problems, we do not feel compelled to "sound off" quite so often.

But even with all these efforts, Dreikurs cautions us to have realistic expectations. Acknowledging the lack of societal supports, he states that this whole endeavor "requires cooperation on the part of all. It requires a shift in roles by all family members...In the competitive society in which we live, cooperation is hard to achieve, but it can develop."

Discipline: consequences and punishments

This is the most difficult aspect of nonviolent child-raising for us and the most difficult part of this chapter to write. First, it is hard to put into a few pages the emotions and experiences of years, when whole books have been written on the subject. Second, every parent knows how difficult it is to try to balance affirmation and correction, freedom and firmness, especially when the parents are under stress themselves. Child abuse is a serious problem in our society. Thus we have to find ways of expanding the possibilities of what might be called "nonviolent discipline."

For us, nonviolent discipline means several things. First, as much as possible (which, for us, now may be about one-third of the time) we try to bring issues requiring discipline to our family meeting. Here, the children participate in deciding the consequences of continuing unacceptable behavior. As I have said, we try to make punishments a last resort. The first resort is to try to get the children to identify ways in which we can help them *remember* to carry out the desired behavior (like signs by the toilet seats, or a check list for Tommy to help him remember his morning chores). If these fail, *then* some kind of negative consequence is decided upon. For instance, it was a group decision to levy a five-cent fine for each chore not done on time, payable out of the allowances to be distributed at the next family meeting.

Well and good, but how about all those other times where correction is needed?

Now that the children are getting older, more reasoning is possible. Sometimes we are able to arrive at the negative consequence together. "I'm really frustrated, David, nothing seems to work about your getting dressed. What can we do about it?"

More often, though, we find ourselves imposing a punishment. In these situations, we try (generally) to find one that is immediate and is as close to a "natural consequence" of the behavior as possible. Coming home late for dinner may mean missing part or all of dinner. Not telling us they were at a friend's house, or getting in trouble at a friend's house, may mean not being allowed to go to that friend's house the next day or week. Breaking a brother's toy means paying for it or finding an acceptable substitute from one's own toy supply.

But what about those many run-ins that parents and children have—in the store, at home, in someone else's home—in the form of tantrums or other disruptive, annoying, or "smart" behaviors that little ones are so good at and which drive parents crazy? Here are several thoughts, which we preface with a confession that while we have come a long way, we have a long way yet to go in doing what we are suggesting.

- Charlie Shedd's advice makes sense to us: "Whenever we discipline our children, it should be for them and not for us." By this he means asking ourselves several questions: Do I care too much about what others think? Do I want things to be my way too much? Am I extra careful when I'm down or tired?
- If children are unwilling to cooperate, sometimes it is best simply to remove them from the situation until they decide to cooperate. Sending them or removing them to their room can be done without shouting at them, though many times I have found myself combining the two.
- When I have lost my cool, especially when the children were younger, and I spanked them, I have tried to go back as soon as possible and apologize and hug them and explain how frustrated I was. There were a couple of years when I was so impatient that my hope for the children's psychic well-being hinged on their sensing the love in my hugs. What we mentioned earlier about feeling good about ourselves individually and about ourselves as a couple is crucial here. Often children are the targets of parental frustrations that have nothing to do with them.

Finally, then, a word about corporal punishment. It is a rare parent who has never spanked or slapped a child. But, as someone who has "been there," I would counsel caution about corporal punishment. Two comments stand out in my mind.

Recently a father shared this reflection with us: "I'm sure that my inability to control my temper is the biggest factor in our kids' learning violence."

Only a few weeks before, we had challenged Tommy about his yelling and fighting with David. His frustrated rejoinder was, "I just can't seem to do it any other way." That hit me right between the eyes. For probably two years or more I had been unable consistently to find nonviolent alternatives in my own dealings with David. The question is there: What are we teaching our children when we resort to physical or verbal violence with them?

More and more, Kathy and I are coming to agree with the findings of a recent "Gilmartin Report" on the effects of regular spanking. We found an outline in an excellent newsletter for parents, *For Parents: A Newsletter for Family Enrichment:*

1. Children who are often spanked tend to be more quiet, less articulate, and more sullen.
2. Spanking tends to create nervousness and slow down learning.
3. Harsh physical and psychological punishment leads to social distance among family members. When social distance increases, honest communication decreases.
4. Frequent use of physical punishment is strongly associated with the development of a low self-image in children.
5. Violence begets violence. Physical punishment for fighting simply does not teach kids to stop fighting.
6. Spanking is related to chronic passivity in children.
7. Children who are controlled through being spanked develop an overdependence on external control. They become followers, always dependent on the watchful eyes of an overseer.

Conclusion

Underlying the values and suggestions in this chapter is a vision of children, of our role as parents, and of God's love that is expressed in a special way in Kahlil Gibran's reflection "On Children" in *The Prophet*. Every once in a while we return to this passage to regain that vision:

> Your children are not your children.
> They are the sons and daughters of Life's longing for itself.
> They come through you but not from you,
> And though they are with you, yet they belong not to you...
> You are the bows from which your children as living arrows are sent forth.
> The archer sees the mark upon the path of the infinite,
> and He bends you with His might that His arrows may go swift and far.
> Let your bending in the archer's hand be for gladness;
> For even as he loves the arrow that flies,
> so He loves also the bow that is stable.

What are we teaching our children when we resort to physical or verbal violence with them?

Where to Go from Here

Parenting for Peace and Justice Network

This is a network of families and people who work with families, with three main goals: to help families (1) understand how forces like violence, racism, materialism, sexism affect them; (2) find ways of resisting these forces; and (3) do this as a whole family and with other families. PPJN has coordinators in some 80 U.S. and Canadian cities and offers a variety of services and resources, including a newsletter. For information:

PPJN
c/o The Institute for Peace and Justice
4144 Lindell Blvd. #400
St. Louis, MO 63108

Books

Children and War: Political Socialization to International Conflict. Howard Tolley. New York: Teachers College Press, 1973. Good background on how children's attitudes toward war are formed. Definite implications for parents on dealing with the issue at home.

Family Council: The Dreikers Technique for Putting an End to War Between Parents and Children (and Between Children and Children). Rudolf Dreikurs. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1974. An elaborate and effective description of family meetings, with examples from specific families.

The Friendly Classroom for a Small Planet: A Handbook on Creative Approaches to Living and Problem Solving for Children. Priscilla Prutzman, et al. The Children's Creative Response to Conflict Program, P.O. Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960. Wayne, NJ: Avery Publishing Group, 1978. Affirmation exercises, practice activities for teaching creative problem-solving, and conflict resolution ideas. For parents and teachers of preschool and elementary school children.

A Manual on Nonviolence and Children. Stephanie Judson. Philadelphia: Friends Peace Committee, 1977. Games, techniques, observations, and insights on developing nonviolence in children, especially preschool and elementary ages.

Parent Effectiveness Training. Thomas Gordon. New York: Peter H. Wyden, Inc., 1970.

Parenting for Peace and Justice. Kathleen and James McGinnis. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1981. A wide-ranging practical book that points out many issues. Context is Catholic, but the ideas, insights, and experiences are for everyone.

Promises to Peter: Building a Bridge from Parent to Child. Charlie Shedd. Especially helpful for parents of teenagers.

Watermelons not War! A Support Book for Parenting in the Nuclear Age. Kate Cloud, et al. New Society Publishers, 4722 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143. $9.95 & $1.50 postage and handling. Five mothers demystify nuclear technology into terms parents and children can understand, share ways of giving hope to their children, and suggest actions for giving hope to their children, and suggest actions for giving their children a future.

> *"I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing; therefore choose life, that both thou and thy seed might live."*
> *—Deuteronomy 30:18*

7

Education for the Real World

Into the Deeper Pools

I put on the diving mask and went down / A few feet below the surface a few minnows circled me / A little further down a few small trout no more than three inches / I lie motionless just below the surface and search the deepest part of the pool / There at the very bottom between boulders / in the very deepest hole / I suddenly spy him / a huge fat grey speckled trout / perhaps eight pounds / perfectly still against the grey rocks / He would have been invisble from the surface / and invisible without the mask / Then suddenly I see another fat speckled trout / not quite as big / quite close to the first / almost like his shadow / or her shadow / this one too perfectly motionless / as if not even breathing / though the swift stream poured by above it / Summer of the great drought / and this the only deep pool left / the stream itself shrunk to a width of twenty feet / The pool isolated by rapids at each end / Last season the two fish must have made it up this far / then the stream shrunk still more / and here they were caught / in the shrinking hole / where they lay motionless / waiting / trapped / their world shrinking and shrinking / Still they lie at the bottom / very still / conserving what they've got / Fishermen don't have divingmasks and never see them down there and pass on quickly / as we dive down again & again / and see the fish in their steady-state of meditation / a final yoga discipline / which could go on until there is no water at all left in the stream / Then we might find them / still in swimming position / fins extended / mouth slightly open / eyes half closed / Or still later we might find their skeletons intact / in the same positions / baked in the firey sun / like Buddhist monks burned alive in lotus positions / Or still much later another age might discover / two fossil skeletons / imprinted on the boulders / at the very bottom of the crypt / as evidence of some former strange form / of a thing called Life / And if we stayed on here with them / waiting & waiting / that later age / might also not be able to imagine one boy and his father fishing / by this stream / though our two round skulls be found / with the fishes / Yet seeing now the beauty of those fish / down there below the surface / so still and lovely / in their deep dream / dappled in their last deep pool / We fish no longer / turn / and go on / into the deeper pools / of our own lives.

Lawrence Ferlinghetti:
Endless Life

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Introduction

Buffered by two oceans, friendly neighbors and enormous wealth, the United States has not had to pay much attention to the rest of the world for most of its history. This is no longer true. The affairs of the United States and those of Europe, Asia, the Middle East, Africa, South America and Central America are intimately intertwined. The issues range from world trade, currency exchange rate and multinational corporations to global communications, worldwide alliances, military interventions and the shared ability to destroy the world.

Education is the way a society tells its children how the world is. Education cannot truly fulfill its function in these times without recognizing the global interdependence that is a fact of life. In taking account of worldwide connectedness the issues of friends and enemies, threat and counter-threat, war and peace must be dealt with. And behind all the political and social issues is the overriding fact: we are all human beings and we all live on one small planet.

The articles in this chapter are about education for the world as it really is, which may be different from the way we're used to thinking about it.

Educating for Responsibility in a Nuclear Age

Tony Wagner

While some teachers believe that they cannot or should not try to deal with the nuclear issue in schools because of the complexity and the often controversial nature of the subject, a growing number of educators and parents are convinced that students now require a different kind of education for the nuclear age. Adults are realizing that they must respond to quiet but increasing expressions of students' despair such as comments like: "Why should I study for this test? We might all be blown away tomorrow."

Many teachers would agree with the suggestion of the National Commission on Excellence in Education that students should be encouraged to achieve high academic standards, but that the key pedagogical question of the 1980s may be: *"How can we nurture students' sense of hope and faith in the future so that they will want to strive for excellence?"*

Nuclear age education raises many difficult questions: What aspects of the nuclear issues should be taught in schools, when, and by whom? What materials and questions are appropriate for students of different ages? How do teachers deal with their own biases when teaching the issues? What kinds of support and special training do educators need to take on these new and difficult topics? What is the role of parents and school boards in educating themselves and in helping decide what approaches to nuclear education are appropriate for their local communities? Finally, how can adults best communicate to students a belief in the future and in possibilities for change?

Although a great deal remains to be discovered about how education must be organized to best meet the challenges of the nuclear age, I would like to suggest four basic principles involving the teaching of basic skills that educators may want to consider.

1. Critical and Creative Thinking

Recently I was discussing contemporary world affairs with a group of tenth and eleventh graders. I asked them how many thought that citizens in our society could effect change. Twelve out of 16 students felt that there was nothing they would be able to do as adults to influence government policies. Not one student could think of any movement for social change in U.S. history that citizens had initiated. Women's suffrage, the abolitionist movement, the labor union movement, the civil rights movement—all these were no more than a series of names, dates, and events that they had memorized for tests and then forgotten.

Getting "schooled" is a passive experience for many young people, often requiring them to memorize more frequently than asking them to think. Too often students become consumers of information rather than creators of ideas in the classroom. They rarely are asked to analyze political and social problems or to think for themselves. Teachers sometimes hesitate to wander from the safe confines of textbooks. Thus controversy rarely enters the classroom.

If we sincerely want to educate students to cope with a nuclear technology that has devastating potential, then our first commitment in schools would be to develop students' abilities to critically analyze political and social issues and to think creatively about different possible solutions. We can begin to do this within most existing curricula by allowing more time for students to ask questions, to explore contemporary issues, and to think and write about problems that do not have simple or prescribed answers.

TONY WAGNER is Executive Director of Educators for Social Responsibility. He taught for 14 years both in public and private schools at the elementary and high-school levels. He believes that today's schools require more courageous leadership from adults as well as curriculum development that seeks to integrate the four educational principles he discusses here. Wagner invites dialogue from all interested readers. He can be reached at ESR, 23 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138.

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2. Idealism and the Will to Act

All the best intellectual training that schools can provide means little if students have not also developed ideals and a capacity to act on their convictions. I believe that students and adults can become "co-collaborators," to borrow a phrase from Piaget, of some aspects of educational decision-making. Students can help select and be responsible for many basic governance rules and procedures in schools.

Students need opportunities to make some decisions and also to say what they think in the classroom. They can be given choices of assignments, within certain limits, and asked to take stands, which they should defend in some way either by writing or discussion. In English classes, for example, students could write editorials expressing their point of view on topics they choose and then read them aloud for discussion in class. Students' opinions also can be solicited and seriously considered in course evaluations.

Students must understand that biologically, economically, and socially, the fates of all nation-states are now inexorably intertwined.

3. Knowledge of our Global Interdependence

The ability to think critically, and frequent practice in expressing well-thought-out opinions, will be of limited help to students who cling to an ethnocentric view of the world. Students must understand that biologically, economically, and socially, the fates of all nation-states are now inexorably intertwined. No country will win World War III. And the planet's resources are fragile and finite. We must learn to work together to preserve them and share more equitably.

These may be the hardest lessons to begin teaching, for we are only beginning to learn them ourselves as adults. It may take several generations before an understanding of our global interdependence and of the need for more cooperative international solutions to common problems is fully grasped by a majority of the world's citizens. And yet it is clear that we must start now to lay the foundations for the possibility of enduring peace.

In learning about different cultures, adolescents would not only acquire solid academic skills, but equally important, they also may begin to understand the importance of empathy—of being able to put themselves in the place of another person who has needs and interests that may be different from their own. By studying the biological interdependence of all living things, students may come to feel a deeper respect for nature and a reverence for life. These are part of a core set of ethics that I believe will become a foundation for all education in the nuclear age.

"Knowing is terrifying. Not knowing is terrifying. But not knowing is hopeless, and knowing may save us."
—High School Student

4. Universal Ethical Principles

Values are not supposed to be taught or even discussed at length in public schools because any kind of moral education might violate an individual's freedom to believe what he or she wishes. While this danger is real and not easily dismissed, there are even more serious consequences from having students grow up in a moral vacuum.

The way education is structured in some schools provides students with a powerful lesson in egocentric values. Grading systems, for example, reward individual achievement over cooperation. The intensely competitive scholastic or athletic environment in many schools reinforces students' belief that "winning is everything." Many students graduate from high schools believing that the only important goal in life is to be a success.

Some educators hope that if they teach values clarification skills and techniques in conflict resolution, students will acquire a sense of ethics on their own. This is not always the case. One can ask students to clarify their values as self-centered consumers or even as bigots, and accomplish nothing except helping them feel more comfortable with the choices they've made. Similarly, having students practice negotiation skills will be of little use if they are not explicitly encouraged to empathize with others. It is my belief that, as educators concerned about the continuation of civilization, we have no choice but to teach values in schools.

I am not advocating formal instruction in "humanism" or any particular set of religious convictions in schools. Rather, I am suggesting that students be taught the core beliefs that most of the world's religions and ethical philosophies have in common. Attempting to overcome self-centeredness, and striving for reverence for life, compassion, generosity, and moral courage are ethical principles that have been passed on from generation to generation in most civilizations, through different religious and philosophical teachings, for thousands of years. We must continue to transmit these values to future generations. Teachers need to find ways to explore with students how ethics can be more integrated into their daily lives.

Leadership for Change

There are many teachers in schools today who would feel their work had more dignity if they could think of themselves as stewards of the future: preparing young people for the world that is, as well as teaching them the skills, knowledge, and values needed to create a more just, caring, and cooperative social structure.

It is clear that a strong belief in the future nourishes a commitment to academic excellence in students. An educational focus that explores both the crisis and the hopes inherent in the nuclear age will give students a sense that their school work, their skills, their knowledge, and especially their opinions are valued and absolutely essential for all our tomorrows.

Milwaukee School Board Resolution

On April 19, 1983, the Milwaukee Board of School Directors approved the following "Resolution on Issues Related to Peace Education in the Milwaukee Public Schools."

Whereas there is a growing concern among educators regarding their responsibility toward students and the issue of nuclear weapons development and use;

And whereas education's primary function is to prepare students for the future;

And whereas there are strong indications that children are aware of the danger of these weapons and may be questioning what future exists for them;

And whereas the morale of students and their interest in school is directly affected by their perceptions of hope for their future;

THEREFORE, be it resolved that the Milwaukee Board of School Directors declare it appropriate to introduce into the school program, activities and curricula related to peace studies and the dilemma of the nuclear arms race.

Adults are realizing that they must respond to quiet but increasing expressions of students' despair such as comments like: "Why should I study for this test? We might all be blown away tomorrow."

Peace Child

A Play for Children

In Papua/New Guinea, when certain warring tribes of headhunters make peace, they exchange a child. Growing up with the other tribe, the child keeps in touch with his own people and thus ensures against future conflict. Such a child is called the "Peace Child."

Coleman McCarthy, writing in the Washington Post, called "Peace Child"—"One of the few messages being sent from the adult's world to the child's world that we are not yet helpless before global fear and nuclear death." Many psychiatrists have recently been studying the effects of children's fear of nuclear war on their educational performance. There is much evidence to suggest that directly addressing peace and nuclear issues in the classroom helps students to overcome these fears. A primary purpose of the Peace Child Foundation, therefore, is to promote peace education as a curriculum activity.

What will our world be like fifty years from now? What is the solution to the arms race? Is it solvable? Can nations with fundamentally opposed political philosophies ever be genuinely at peace? What can ordinary people do that would make a difference?

"Peace Child" presents an opportunity for teachers and students to confront such questions through the enjoyably challenging process of putting on a musical play.

As a result of engaging in that process, students will get a sense that they really can play a part in creating the future—that they can make their voices heard—and their participation will generate an interest in current events, a flow of ideas, and a thirst for learning that will carry over into the general curriculum.

The setting of the play is in the future in a small town on Peace Day, a holiday celebrating the time when all the nations of the world gave up their arms and achieved lasting peace. As part of the festivities for the holiday, the children of the town enact a play. The play recalls the story of how an American boy and a Russian girl became friends and shared a dream of peace, and how they then brought together the other children of the world and persuaded their

About the play

There are six principal roles, as many as twenty-seven additional speaking parts, and the choruses can provide participation for up to one hundred more. A number of these scenes, songs, and roles are intended to be extra building blocks that will allow for variations on the basic story.

The play is based on Bernard Benson's European best-seller *The Peace Book* (Bantam Books). The script was written by David Woollcombe, a British playwright, and the songs were written and composed by David Gordon, the brother of Cat Stevens. "Peace Child" is being promoted by the Peace Child Foundation, a nonprofit organization.

The purposes of the Peace Child Foundation are to educate children and adults in the need to end the arms race through peace and international friendship, to encourage planetary thinking among adults and children, and to instill in all people an attitude of unselfishness and concern for the survival and improvement of our planet. Especially in the case of children, it is an aim of the Foundation that this education be both fun and relevant.

The Foundation will be responsible for creating a network of schools and teachers who have performed the play and who are willing to provide advice and support to those using the play for the first time. A quarterly newsletter will be published to provide news on how the play is being used.

The basic package costs $30 and includes script, music scores, an audio cassette of the music from the Kennedy Center performance, *The Peace Book*, and a year's subscription to the newsletter. Additional sets of the script and scores are available for $5 each and additional audio cassettes are $7.50. Copies of *The Peace Book* are $9.95. A thirty-minute video cassette of the Kennedy Center performance is available for $25.

For further information, contact: Peace Child Foundation, P.O. Box 33168, Washington, DC 20033-0168, (202) 835-0928. Contributions to the Peace Child Foundation are tax-deductible.

leaders to overcome their fear and distrust of each other and break the vicious circle of the arms race.

The story is set in the world that today's generation of school children will have created by the time they approach retirement age. The initial challenge of the play is to require them to think about how they would like that world to be. Having decided on that, they must then look to the realities of today and work out ways in which to bring about a peaceful world.

The students play not only the roles of the children, but also the roles of the adults—the political leaders, scientists, business men, and military men—and thereby benefit from having to examine the problems from more than one point of view.

The play may be performed as written, but its major purpose is to encourage the students to rewrite the scenes (and even the songs) or alter the story to reflect their own ideas. The text is intended to be simply a starting point for discussion, placing the highly charged subject of nuclear deterrence in a context in which the problem is solved by children.

Everything in the text is open to challenge and exploration by the students under the leadership of their teachers. The discussion notes provided with the text suggest avenues for exploration which different teachers will develop in their own way.

"Peace Child" is intended to work as a catalyst in the educational process. In the course of grappling with the questions raised by the play, students will be stimulated to begin acquiring the knowledge and skills they will need to play a part in shaping the future they envision. Their interest in other subjects in the curriculum—history, geography, government, economics—will be heightened. Their horizons will expand further to include more of the world and its peoples. They will begin to see how the problems among nations are reflected in their own relationships. They will be encouraged to create fresh solutions and express their own ideas.

There are many ways in which "Peace Child" can be used. Music and drama teachers might wish to produce a polished theatrical performance, while current affairs or general studies teachers might wish to concentrate on the intellectual content and not give much attention to costumes, music, or stage sets. Production of a show could be a term-long project for a whole class or several classes (or even several schools), or an individual teacher might wish to have students improvise from a scene or two to enliven a single classroom discussion, or rewrite a scene as a homework assignment.

In December, 1984, the Peace Child Foundation will publish the "Peace Child International Study Guide for Schools." This will contain both the original and the revised International Edition of "Peace Child." In an introduction, David Woollcombe will explain why it was necessary to change the original in order for the show to be performed in the Soviet Union, and give the background to the various changes made. The songs will be printed in both English and Russian (in Roman script), and the volume will be illustrated with pictures of Soviet life. Students will be encouraged to explore in great depth the differences between their social, historical, cultural and political systems. Through sharing a different perspective on the Peace Child myth, American children will gain a unique insight into the minds and hearts of their Soviet peers and, hopefully, develop a positive attitude toward the possibility of a fruitful relationship with our nuclear adversary.

Friendship quilt project

Last spring my kindergarten class and I made a quilt to encourage world friendship and peace. In our initial discussion of the project one little boy was shocked to hear that we would send the quilt to children in the Soviet Union. "My daddy says they're bad and when I grow up I'm gonna shoot them in a war," he pronounced. I explained that most Russians, like most Americans, were nice and wanted to be peaceful, and that some Russians think we're "bad" too. At this the children laughed and cried "they must be dumb cause we're nice." As I continued to explain the situation I believe that most of them were able to see that fear and unknowing had caused us all to be a little "dumb."

The quilt project is a wonderful way to begin breaking through those barriers of fear and misinformation and to develop real friendships with real people in another country. I have received a picture of the quilt being presented to the Women's Peace Committee in Moscow, and there was local newspaper coverage of the event both here and in Moscow. I have been promised that the children who receive the quilt will write to my class soon. Smiles abound, hearts have been warmed in both countries, and the children are learning that friendly people live in many parts of the world.

Carol Wade

Copies of *Friendship Quilts, A Quilt-making Handbook for Teachers of Grades K thru 6* are available for $1.50 from Sunbow Quilt Project, Box 1081, Auburn, WA 98071-1081.

A World Core Curriculum

Robert Muller

We have reached a point in human evolution when we must ask ourselves some very fundamental questions regarding the meaning of life and evolution itself. If we assume that all we have learned, all that is happening, all we are trying to do makes little sense, then there is no hope and the human species might as well destroy itself and disappear. If on the contrary, we assume that some cosmic force or law or God or Creator in the universe has put in the human species certain objectives, functions, expectations and destination, then it is our duty to ascertain on a contemporary scale what these objectives are. By giving us capacities to see, to hear, to feel, to think, to dream, to teach and to invent, the universe gives us an indication of what is expected of us: it wants us to know and to understand the maximum range possible of what the universe is all about. We are driven to know more and more of our globe and of Creation, including the art of recombining cosmic forces through energy, matter and life itself. Humanity has become the manager of this planet, a cosmic agent, a very advanced phenomenon in the universe. We are made to feel the thrill and benefits of this task, of being alive, of being human, i.e., a specially valuable, advanced, sensitive force or cell in that universe in which the consciousness of the universe and of time constantly grows.

If this is the case or if we suppose it to be so, then our next great evolutionary task will be to ascertain what this cosmic or divine pattern means and to prepare for it the right institutions, people, values, guidelines, laws, philosophy, politics and ethics.

This immense, unprecedented task is dawning upon us everywhere, piercing the core of our earlier beliefs, values and institutions. The present essay is one of these global perceptions born in someone who has been nurtured by world forces for more than a third of a century in the Earth's first universal organization.

Several years ago, I wrote an essay entitled, "The Need for Global Education,"[1] which has found its way around the world in several publications and languages. I've now been asked to give my views on a World Curriculum which I set forth hereunder. May God allow us all to help in the birth of a peaceful, happy and fulfilled human society on our beautiful, miraculous, life-teeming planet in the vast universe.

* * *

Let me tell you how I would educate the children of this planet in the light of my 33 years of experience at the United Nations and offer you a world core curriculum which should underlie all grades, levels and forms of education including adult education.

The starting point is that every hour, 6,000 of our brothers and sisters die and 15,000 children are born on this globe. The newcomers must be educated so that they can benefit from our acquired knowledge, skills and art of living, enjoy happy and fulfilled lives, and contribute in turn to the continuance, maintenance and further ascent of humanity or a well-preserved planet.

Alas, many newly-born will never reach school age. One out of ten will die before the age of 1 and another four percent will die before the age of 5. This we must try to prevent by all means. We must also try to prevent that children reach school age with handicaps. It is estimated that ten percent of all the world's children reach school age with a handicap of a physical, sensory or mental nature. In the developing countries, an unforgivable major cause is still malnutrition.

Thirdly, an ideal world curriculum presupposes that there are schools in all parts of the world. Alas,

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The author would be grateful for the largest diffusion of this writing. All existing humanistic, religious, national, ideological or other educational systems can be adapted to this core curriculum. At the end of each section, education experts could ask themselves the question: "How can my philosophy, nation, religion, ideology or educational system contribute to the attainment and perfection of this world curriculum?" The author will be happy to provide copies of a version designed for Catholic education.

this is not the case. There are still 814 million illiterates on this planet. Humanity has done wonders in educating its people: we have reduced the percentage of illiterates of the world's adult population from 32.4 percent to 28.9 percent between 1970 and 1980, a period of phenomenal population growth. But between now and the year 2000, 1.6 billion more people will be added to this planet and we are likely to reach a total of 6.1 billion people in that year. Ninety percent of the increase will be in the developing countries where the problem of education is more severe. As a result, the total number of illiterates could climb to 950 million by the Bimillennium.

Education for *all* remains, therefore, a first priority on this planet. This is why UNESCO has rightly adopted a World Literacy Plan 2000.

With all these miseries and limitations still with us, it remains important, nevertheless, to lift our sights and to begin thinking of a world core curriculum.

As I do it in the United Nations, where all human knowledge, concerns, efforts and aspirations converge, I would organize such a curriculum, i.e., the fundamental life-long objectives of education, around the following categories:

Our Planetary Home and Place in the Universe
Our Human Family
Our Place in Time
The Miracle of Individual Human Life

I. Our Planetary Home

The first major segment of the curriculum should deal with our prodigious knowledge of planet Earth. Humanity has been able, of late, to produce a magnificent picture of our planet and of its place in the universe.

From the infinitely large to the infinitely small, everything fits today in a very simple and clear pattern. The list of subjects in this first segment should be as follows, as we use it in the United Nations:

The infinitely large: the universe, the stars and outer space
Our relations with the sun
The Earth's physics
The Earth's climate
The atmosphere
The biosphere
The seas and oceans
The polar caps
The Earth's land masses
The Earth's arable lands
The deserts
The mountains
The Earth's water
Plant life
Animal life
Human life
The Earth's energy
The Earth's crust and depths
The Earth's minerals
The infinitely small: microbiology, genetics, chemistry and nuclear physics

At each of these levels, humanity has made incredible progress and knows enormously. Astrophysicists tell us how stars and planets are born and die. We know the physics, atmospheres and even soils of other planets. Thanks to human-made satellites, we have a total view of our globe, of our atmosphere, of our seas and oceans and land masses. We know our complicated climate through a new science called climatology. We know our polar caps. For the first time ever, we possess a soil and land map for the entire planet. We know our mountains. We know our total water resources. We know our deserts. We know our flora and fauna. We know part of the crust of our Earth into which all nations have agreed to dig holes of at least one thousand meters. Our knowledge reaches far down into the microbial, genetic and cellular worlds, into the realm of the atom and its particles and subparticles. We have an incredible, beautiful, vast picture of our place in the universe. If a teacher wishes to give children a glimpse of the tremendous expanse of our knowledge, all he or she has to do is to have them visit, on the same day, and astronomical observatory and an atomic bubble chamber!

All this knowledge culminates in the United Nations or in one of its specialized agencies or world conferences. For each of the above segments, I could give vivid examples of intensive world cooperation: e.g., on astrophysics and outer space, the UN is convening a second world conference in 1982; on our climate, the World Meteorological Organization has a Global Atmospheric Research Programme and convened in 1979 a first World Climate Conference; on air space and aviation, we have the International Civil Aviation Organization; on the seas and oceans, there is the UN's Conference on the Law of the Sea; the ozonosphere and the entire biosphere are of concern to the UN Environment Programme. I could go on and on, down to world cooperation in genetics and microbiology in UNESCO and in the World Health Organization, and on nuclear physics in the International Atomic Energy Agency. As a matter of fact, it is absolutely essential and in our enlightened self-interest to teach the children about this international cooperation so that they can see that humanity is beginning to work together and that there is good hope for a better world. There is great need for excellent textbooks on the UN and on international cooperation for all schools in the world.

The framework allows us to present our planetary and universal knowledge to all people and particularly to children in a simple, beautiful way. They wish to be told about their correct place in the universe. The Greeks' and Pascal's genial view of the infinitely large and the infinitely small has been filled in by science and provides the framework for much of today's world cooperation and daily lives of peoples. We can now give children a breathtaking view of the beauty and teeming, endless richness of Creation as has never been possible before. It should make them glad to be alive and to be human. It should also prepare them with excitement for the vast number of professions which have arisen from that tremendous knowledge and its related and consequent activities.

Moreover, as it is vividly described in the story of the Tree of Knowledge, having decided to become like God through knowledge and our attempt to understand the heavens and the Earth, we have also become masters in deciding between good and evil: every invention of ours can be used for good or bad all along the above Copernican scale: outer space technology can be used for peace or for killer satellites, aviation for transportation or for dropping bombs, the atom for energy or for nuclear destruction, etc. This gives the teachers of this world a marvelous opportunity to teach children and adults a sense of participation and responsibility in the building and management of the Earth, of becoming artisans of the will of God and of our further human ascent. A new world morality and world ethics will thus evolve all along the above scale, and teachers will be able to prepare responsible citizens, workers, scientists, geneticists, physicists and scores of other professions, including a new one which is badly needed: good world managers and caretakers.

II. The Human Family

There is a second segment on which humanity has also made tremendous progress of late: not only have we taken cognizance of our planet and of our place in the universe, but we have also taken stock of ourselves! This is of momentous importance, for henceforth our story in the universe is basically that of ourselves and of our planet. For a proper unfolding of that story, we had to know its two main elements well: the planet and ourselves. This has been accomplished since World War II. The planetary and human inventories are now practically complete.

The last people who ever took a census of the known parts of the planet were the Romans. Then the practice of censuses disappeared for almost 2,000 years. Only a few advanced nations had counted their populations before World War II. When the UN was created, sample surveys had to be conducted and agreements reached on the world-wide collection of population statistics and the holding of world censuses. We thus learned in 1951 that we were 2.5 billion people. Today we are 4.5 billion! A population explosion was detected which could have gone unnoticed. The necessary global warnings were given and humanity is now responding with slower birth rates to the lowering of death rates.

We have learned so much about humanity since the end of World War II. As a matter of fact, a proper global education or world curriculum would have been impossible thirty years ago because there were no world statistics! Today we know how many we are, where we live, how long we live, how many males, females, youths and elderly there are. This knowledge is being constantly improved and refined. We have a quantitative knowledge of our human family which we never had before at any time in history. We know ourselves also qualitatively: our levels of living, of nutrition, of health, of literacy, of development, of employment, etc. We also have records of our progress: we know how many literates are being added to this planet each year; we know that by eradicating smallpox the number of the blind in the world was reduced by half, etc. Incidentally, it was no small achievement to have accommodated 2 billion more people on this planet within a short period of 30 years!

The human family has looked at itself in a series of major conferences on population, human settlements, women, youth, races, economic development, etc. The International Year of the Child (1979) and the International Year of the Disabled Persons (1981) will be followed by a World Assembly on Aging in 1982 and an International Youth Year in 1985. As a result of so many efforts, we have an unprecedented inventory and knowledge of humanity. That fundamental, up-to-date knowledge must be conveyed to all the people of the world.

There is a further major aspect of the human family on which we have made substantial progress during the last decades, namely our society and its human-made groupings. We are indeed a species that likes to congregate and subdivide itself into any conceivable group based on physical, geographic, qualitative or ideological aspects: races, sexes, age-groups, nations, provinces, cities, rich, poor, religions, languages, social systems, forms of government, corporations, professions, institutions, associations, etc. Many of these are inherited from the past: thus we enter the global age with 156 nations, 5,000 languages, scores of religions, etc. Other entities are new and rapidly expanding in response to new global demands, namely world organizations, multinational corporations and transnational associations.

All these groups are being studied and heard in the United Nations and its agencies. What this all means is as yet little understood. The theory of group formation, or entities, or sociobiology of the human species from the world society to the individual is still a rather primitive science.

The first task of the United Nations and of educators is to build bridges, peace and harmony between these groups; to listen to their views and perceptions; to prevent them from blowing each other up and endangering the entire planet; to seek what each group has to contribute; to understand their legitimate concerns, cultures, values, denominators and objectives; and to grasp the meaning of the vast and complex functioning of life from the largest to the most minute, from the total society to the individual, from human unity to an endless more refined diversity.

It is a vast, unprecedented, mind-boggling challenge but it would help if our second great segment of the world core curriculum were organized as follows:

The human family

Quantitative characteristics

The total world population and its changes
Human geography and migrations
Human longevity
Races
Sexes
Children
Youth
Adults
The elderly
The handicapped

Qualitative characteristics

Our levels of nutrition
Our levels of health
Our standards of life (rich and poor)
Our skills and employment
Our levels of education
Our moral levels
Our spiritual levels

Human groupings

The family
Human settlements
Professions
Corporations
Institutions
Nations
Federations, regional organizations
Religions
Multinational business
Transnational networks
World organizations

What will be important in such a curriculum is the dynamic aspect of the relations between humanity and our planet: we now have good inventories; we know the elements of the great evolutionary problems confronting us, but we barely stand at the beginning of the planetary management phase of human history: demographic options, resources management, environmental protection, conflict resolution, the attainment of peace, justice and progress for all, the fulfillment of human life and happiness in space and in time. The UN and its specialized agencies offer the first examples of attempts at global management in all these fields and must therefore occupy a cardinal place in the world's curricula. The earlier we do this, the better it will be for our survival, fulfillment and happiness.

Again, what an immense contribution education can bring to a better understanding and teaching of the human family and its components: a proper population policy; the equality of races and sexes; the meaning of childhood, youth, the family, adulthood and old age, peace, justice, reverence for life; help to the poor, the downtrodden and the handicapped; the cultures, development, history, beliefs, languages and customs of human groups, etc. This is the vast field of social studies where the need for global education was first recognized.

III. Our Place in Time

In the same way as humanity is taking cognizance of its correct place in the universe, we are now also forced to look at our correct place in time or eternity.

When I joined the United Nations in 1948, there was very little time perspective. The word "futurology" did not even exist. Some nations that had five-year economic plans were derided, because it was believed that no one on this planet could plan for five years ahead! How the world has changed since then. Today every nation is planning for at least 20 years ahead. At the world level, the UN has adopted a world economic development strategy for the 1980s; the Food and Agriculture Organization has a World Food Plan 2000;, the World Health Organization a World Health Plan 2000, UNESCO a World Literacy Plan 2000, the ILO a World Employment Plan 2000 and the UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO), a World Industry Plan 2000; UN demographers provide us with population projections for the next hundred years and the World Meteorological Organization tries to forecast our climate for the next several hundred years.

Something similar is happening with regard to the past: in the 17th century, Bishop Usher calculated that the Earth was 4,000 years old; then the French naturalist, Buffon, estimated that it was at least several hundred thousand years old. Today we know that our planet is more than 4 1/2 billion years old, and we have developed a vast knowledge of our paleontological and archaeological past. Astrophysicists tell us that our sun—a star of stabilized light hydrogen explosions—will remain in existence for another 6 to 8 billion years before we vanish again into the universe to become other stars and planets!

Thus humanity is forced to expand its time dimension tremendously both into the past and into the future: we must preserve the natural elements inherited from the past and necessary for our life and survival (air, water, soils, energy, animals, fauna, flora, genetic materials). We also want to preserve our cultural heritage, the landmarks of our own evolution and history in order to see the unfolding and magnitude of our cosmic journey. At the same time, we must think and plan far ahead into the future in order to hand over to coming generations a well-preserved and better managed planet in the universe. What does this mean for a world curriculum? It means that we must add a time dimension to the above layers, each of which has a past, a present and a future:

The universe **Past - Present - Future**

Our sun
Our globe
Our climate
Our biosphere
etc. down to the cell, genes and the atom

The human family **Past - Present - Future**

Our age composition
Our levels of health
Our standards of
living
Nations
Religions
World organizations
etc. down to individual

Taken together, our present knowledge and responsibilities on our miraculous little planet are of awesome complexity and magnitude. It will take great vision and honesty to achieve the harmony and fulfillment of our journey in the universe and in time. We have come to the point where the prediction of Leibnitz is coming true. He had forecast that scientific enquiry would be so thrilling for humanity that for centuries we would be busy discovering, analyzing and piercing the surrounding reality, but that the time would come when we would have to look at the totality and become again what we were always meant to be: universal, total beings. The time for this vast synthesis, for a new encyclopedia of all our knowledge and the formulation of the agenda for our cosmic future has struck. Like the human eye which receives millions of bits of information at every glance, we must see the total picture, meaning and beauty of our planet, of the universe and of our lives.

IV. The Miracle of Individual Life

It is becoming increasingly clear that in this vast evolutionary quantum change the individual remains the alpha and the omega of all our efforts. Individual human life is the highest form of universal consciousness on our planet. Institutions, concepts, factories, systems, states, ideologies, theories have no consciousness. They are all servants, instruments, means for better lives and the increase of individual human consciousness. We are faced today with the full-fledged centrality, dignity, miracle, sanctity or divinity of individual human life, irrespective of race, sex, status, age, nation, physical or mental capacity.

Pablo Casals, the musician and poet, expressed it in very moving and emotional terms at the United Nations:

> *"...The child must know that he is a miracle, a miracle that since the beginning of the world there hasn't been and until the end of the world there will not be another child like him. He is a unique thing, a unique thing from the beginning until the end of the world. Now, that child acquires a responsibility: 'Yes, it is true. I am a miracle. I am a miracle like a tree is a miracle. Now, if I am a miracle, can I do a bad thing? I can't, because I am a miracle, I am a miracle. God, Nature. I call God, Nature, or Nature, God.' And then comes the other thought: 'I am a miracle that God or nature has done. Could I kill? Could I kill someone? No, I can't. Or another human being who is a child like me, can he kill me?' I think that this theory can help to bring forth another way of thinking in the world. The world of today is bad; it is a bad world. And it is because they don't talk to the children in the way that the children need."*

Education of the newcomers is basically the teaching of the miracle of life, the art of living and of human fulfillment within our immense knowledge of space and time. It is to make each child feel like a king or queen in the universe, an expanded being aggrandized by the vastness of our knowledge which now reaches far into the infinitely large and the infinitely small and from the distant past to the future. It is to make each human being feel proud to be a member of a transformed species whose eyesight, hearing, hands, legs and brain have been multiplied a thousand times by telescopes, microscopes, radio, machines, means of transportation and computers. The objective should be to make us exude a resplendent joy of living, of being witnesses to the beauty and majesty of Creation and of our capacities. Knowledge, peace, happiness, goodness and fully conscious, meaningful, responsible lives—these must be the objectives of education.

And here I would complete my core curriculum for the individual with the four segments so dear to the former Secretary-General U Thant who was a teacher:

Good physical lives

Knowledge and care of the body
Teaching to see, to hear, to observe, to create, to do, to use well all our senses and physical capacities

Good mental lives

Knowledge
Teaching to question, to think, to analyze, to synthesize, to conclude, to communicate
Teaching to focus from the infinitely large to the infinitely small, from the distant past to the present and the future

Good moral lives

Teaching to love
Teaching truth, understanding, humility, liberty, reverence for life, compassion, altruism

Good spiritual lives

Spiritual exercises of interiority, meditation, prayer and communion with the universe and eternity or God

I have tried in a book of memories entitled, *Most of All, They Taught Me Happiness,* to summarize all I have learned personally on the subject during a life spent in war and peace. Its starting point is this simple sentence by Norman Cousins in the preface, which I would like to see displayed in all classrooms of this planet:

"The tragedy of life is not death, but what we let die inside us while we live."

Its epilogue is as follows:

Decide to be happy
render others happy
proclaim your joy
love passionately your miraculous life
do not listen to promises
do not wait for a better world
be grateful for every moment of life
switch on and keep on
the positive buttons
in yourself, those marked optimism,
serenity, confidence,
positive thinking, love
pray and thank God every day
meditate—smile—laugh
whistle—sing—dance
look with fascination at everything
fill your lungs and heart with liberty
be yourself fully and immensely
act like a king or queen unto Death
feel God in your body, mind,
heart and soul
and be convinced of eternal life
and resurrection.

An immense task and responsibility thus behooves all teachers and educators of this planet: it is no less than to contribute to the survival and good management of our planetary home and species, to our further common ascent into a universal, interdependent, peaceful civilization, while ensuring the knowledge, skills and fulfillment of the flow of humans going through the Earth's schools. The pressures for a proper universal, global education are being felt everywhere, from the United Nations and multinational business to the local communities and individuals. It is a potent, invaluable trend of cardinal importance to our survival and future evolution. A world core curriculum might seem utopian today. By the end of the year 2000 it will be a down-to-earth, daily reality in all the schools of the world.

References

1. The *New Era*, vol. 56 no. 1, Jan.-Feb. 1975.
2. Doubleday, 1978. Third printing, 1981.

United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War

UCAM has chapters or representatives on over 500 college and university campuses nationwide. UCAM members—professors, college staff and students—facilitate the introduction of nuclear war issues into college classrooms. For those interested in starting a course, UCAM offers a "Summary of Courses on Nuclear War," giving brief descriptions of nearly 100 current or recent courses. An extensive collection of syllabi and other materials are available to those interested in starting a course.

In addition, the group publishes a monthly newsletter, encourages chapters to sponsor conferences and lobbies for the Freeze and against the MX.

For more information, contact:

UCAM
1346 Connecticut Ave., Suite 1019
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Some examples from the "Summary of Courses":

Benjamin Cardozo School of Law (New York)
Nuclear Weapons and International Law
Elliot Meyrowitz.

Considers whether the contemplated uses of nuclear weapons are compatible and consistent with the international law of armed conflict. Examines the character of international law with emphasis also on the nature of modern warfare, deterrence, strategic doctrine, and past arms control efforts.

Comprehensive reading list of over 30 articles and books. 4 pp.

Columbia University (New York)
The War Economy
Seymour Melman, Economics W3257x.

Studies the relationship between the arms race (nuclear and conventional) and the military-industrial complex. Includes the economic consequences of military spending, and conversion of the war economy. Uses the Vietnam War as a case study in military spending.

Reading list with weekly assignments. 5 pp.

College of the Holy Cross (Massachusetts)
The Catholic Church and War and Peace
David J. O'Brien, Interdisciplinary.

An excellent course syllabus with an extensive reading list that covers all aspects of the theological and ethical problems of nuclear weapons and the nuclear age. Well organized and comprehensive, the syllabus covers peace and war in the Old Testament, Vatican II, nonviolence, Just War theories, revolution theology and the pastoral letter.

Reading list with daily assignments. Conflicting readings are juxtaposed to invite debate. 9 pp.

University of Iowa (Iowa)
Global Politics and Nuclear Energy
John Redick, Global Studies Program.

Focuses on the policy implications of nuclear energy in the Third World. Emphasizes the impact of nuclear proliferation on international relations and problems, and the prospects for an effective and acceptable non-proliferation regime. Also looks at the history of non-proliferation. Frequent guest speakers.

Reading list with daily assignments. 7 pp.

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (Illinois)
Nuclear Weapons, Nuclear War and Arms Control
F.K. Lamb and J.D. Sullivan, Physics 180.

Comprehensive syllabus for an introductory level course on nuclear weapons and arms control. Aspects covered are: facts about nuclear weapons and delivery systems (including physical consequences); the arms race and proliferation; arms control achievements and verification; current issues (new weapons, future of arms control).

Extensive use of films. A well organized list of fundamental topics that need to be covered. 5 pp.

Mount Holyoke College (Massachusetts)
Apocalypse and American Culture: The Threat of Nuclear War

An interdisciplinary examination of the ways in which nuclear weapons have shaped American culture. Includes sections on history, the physical and social sciences and literature.

Readings. 4 pp.

Princeton University (New Jersey)
American Defense and Arms Control Policy
Stephen W. Van Evera, Public Affairs 548.

Introduction to defense policy. Assesses American defense policy in light of U.S. political/military grand strategy. Twelve sessions including: Soviet military doctrine; U.S. strategic nuclear doctrine and capabilities; debates about strategic nuclear posture and operations and about European doctrine and force posture; arms racing, arms control and nuclear proliferation; coercion and the use of force; intervention and counter-insurgency; defense policy-making; and Reagan administration defense policy.

Reading list, weekly assignments, discussion questions, bibliography, handouts. 35 pp.

Smith College (Massachusetts)
Peace and War in the Nuclear Age: An Interdisciplinary Approach
Peter Rowe, Peace and War Studies 200b.

Interdisciplinary inquiry into the nature and causes of contemporary war. Includes an examination of ancient military operations, just war, visions of world order, nature and effects of nuclear weapons, nuclear weapon strategies. A fine reading list includes authors Albert Carnesdale, Paul Fussell, *Scientific American* article reprints, Robert Penn Warren.

Daily assignments, discussion questions, and examples of exam questions. 16 pp.

Stanford University (California)
Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy
Daniel Ellsberg.

Explores the purpose of U.S. nuclear weapons, focusing on the numerous but highly secretive confrontations, mostly outside the NATO area, in which Presidents have contemplated U.S. initiation of nuclear operations against Third World adversaries. Also examines implications of Soviet weapons programs and recent expansion.

Very good reading list with weekly assignments. 7 pp.

"Now that I have been educated about nuclear arsenals and strategies, I feel others need to be educated and not left to their fate, and I have made a deep personal commitment never to let myself slip back into ignorance."

—College Student

Where to Go from Here

Educators for Social Responsibility

Educators for Social Responsibility develops and publishes curricula for kindergarten through adult education. ESR also provides annotated bibliographies of educational materials, consults on planning and introduction of new curricula, sponsors conferences and in-service training, and provides speakers for educational conferences and community programs. See directory for local groups.

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Choices: A Unit on Conflict and Nuclear War

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Violence is Unnecessary

The world waits for a great nation that has the common sense, the imagination, and the faith to devote to the science and practice of nonviolence so much as a tenth of the money, brains, skill and devotion which it now devotes to the madness of war preparation. What is that nation waiting for before it undertakes its mission?

A.J. Muste

Every thoughtful citizen who despairs of war and wishes to bring peace should begin by looking inward, by examining his own attitude toward the possibilities of peace, toward the Soviet Union, toward the course of the cold war, and toward freedom and peace here at home.

First: Let us examine our attitude toward peace itself. Too many of us think it is impossible. Too many think it unreal. But that is a dangerous, defeatist belief. It leads to the conclusion that war is inevitable, that mankind is doomed, that we are gripped by forces we cannot control.

We need not accept that view. Our problems are man made. Therefore they can be solved by man. And man can be as big as he wants. No problem of human destiny is beyond human beings. Man's reason and spirit have often solved the seemingly unsolvable, and we believe they can do it again.

President John F. Kennedy
American University
June 10, 1963

Introduction

Violent responses to conflict, whether between individuals or between nations, are dangerous, costly, and seldom if ever satisfactory. In a world where violence seems to be growing both more prevalent and more dangerous, we need effective alternatives. Fortunately, they exist. "What is Mediation?" and "The National Peace Academy," which comprise this chapter, explore some of these alternatives. For another and entirely different approach to managing conflict, see Chapter 13, Nonviolent Action.

What is Mediation?

Jessie Dye

In this article, Seattle mediator and attorney Jessie Dye explains the fundamental concepts of mediation. Mediation is a creative, nonadversarial, practical approach to conflict management that tries to have everybody come out ahead.

Mediation has been called a "muffled explosion." Because its presence on the American scene is a relatively new phenomenon, its place alongside or within the prevailing legal system is not yet worked out. Professional associations of mediators are only now being formed, and training is not always easy to find. In spite of these problems, interest is high among many lawyers, community and church groups, divorce counselors, and even legal systems, as the advantages of mediation become more widely known.

As long as there are two human beings within a day's journey of each other, there is a great likelihood of conflict. Being in mortal form with personalities and egos, opinions and sexes, as well as a strong bent toward living in large groups and developing cultures, we humans are different, one from the other. Out of these differences (and in fact, often out of our similarities) will come disagreement and conflict as surely as rain comes from clouds in the Pacific Northwest.

Conflict itself is a neutral term, like power or energy. If you sit down with a clean sheet of paper and on one side write a list of what is positive in conflict and on the other side make a list of that which is negative, your two lists will be about the same length. Conflict can promote intimacy, cause growth, be a vehicle for self-awareness, promote trade, heighten sexual interest, increase knowledge of the world, encourage cultural exchange.

It is our beliefs about conflict and our methods of handling it that cause the problems. Belief systems that hold that "differences are bad," that "for me to win, you must lose," that "we are separate from each other," are beliefs about conflict that will lead to difficulties in problem solving.

Violence is the ultimate form of disconnection and alienation. It is non-problem-solving behavior carried to its logical conclusion. As such, violence is the result of personal or cultural values which require behaviors of extreme submission or passivity on the one hand, or extreme dominance and need to conquer on the other. Both of these are role choices in a dispute situation, not problem-solving choices. Violence does not come from healthy aggression and assertiveness, nor does it automatically result from conflict over differences.

What we are talking about here is the conflict management styles and behaviors on the part of individuals in a culture, or of the culture itself. These behaviors can be sketched on a graph with one axis representing the amount of assertiveness and energy put into a dispute and the other representing the amount of cooperation (See Figure 1).

Individuals or cultures who choose complete dominance or submission are working in a win-lose mode. This promulgates violence because we are not separate, but are all part of a whole system. When one part of a system is discounted it will ultimately retaliate. This is true whether it is one of your own

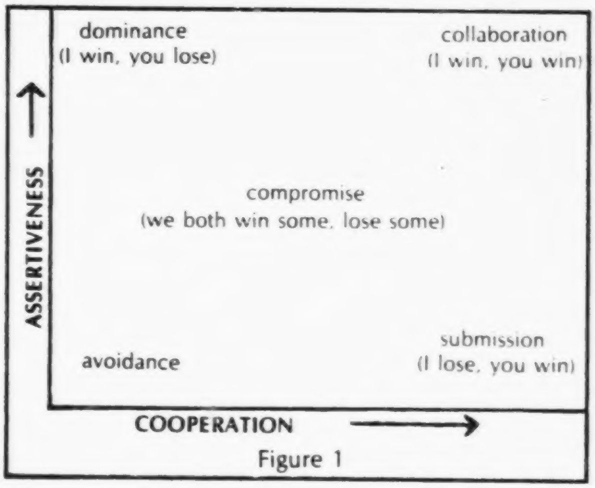

Figure 1

JESSIE DYE works with Washington Arbitration Services, a statewide dispute settlement organization.

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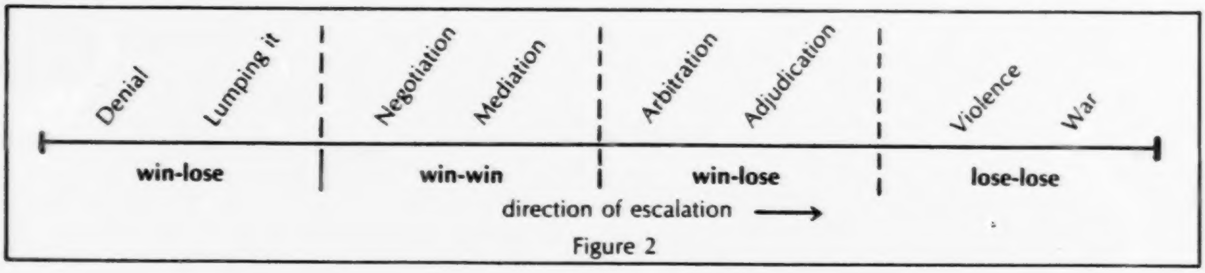

Figure 2

subpersonalities or peasants in Central America. In reality, there is no such thing as a win-lose solution. Such a solution is lose-lose, because when one part loses, all parts eventually lose.

The only dispute resolution method which ultimately can support a sustainable culture is a win-win model of collaboration. This requires a maximum of assertiveness as well as a maximum of cooperation. It requires that individuals be willing to face each other and air their own grievances, that they listen to the other do the same, that they take the time to explore differences and options, and it requires a system that encourages this kind of win-win dialogue. There is such a system emerging, though it is a relatively new cultural form in American society. Before we examine that, however, let us look at our currently available models of dispute resolution.

Current Paradigms of Law and Justice

All this talk of win-win dispute resolution means nothing if it cannot be applied by the average person to the average dispute. What do you do when your neighbor's dog barks constantly and is driving you crazy?

In an average American city or town you have basically the same options. We will examine them in order of escalating hostility (See Figure 2). The first option you have in your dispute with your neighbor is to do nothing. This is called avoidance. Avoidance takes two forms, denial or "lumping it." In denial, the person blocks from his/her own consciousness their own feelings of distress, and realization that a problem exists for them. What barking? This is a submission mode: you win, I lose. Obviously, no problem-solving can occur in this framework. Additionally, the denied feelings may ultimately burst out in the form of rage, illness, or cultural violence like child abuse, bitter divorce proceedings, or alcoholism. "Lumping it" means that an individual knows they have a problem but for strategic reasons chooses not to bring it up to the other party. This can be a form of submission, or it can be part of a larger interaction in which the possible gain is not worth the possible loss. Getting the dog to stop barking is not worth offending your neighbor and losing his cooperation in building the fence.

The next move a person with a grievance can do is to bring it up with the other party and try to negotiate a solution. This is potentially the best and cheapest method of solving the problem. It assumes, however, that the aggrieved has the courage to speak to his neighbor, that the neighbor, too, understands the value of negotiation. It also assumes that both parties have the time and the skill to negotiate, the desire to do so, and are aware of the process of finding possible solutions.

Mediation, the dispute resolution form best suited to produce a win-win solution, is an extension of the negotiation process with the aid of a third party, the mediator. The mediator does not represent either side, for the process is not adversarial. The mediator represents the principle of peaceful dispute resolution. The mediator does not produce a solution, either, but works with the parties to find their own solution. It is their agreement. The mediator provides the context for negotiation, and often teaches the parties the process of negotiation itself. This is the kind of justice system that would be found in a sustainable culture. It has yet to be widely applied in this country, and in most cities it is unlikely that you and your neighbor would have access to a mediation service. In the next section, we will look at its potential more closely.

If negotiation fails or is never tried, the next step in increasing escalation is to enter the legal process. There simply are no generally available means for dispute resolution between "lumping it" and "suing them" except some forms of relationship therapy or counselling. Since it is unlikely that your neighbor will go with you to the marriage counsellor, your next choice is to see a lawyer.

At this point two things happen. First, the stance of the parties becomes adversarial and competitive. The goal in the legal system is to have your side win as opposed to finding the best solution. Secondly, control of the process leaves the hands of the disputants themselves and enters the hands of the experts—lawyers and judges trained in principles of law but not in human communication. The decision will come from above; the parties have surrendered their power.

Arbitration and adjudication are both legal processes involving win-lose paradigms. They are similar in that the decision in both cases is made by a third party (the arbitrator or judge) based on adversarial positions, and the decisions are legally binding. Arbitration is a less formal and more gentle process, as well as usually much quicker. The rules of evidence in arbitration are far more relaxed and less stylized than in a judicial proceeding, and arbitration is usually voluntary whereas trial proceedings are not.

If the individual does not use the legal system, or is unsatisfied with the result, the next step of escalation is "self-help" in terms of war or violence. You can shoot your neighbor and/or his dog. The process at this stage has become a lose-lose interaction, with the initiating side risking as much as the noninitiating side. Nuclear war is the most extreme example of this kind of lose-lose method of dispute resolution.

The Mediation Method: Whole System Justice

The mediation process compares favorably with the legal system in many respects (see Figure 3). Because it encourages the parties to communicate with each other openly and fully, it offers psychological satisfaction not available in the limited "testimony" allowed in court. Because the parties talk until they reach a solution, it often produces a workable, satisfying result in a way not possible from an adjudicated decision. The process of mediation is cheaper, quicker, and in many cases fairer than the average lawsuit. Perhaps more importantly, mediation builds community because it encourages conversation between the parties and upholds their ongoing relationship. It does not encourage distortion of the facts to gain a "victory."

As wholistic health is to the allopathic medical paradigm, so mediation is a kind of wholistic justice when compared to the Western legal system. Like wholistic health, mediation values well-being for all parts of the system. Also like wholistic health, mediation is not always a substitute for its more invasive counterpart, but could be used effectively in the majority of cases now crowding our court calendars.

Some cases are not generally considered appropriate for mediation. Where one party is incompetent because of age or infirmity, the adversarial system may provide needed protection. Felonies involve an offense to society as well as to the victim, and some element of social sanction is necessary over that available through mediation. However, garden-variety disputes like landlord-tenant, merchant-consumer, neighbor-neighbor, divorce and child

Figure 3: Old and New Paradigms in Dispute Resolution

Law	*Mediation*
Win-lose outcome	Win-win outcome
Positions of the parties are adversarial	Positions of the parties are cooperative
Requires extensive, expensive training and knowledge of esoteric language and systems (expert-based)	Requires common sense and some training in dispute resolution (lay-person based)
Follows principles established sometimes hundreds of years ago in different setting, outcome based on precedent	Works with what is reasonable to the parties in this situation, outcome base on fairness and reality-testing
Very expensive, from $50-120/hour per side	Usually free with volunteer mediators; private mediators run from $50-75/hour for both parties
Prohibits conversation between the primary stakeholders to the dispute (lawyer-lawyer only)	Requires conversation between the parties
Encourages distorting information to make other party wrong, "characterizing the facts", i.e., lying	Encourages truth-telling, reality-testing, recognizes that there is truth on both sides
Tends to reinforce already existing power structure	Tends to equalize power between the parties, promotes justice
Often destroys possibility of any future relationship between the parties, fosters alienation	Encourages on-going relationships of the parties, builds community
Frequently takes years to resolve a dispute	Resolves disputes in weeks if not days
Is costly to the taxpayer - court time costs about $500/hour for administrative expenses	Is relatively cheap using available space and generally volunteer mediators
Decisions made by others	Solutions found by the parties

custody can most effectively be handled by mediation.

Local Models of Peace-Making for a Planetary Society

The questions of peace and disarmament are among the most urgent of our time. Yet it often seems there is little the average individual can do to halt the arms race or encourage dialogue between north and south, east and west. This can lead to a sense of powerlessness and despair.

There is, however, a great deal that a person can do in creating and choosing strategies for their own small-scale disputes. You can work it out with your neighbor and his dog. Many individuals and small groups are currently working together to establish neighborhood justice systems based on win-win mediation models. This is peace-making on a local level, a necessary step between the individual spiritual healing process and world peace.

There is at least one historian who contends that change happens from the bottom up in the evolution of human societies, and that governments are the last to reflect change in popular culture. At a certain point in the coming decade, then, it seems likely that the people in this country will be able to require peacemaking from their government because they will have created hundreds of small systems in which they have proven it is workable to solve problems from a win-win, whole system perspective. These neighborhood justice systems will become models for planetary peacemaking.

"Peace is not absence of war, it is a virtue, a state of mind, a disposition for benevolence, confidence, justice."

—Spinoza

In 1793, a United States Department of Peace was proposed, to complement the newly established Department of War. The Department of War (now called the Department of Defense) has accomplished a great deal. It is interesting to try to imagine what a Department of Peace might have accomplished over the same span of time. In any case, we have a chance now to start finding out what the serious and deliberate study of peace can accomplish.

On October 19, 1984, President Reagan signed the United States Institute of Peace into law, with a two year budget of $16 million. This essentially the National Peace Academy as discussed by Mr. Mapes in the following article, the major difference being that a site and building authorization are not included in the bill. Within 90 days after January 20, 1985, the President is to appoint 11 members of the Board of Directors, who must be confirmed by Congress. The other four Directors are the Secretaries of Defense and State or their designates, the Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and the President of the National Defense University. Altogether no more than eight of the 15 Directors may be from either political party. For information on the Institute as it develops, see the National Peace Academy Foundation in "Where to Go from Here."

The National Peace Academy

Milton C. Mapes, Jr.

Conflict is both endemic and epidemic in our society, and since it is so very harmful and so terribly threatening, we cannot but wonder why. In a very real sense we can say that all the threads which comprise the warp and the woof of history are now—and rather suddenly, in an historical sense—pulled parallel and channelled tightly through a very narrow aperture or tunnel, which we might well label "conflict resolution." What happens to those threads in that tunnel will determine whether they even come out on the other side—whether there will even *be* any future history for mankind.

In a Toynbeean sense, the single dominant challenge of current history is the suddenly desperate nature of mankind's management of conflict. This has always been a major challenge, but the response has not been all that critical; but suddenly, since 1945—the blink of a gnat's eyelash on an historical timeline—our response to this challenge has become the single dominant issue of our times and, in a real sense, of all history.

As I recall the exchange of letters between Sigmund Freud and Albert Einstein, Freud's response to the mathematician's inquiry concerning the nature of man commented that, although conflict might indeed be a natural and essential element of man's nature, violence was not a necessary result—the challenge was to find ways to resolve and manage that conflict without it becoming unacceptably violent. Clearly this issue related closely to the question of whether there was any realistic possibility of ever achieving peace for this world, and the conclusion was, in effect, that it was a possible but difficult challenge.

Lest any of you despair and think there is no hope of these ideas even penetrating our society soon enough to be helpful, let me assure you that the intellectual ferment involved in conflict resolution is saturating every level of our society—yea, even to the heights of government. We see it not only in the sudden blooming of membership in the National Peace Academy Campaign, which has expanded in eighteen months from 3,000 to 30,000 members, but even in the pronouncements of our political leaders. Some years or decades ago, Professor Kenneth Boulding gave us a useful and useable definition of peace as not the absence of conflict, but the ability to manage conflict by nonviolent means. Well, you may have missed it, but on May 9, 1982, speaking at his alma mater, President Ronald Reagan said, "Peace is not the absence of conflict, but the ability to cope with conflict by peaceful means." Ideas, you see, have a life and power of their own, so don't give up the ship yet!

Dr. Israel Charny has pointed out that conflict is a built-in structure within every living organism—"that life itself begins with a basic and immutable conflict

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MILTON C. MAPES was Executive Director of the National Peace Academy Campaign until his recent death. This article is excerpted from an address by Mr. Mapes. For further information, write or call: The National Peace Academy Campaign, 110 Maryland Avenue NE, Suite 409, Washington, DC 20002, (202) 546-9500.

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between the two fundamental givens of our existence, LIFE and DEATH." He goes on to point out that the basic conflict of humankind is that man wants to live but must also yield to the awareness of his inevitable death, and he concludes that illness results either when people seek life too much and yield too little to the inevitability of death or seek life too little and yield to death too readily.

Dr. Charny gives such a superb summation of the inevitability of conflict that I am compelled to include one paragraph of his description in this discussion. Referring to "life's fundamental contradictions as they derive from and elaborate on the original awesome polarity of life and death," Dr. Charny adds:

> *There is no alternative to experiencing these fundamental conflicts within ourselves and between one another. These conflicts are much more than a trite statement that people clash because of "differences" in personality, in ideas or even of wills, nor are these the same as powerful political conflicts or struggles over power at every level of human relationships. The conflict process about which we are speaking is all of these, but it is still more. For we are referring to the ultimate substrata where man's aliveness is counterpointed against death, a contradiction that is so enormous, and forever unresolvable, and yet requires of us throughout our lives reconciliation and integration. We live our lives faced with the inevitability of death and incompleteness as the context of our aliveness and efforts to fulfill our potential. It is an enormous struggle that leaves its mark on each of us. So that there should be no wonder at all that when we come together in the intimacies of family life, it proves to be enormously difficult to live with one another.*

I am sure that in another context Dr. Charny would have been the first to add that what is difficult at the family level may appear almost impossible at the international level when all the additional difficulties of distance, semantics and cultural diversity are thrown into the scale.

As an example of this, some of you may have seen last month's brilliant but stinging analysis of Secretary Haig's handling of the U.S. attempt to mediate the Falklands crisis by Professor Roger Fisher of the Harvard Negotiation Project. Listing mistake after mistake in both concept and execution of the project, Professor Fisher concluded, "It is truly scandalous that there was no one on the Secretary's staff sufficiently skilled in the theory and practice of mediation to have made sure the United States avoided these mistakes. To avoid such mistakes in the future, the government needs far better negotiating skills among our mid-career and top level people."

I am willing to start from Dr. Charny's description of the philosophical and psychiatric basis of conflict in discussing the Peace Academy, and I would point out that developing and maintaining that "fascinating and difficult balance" he referred to is the essence of conflict resolution, perhaps better described as conflict management. Dr. Charny makes the point that it is not the right ways and wrong ways of being a human being, the good or bad behaviors, that lead to peace, health and emotional stability, but rather the effective processing of either good or bad behavior patterns. This, I suggest, fits very closely into the distinction which perhaps needs to be made between *conflict resolution*, which seems to imply some final solution to each conflict, and *conflict management*, which implies the ongoing nature of conflict, without denying the possibility of occasionally reaching a true resolution.

As I am sure many of you know it was Professor Kenneth Boulding who coined the term "conflict resolution" back in the mid-1950s, when he established the Institute for Conflict Resolution at the University of Michigan. But he confessed to me only a year or so ago that he now believes the term "conflict management" would have been a more accurate description of what the field properly involved.

The point of this little digression is that we must start by accepting the inevitability of conflict in our lives, and the corollary is that this is true of conflict at all levels, from the interpersonal to—unfortunately—the international. Therefore, as I said earlier, the response of this generation and the next to the challenge of learning to manage conflict effectively and nonviolently is perhaps the critical issue of all history.

"Peace on Earth"— But We Don't Know How

We *must* learn more about the roots of conflict, the conditions and processes and stages of its development, and what the effectiveness of specific types and methods of intervention is at specific stages; we must seek answers to those and a thousand other questions which must be answered before we can have any assurance of managing conflict effectively enough to assure our survival—and we must develop systems which will permit us to apply each item of new knowledge as it is developed, because we don't have the luxury of waiting for the development of any ultimate solutions—our plight is too desperately dangerous.

The trouble is that we know so terribly little about how to manage conflict effectively—how to keep it constructive and not destructive of our values, let alone our property and lives. For almost two millenia at Christmas time much of the western world has sung the songs of "Peace on Earth, Good Will Toward Men," and when mixed with silver bells they sound very beautiful indeed. But the truth about Peace on Earth is that we have almost no idea of how to go about achieving it in the dynamic shove and whirl of human society—in the immortal words of Patrick Henry, "Gentlemen may cry, 'Peace, Peace!', but there *is* no peace!" The world has had nearly 150 wars just since the end of World War II, and 40 nations are involved in destructive conflict today—not to mention 50 million American homes.

The response of this generation and the next to the challenge of learning to manage conflict effectively and nonviolently is perhaps the critical issue of all history.

It would seem that if peace has been a nearly universal goal of our civilization for well over 3,000 years and is still as far away as ever, perhaps it is time we asked ourselves why. Why have we evolved in so many other areas of human society, yet remained at almost a prehistoric stage in our dealing with conflict? We have always beaten each other with clubs—the only difference is that today we use either legal or nuclear clubs, rather than wooden ones, and I really can't accept that as a definition of progress. I submit that what we are facing here is, as much as anything else, a genuine crisis of science, and analyzing how we got here may point a way back to rational reality.

The truth is that we have done a superb—literally an awesome—job of applying science to the arts of destruction. Our new weapons systems are magnificent, superlative scientific achievements. But what have we done about applying the very real accomplishments of our social and behavioral scientists to the art of survival, to teaching us to live together on this shrinking globe in peace? The answer, unfortunately, is almost nothing—at least not until the last decade or two, and too little by far even now! General Omar Bradley said it all in 1948, speaking in Boston, when he told us:

> *We have grasped the mystery of the atom and rejected the Sermon on the Mount. Ours is a world of nuclear giants and ethical infants. We know more about war than we know about peace—more about killing than we know about living.*

Can you imagine a more terrible indictment of any society? "We know more about killing than we know about living!"

And why is this? You know perfectly well why it is. Any urchin on the street could tell you why, and it's very simple: *You get what you pay for!*

Since General Bradley made that statement we have invested well over two trillion dollars (that is a "2" followed by twelve zeroes) in a vain search for security through military arms—and spent almost nothing to develop a science of peace. On Monday, in America alone, some 200,000 scientists will go to work to apply scientific findings to the development and improvement of our war potential, and fewer than 200 scientists will report to work on funded projects to develop our capability to wage and maintain peace. We like to think we are a peaceful people, but if the scripture is true in saying that where a man's treasure is, there will his heart be also, I think we can excuse certain foreigners their doubts about America's dedication to peace.

We are a peaceful people, yet we have four excellent military academies and at least five war colleges, all dedicated to maintaining peace by armed force. Is it unreasonable to suggest that we might have one national institution devoted to teaching and research in how to create the conditions of peace by *affirmative* means? It's not a very comforting comment, but it was a wise man who recently wrote, "In the normal course of events, nations get what they prepare for."

If ever in world history there was a need for new ideas, new institutions, new breakthroughs in the field of peacekeeping, and new systems of conflict management, surely, this is the time. Yet the last great institution we created to contribute to world peace was the United Nations—and that was over a third of a century ago. And what a continuing atrocity it is that after 37 years the United Nations still doesn't even have an Office of Mediation, staffed by the world's most skilled mediators; thus it happens, as it does in the United States: If there comes an urgent need for a skilled mediation at the highest, most critical level of international relations, the task is likely to be undertaken by some rank amateur who happens at that time to be occupying the post of Secretary General—or Secretary of State. It is enough to make one cry like the prophet of old: "How long, oh, Lord, how long?"

My hypothesis is this: We have allowed a terrible gap to develop between the application of science to war and its application to the cause of Peace. This has occurred largely because we have created the institutions, the systems of war, to utilize unlimited amounts of money—but no equivalent channels to direct investment funds into the search for peace.

The solution lies in the analysis. We can close that terrible gap by creating institutions to direct resources into peace research and education. It is a truism that humankind creates its institutions and those institutions shape its society, and go on shaping it long after the creators have passed from the scene. The need now is for institutions whose goal is Peace!

Father Divine, the great populist preacher of the '30s, said it in his own colorful rhetoric: "The trouble with the world is, we got too many metaphysicians who don't know how to tangibilitate!" Well, if we want our grandchildren to have any chance of surviving long enough to know their grandchildren, we've got to get about tangibilitating peace in the fastest and best ways possible.

The Circle of Conflict

We don't know how to manage conflict peacefully on any major scale, but perhaps we can learn. We do know a good bit about specific types and techniques of conflict resolution, such as mediation, arbitration, negotiation and conciliation—perhaps ten percent of what we need to know—but unless we can find ways to devote far greater resources to the field than we ever have in the past, it will continue to limp along in a crippled state in inadequacy and semilegitimacy.

We do know, for example, that unresolved conflict feeds upon itself and grows stronger. There is a closed circle of conflict—conflict unresolved and unmanaged escalates to violence; violence fosters or creates unhappiness and insecurity, which in turn generates more conflict, and the circle repeats itself in a rising spiral of unmanaged and soon unmanageable violence. But if we can break that circle between conflict and violence—if we can learn to resolve conflict reliably before it escalates to violence—then it may be possible to reverse that spiral and start it on a downward course.

Needed: A New Science of Peacemaking

Conflict resolution has much to gain from many fields and there is a desperate need to pull together and correlate the work being done in all those fields, which are suddenly so strongly interrelated in conflict resolution—history, sociology, anthropology, psychology and social psychiatry, and a dozen other fields of social and behavioral science. Somehow we must find ways to expedite the incorporation of all this immense, diverse and growing fund of human knowledge into a workable new science of peace learning.

The possibility of such cooperation is dramatized in the case of the Peace Academy by the question of whether our schools of foreign service will adopt a positive or negative position with respect to the concept. In supporting the Peace Academy, they could greatly broaden their social role, expand the legitimacy and outreach of their own special expertise, and increase the consequent dedication of society's resources to their field.

What I am really talking about here is the desperate need and the real possibility of finally transmuting the lead of the ancient art of peacemaking into the gold of a modern science.

Now let's step back a minute and examine the challenge we face:

1. We are a race of beings literally on the verge of catastrophic planetary self-destruction.
2. We have an emerging field of knowledge which can prevent that disaster if it can be developed and applied soon and fast enough.
3. We have demonstrated the ability to meet challenges of scientific development by the creation of specialized institutions: when faced with the need for a nuclear bomb, we developed the Manhattan Project; when challenged to reach out from our own planet and begin the conquest of space, we established NASA, a National Aeronautical and Space Administration.
4. We possess a widespread educational system which can be used to disseminate rapidly the results of research, and a government which is capable of mobilizing its resources to utilize such research.

It's clearly rhetorical, but what would you, as rational social beings, recommend? Obviously, I have a proposal.

The National Peace Academy Campaign

Keep this challenge in mind for a moment, because I want to add another very relevant fact. Our present "defense" plans call for the expenditure of 1.5 trillion dollars in the next five years on the military budget, which is two-thirds as much as we have spent since 1945; all the beauty, all the glory, all the compassionate programs which America might produce with those funds are going to be forfeited because we are going to "spend the Soviet Union into bankruptcy," as one wag said it.

What that means is that we shall be spending an average of $820 million per day on our military for the next five years—and by 1985 the amount will be one billion dollars per day. I am a graduate of the

United States Naval Academy; I believe we cannot afford to let down our guard—it is a nasty world out there; when some of my friends urge unilateral disarmament, I am likely to respond, "Sure—and how would you like to run New York City without a police force?" But there must be a limit somewhere, and I leave it to you experts to tell me: Have we passed the bounds of rational action in pushing such expenditures and not pushing equally as hard for peace negotiations—is there not, in such a world, a point at which confrontation passes over the limits of sanity and accommodation becomes a rational necessity?

Well, you have heard the challenge, and many, many people contributed to the development of one conceptual solution, or response—the idea of a National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution.

I am told that on July 4, 1976, our country's 200th birthday, Dr. Bryant Wedge met with Nachman Gerber, a real estate developer from Baltimore and a devoted peacemaker by avocation, and jointly founded the National Peace Academy Campaign. That Campaign had and has as its sole purpose the proper establishment of a national institution to accelerate the development of, and train experts in, the developing field of peacemaking and conflict resolution at all levels of society.

Lobbying the Congress, the Campaign succeeded in obtaining passage in October 1978 of an act to create the Commission on Proposals for the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution. A year later we obtained congressional appropriations to finance the Commission's studies, and the Final Report and Recommendations of the Commission were handed to the President October 20, less than a year ago. Last November bills were introduced in both Houses of Congress to establish the United States Academy of Peace—or of Peace and Conflict Resolution.

In the current Session of Congress now ending, hearings were held in both the House and Senate on the respective bills, and the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources reported the bill favorably to the Floor by a 10 to 6 vote. Whether we will be able to have it put on the Calendar for a vote is still in doubt, but every effort is being made to have it scheduled. If it cannot be considered in the current Session due to the legislative logjam, it will be reintroduced in the First Session of the 98th Congress in 1983, and with two full sessions to work on it, we believe we can obtain enactment. It is significant that at the present time we have 56 cosponsors in the Senate and at least another half-dozen members committed to support the bill on the Floor, as well as 135 cosponsors in the House of Representatives.

History's Longest-Running Paradigm Shift

In 1962 Thomas Kuhn described a paradigm shift as a basic change in the framework for thinking about a problem, and it is my firm belief that what was effectively launched in the Peace Academy Campaign that July Fourth seven years ago was a concept which is the latest and hopefully the most dynamic element in the longest-running paradigm shift in history—the evolving change in the framework of the way we think about and deal with conflict.

Kenneth Boulding, in his great little book *Stable Peace*, has written:

> *There is a long, painful, slow but very persistent historical movement from stable war into unstable war into unstable peace into stable peace. The main object of peace policy is to speed up the transition by deliberate decision.*

The Peace Academy, quite simply put, is an institution designed to speed up that transition from stable war to stable peace by deliberate decision.

We shall soon enter upon the continuing period of peace, a period when there will be no more war, when disputes between nations will be settled by the application of man's power of reason by international law.

—Linus Pauling

The paradigm shift referred to is the long-term context of history as it relates to the handling of conflict, and we can go back 5,000 or two million years in considering it.

It began with the age-old law of claw and fang, when, in the words of Langdon Smith,

We lived by blood and the right of might,
Ere human laws were drawn;
And the age of sin did not begin
Till our brutal tusks were gone.

Ancient primitive societies institutionalized the blood-feud, and a scrupulous *lex talionis*, the law of retaliation, enforced by and among tribes and families.

The Code of Hammurabi in 1750 BC and the Mosaic Code about 1200 BC made "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" into both state law and holy writ, which continued as the most forward-looking laws in the field until about 1950 years ago, when Jesus Christ produced the truly radical breakthrough—a total revolution in thinking about conflict—when he said humans should do not as they were done unto, but as they would like to be done unto.

"An eye for an eye" is clearly lose/lose conflict resolution, and the less structured conflict of war maintained the win/lose context of winner-take-all. But the Golden Rule was the birth of win/win thinking, and perhaps it is regrettable that it was presented in a religious context rather than merely as a highly pragmatic social art with a very high benefit-cost ratio—it might have showed up sooner on our social and financial profit and loss statements.

Whether the Golden Rule was divine or human inspiration is moot for this discussion, but it is probable that the breakthrough was in part the product of the cross-cultural fertilization of East and West—the East of the Essenes and the West of the Roman Empire.

But Christianity went west into the cultures of Rome and Northern Europe, where there was no cultural basis for accepting its dictates, and we proceeded to apply some of history's most nonviolent teachings by force and violence. Thus we had religious wars of unprecedented violence, history-bending crusades of bloodshed, and the crushing cruelty of the Inquisition—all in the name of the Carpenter from Nazareth. A greater incompatibility between the means and the ends history has seldom witnessed.

But the concept of win/win conflict resolution did make progress and, in the context of Christianity, gradually permeated Western culture. The spread of empire brought continued cross-cultural contact, and after World War II Mohandas Gandhi gently removed the British Empire from India by passive nonviolent resistance. What he did, of course, was attack the British at their Achilles Heel—the inconsistency between their methods of violence and their ideals of peace.

This provided the method, but it took the genius of Martin Luther King to take Gandhi's techniques and show us how to apply them so as to conform our methods to our goals—to achieve a nonviolent society by nonviolent means.

The Peace Academy is merely the next step in the flow of history as seen in this context, but it is a critical one, for it would commit history's most powerful nation to a long-term program of research and training in the ways and means of peace.

For 2,000 years we have said we wanted peace and done preparations for war—and then wondered why we kept on getting war for our efforts!

The National Peace Academy—What Would It Be and Do?

The Peace Academy would have three basic functions—*research, education and training,* and *information services,* or public education.

In *Research,* the United States Academy of Peace would perform and assist research about peace and conflict resolution through research by its faculty, students and visiting scholars, some of them in residence at the Center for International Peace to be established at the Academy, as well as through supporting grants and contracts for research at other institutions.

The *Education* and *Training* programs at the Academy will be at the graduate and postgraduate levels; both short- and long-term programs will be developed to educate and train persons from government, private enterprise and voluntary groups in peacemaking skills and conflict resolution.

The Academy's *Information Services* are intended to spread the field of peace learning as rapidly as possible across our society, linking the Nation's network of libraries and academic institutions.

In the long run, we believe that the Peace Academy will be instrumental in changing the basic assumptions which our society has applied to conflict since the beginning of time. Since the Romans first said it, the dictum "Si pacem vis, bellum para"—"If you wish for peace, prepare for war,"—has been the basic assumption every nation has applied in its policies, and it is the basic foreign/military policy of every nation in the modern world with the possible exception of Costa Rica, which has no armed forces.

For 2,000 years we have been wishing for peace, yet gone right on preparing for war, with almost slavish devotion to the most demonstrably false assumption in history, and millions upon millions of human beings have suffered incredibly because of this one totally irrational and clearly wrong idea. Our most basic folklore has told us: "Don't listen to what he says—watch what he does!" Yet for 2,000 years we have *said* we wanted peace and *done* preparations for war—and then wondered why we kept on getting war for our efforts!

Well, if we are ever going to have peace, we are going to have to start preparing for it, and now *is* the time—it is almost literally now or never. And the exciting thing is that *we can do it!* We know how, and even better, we know how to learn to do it better. The human method is institutionalization, and the specific institution is the United States Academy of Peace.

As Professor Fisher said in the conclusion of his article on the Falklands episode:

> *Today, professional training in negotiation and mediation is lost among a welter of government institutions dominated either by day-to-day events or military concerns. What is everybody's business has become nobody's business. We need a central, active body to focus, stimulate and conduct first-class training in the skills of dealing with differences. More than 50 Senators have jointly introduced legislation to do so. Without further delay, Congress should establish the United States Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution.*

In summary, then, applied physical science has brought us to the brink of annihilation because of the framework of thought—the adversarial win-lose paradigm—we still apply to conflict at every level of society. But suddenly knowledge and wisdom from our social and behavioral sciences is coalescing into a whole new field of nonviolent conflict management, of 'conflict resolution'—and there is new hope.

Conflict at any level need *not* be a zero-sum game; win-win solutions *are* possible; cooperative paradigms *can* be developed; conflict need almost *never* escalate to violence; and we *can* train peacemakers, conflict managers, crisis intervenors, mediators and negotiators to give us and our grandchildren some hope of survival and a decent life on this shrinking globe. That is the challenge, and the urgently needed response is a national center for research, training and public education in the ways and means of peace—the National Academy of Peace and Conflict Resolution.

Suddenly knowledge and wisdom from our social and behavioral sciences is coalescing into a whole new field of nonviolent conflict management . . . and there is new hope.

Where to Go from Here

Books

Getting to Yes. Roger Fisher and William Ury. New York: Penguin Books, 1983. This delightful and popular book on negotiation is an excellent primer for those new to the field of negotiation and mediation. They don't cover all effective styles of negotiation, but they do an excellent job with the approaches they do discuss.

The Disputing Process: Law in Ten Societies. Nader and Todd, eds. New York: Columbia University Press, 1978. This technical anthropological work can be difficult reading, but the subject matter is fascinating since it provides a cross-cultural perspective on conflict resolution.

Alternative Means of Family Dispute Resolution. Compiled by the Special Committee on Alternative Means of Dispute Resolution. Chicago: American Bar Association, 1982. This is one of many titles published by this committee which present various aspects of dispute resolution. There is a selected bibliography, a list of all programs in this field in the country as of 1982, and compilations of *Law Review* articles that would particularly interest attorneys. Contact the American Bar Association in Chicago to get a list of publications by this committee.

Positive Resolution on Conflict: Techniques, Tools, and Theories is a booklet compiled from a year-long series of workshops sponsored by the Anacortes, WA, branch of the American Association of University Women. Includes a good bibliography. $1.50 postpaid, 25 pp. Make out checks to AAUW, Anacortes Branch, and mail to Conflict Resolution Booklet, c/o R. Wallace, 818 25th St., Anacortes, WA 98221.

Other well-known authors in the field are Gail Bingham, James Lowe, Jerry Cormick, Susan Carpenter, Larry Ray and Frank Sanders. Coogler and Haynes are the big names in divorce/custody mediation books.

Community services

The following services in the City of Seattle and Washington State are typical of those available in many communities.

The **Seattle Public Library**, education section, has a dispute resolution project. It offers bibliographies and other material on the subject. Other libraries may have or be willing to initiate similar projects.

Washington Arbitration Services is an impartial dispute settlement organization offering general civil arbitration, mediation and education. You can get information on this state-wide program by calling their Seattle office at (206) 285-4885.

The **Better Business Bureau** has a national Consumer Mediation and Arbitration project which is helpful for folks with merchant-consumer disputes. They have offices in most major cities.

Many attorneys and therapists in private practice specialize in divorce and child custory mediation. **Divorce Lifeline** in Seattle, the **Family Court of King County**, and the **Mediation Consortium of Washington State** are sources of information in this field.

The **Rental Housing Mediation Service** of the Volunteers of America is a free landlord-tenant dispute resolution service. Located in Snohomish County, it is the only one of its kind in Washington State.

Organizations

The National Peace Academy Campaign can be contacted by writing 100 Maryland Ave. NE, Suite 409, Washington, DC 20002, (202) 546-9500.

The National Peace Academy Foundation will serve to spread information about the United States Institute of Peace and its programs. Please contact them to learn more about the Institute. (Address and phone same as National Peace Academy Campaign.)

> *"Peace is rarely denied to the Peaceful."*
>
> *—Schiller*

9

Beyond Unreal Images

I find the view of the Soviet Union that prevails today in our government and journalistic establishments so extreme, so subjective, so far removed from what any sober scrutiny of external reality would reveal, that it is not only ineffective, but dangerous as a guide to political action. This endless series of distortions and oversimplifications; this systematic dehumanization of the leadership of another great country, this routine exaggeration of Moscow's military capabilities and of the supposed inequity of its intentions; this daily misrepresentation of the nature and the attitudes of another great people—and a long-suffering people at that, sorely tried by the vicissitudes of this past century...this reckless application of the double standard to the judgment of Soviet conduct and our own; this failure to recognize the commonality of many of their problems and ours as we both move inexorably into the modern technological age...these, believe me, are not the marks of the maturity and realism one expects of the diplomacy of a great power.

George Kennan
Former Ambassador to the USSR

The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave to its animosity or its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and interest.

George Washington
Farewell Address

Introduction

There's an old saying, "A little bit of knowledge is dangerous." What do we in this country know about the Soviet Union? In some ways we know quite a bit. In other important ways we know very little. What we do know we may not understand, and this is dangerous.

It is dangerous because the world is not simple. We act on the basis of what we think we know. If that is a partial or distorted truth, however, we may act exactly against our own best interests. We may even create problems where there were none. We may miss opportunities to accomplish our aims. We may, in short, wind up in a mess.

This chapter advocates learning more about and opening up communication with the Soviet Union and its people. To think that this is dangerous is to lack faith in the strengths of our country and our system. The real danger is in taking risky actions while in a state of ignorance.

Decision-making in the United States relies upon a well-informed citizenry. To this end we have free speech, a free press, freedom of assembly and freedom to travel. It is the right and even the responsibility of American citizens to investigate issues of importance and then to tell their public officials what course to take. A free flow of information works only to the benefit of a democracy. Restricted communication encourages partial and biased understanding, poor decision-making and the concentration of power in the hands of a few.

Full communication among ourselves and between the U.S. and the USSR at all levels, including personal visits, can only help us in our quest for a stable world.

In this chapter a former United States diplomat with extensive personal experience of the USSR shares with us his views on U.S.-Soviet relations and on the nature of the Soviet Union. You will also learn about traveling there to gain your own first-hand impressions, and about a project to set up regular two-way communication with large numbers of Soviet citizens.

What the Russians Really Want

A rational response to the Soviet challenge

Marshall D. Shulman

Like travelers who come upon an unmarked fork in the road, we find ourselves obliged by the change in leadership in the Soviet Union to stop and think. The transition, with all the uncertainties it presents, compels us to consider where we are going in our fateful relationship with the Russians, and why, and whether we should be going in another direction.

Almost seven decades have passed since the revolution that led to the founding of the Soviet Union. For most of those years, relations between that country and our own have been animated by hostility, relieved only by brief intervals of abatement and passing hopes of some easement.

Each such interval, however, has been followed by an ever stronger expression of the conflict of power, beliefs, and purposes between the two nations. That conflict is now so deeply rooted and so intense that it evokes the destructive energies of both societies, weakening them and the fabric of the international system, threatening the possibility of catastrophe.

That hostility did not grow out of any natural antipathy between the peoples of the two countries, but with the passage of time each has come to be so persuaded of the malign intent of the other that it has become difficult to distinguish what is real and what is fancied in the perceptions each holds of the other.

In the conduct of our foreign relations, Walter Lippmann observed, we operate on the basis of "pictures in our heads." The images of the Soviet Union held most widely in this country are stereotypes, and they warp our thinking in a number of ways. They are simple caricatures of a complex society. They are static and do not take into account the changes that have taken place, particularly since the death of Stalin. They are based on prevalent assumptions that do not bear critical examination. They misrepresent the ways in which the Soviet people react to our actions and to our words. They do not distinguish between atmosphere and substance. Finally, as oversimple images informing oversimple policy, they make it difficult for us to resolve the dilemma of whether we should try to change the Soviet system or try to improve our relations with it.

After almost four decades spent studying the Soviet Union and about 30 trips there, what continues to strike me most forcefully is the sharp contrast between the complex reality of that country and the primitive perceptions of it that dominate our discussions, and the contrast between the way the world looks from Moscow and the way it appears from Washington. Even more troubling is the problem we face in bringing our values, our emotions, our apprehensions, and our judgments about the Soviet Union into some kind of reasonable balance with our relations with it.

To many Americans, including many specialists on the subject, it seems contradictory to recognize that the Soviet Union is repressive and expansionist and also to believe that we should seek to manage rationally the fundamentally competitive Soviet-American relationship. What has been absent from our thinking is the maturity to carry such apparently contradictory notions in our heads at the same time.

Good and reasonable people often come to hold fundamentally different views of the Soviet Union. There is much about that secretive society that we do not know. Into this uncertainty people tend to project either their fears or their hopes, according to their temperaments or their political prejudices or, perhaps, their experiences: a businessman who has been royally treated on his visits to the Soviet Union will have a very different picture in his mind than an emigre who may have spent years in a labor camp or years battling bureaucrats for an exit visa; a military

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The problems presented by the Soviet Union are serious. But stereotypes do not provide us with an adequate basis for responding intelligently.

game theorist will see the Russians as the enemy, ruthless, omnicompetent, poised to attack.

The problems presented by the Soviet Union are serious. But stereotypes do not provide us with an adequate basis for responding intelligently. My purpose here is to suggest a way of thinking about these problems, beginning with a realistic view of the Soviet Union and its behavior and ending with some guidelines for the conduct of our relations with Moscow. Not everyone, and certainly not all of those who study Soviet behavior, will agree with what I regard as realistic or with my conclusions. But I believe that the time is overdue for us to address head-on some of the questions that underlie our present thinking about that country in order to contribute to a more rational discourse, beyond the level of partisan polemics.

One: In seeking to expand its power and influence around the world, are the Soviet Union's aspirations unlimited? Does it accept practical limitations on realizing its status as a superpower? Might it even become willing to live according to the norms of the international system?

Over the last 67 years, we have witnessed the ascendancy of nation-state interests over revolutionary expectations and ideology as the primary motivation of Soviet foreign policy. It became apparent to the Soviet regime in its early years—and even more so after World War II—that the proletariat of the West was showing no signs of the revolutionary potential that Lenin had ascribed to it. In response to this fact, Soviet policy was adapted to address the bourgeoisie of both the Western industrial societies and the developing world for the purpose of influencing governments to act in ways favorable to Soviet interests. Although revolutionary ideology is still part of the official rhetoric and although it is bolstered by a bureaucratic apparatus that has a stake in it, it has been modified in such a way as to put off to the indefinite future the realization of apocalyptic goals. Peaceful coexistence, which to Lenin meant a breathing spell, has become a long term political strategy of competition by means short of war.

While it is impossible to predict whether Soviet foreign policy will evolve in directions we would wish, it can be said that it has evolved more than is generally appreciated, largely as a result of Soviet efforts to adapt to changes in international politics, including options created by policies of the United States.

Coincident with this development—which has inclined Soviet policy toward favoring traditional balance-of-power maneuvers—has been a continuous movement away from the autarkic reliance on the Soviet economy promised by Stalin's commitment to "Socialism in One Country." In fact, the Soviet Union has become ever more deeply involved in the world economy, and the proportion of its gross national product derived from foreign trade has risen steadily.

While it does not seem likely that these trends will be reversed, it is clearly too much to say that they will necessarily lead to Soviet acceptance of the international system to the extent of being willing to act as a partner in preserving the system's stability. The Soviet Union has an interest in maintaining the status quo in Eastern Europe, but not elsewhere. A broader commitment would require a much greater departure from its residual faith that capitalist systems contain the seeds of their own destruction than any signs now indicate is likely.

In truth, there is as much variance in the Soviet interpretation of Marxism-Leninism today as there is in American Protestantism.

Two: Are Soviet leaders, then, guided by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism?

If you were to ask them that question, their answer would be "Of course." None of them would say otherwise, and they seek sanction for every action, speech, article, or book by quoting from the storehouse of the writings of Marx, Engels, and, especially, Lenin.

Marxist-Leninist ideology, of course, is based on the prediction that capitalist systems are doomed to decay and collapse, that they will seek to stave off this outcome by imperialist aggression, but that, in the end, "socialism" as the Soviet Union defines it will prove more effective and will emerge as the universal form of social organization. In practice, Soviet theoreticians have had to take into account the fact that these predictions from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have not received much confirmation. The lesson has not been lost on Soviet theoreticians, who have reinterpreted some parts of the ideology while clinging to others, seeking legitimacy in hoped-for improvements in performance, or what Khrushchev called "goulash communism." In truth, there is as much variance in the Soviet interpretation of Marxism-Leninism today as there is in American Protestantism.

To say that Soviet political figures and writers claim consistency with Marxism-Leninism is not to say that their actions are derived from ideology. Certainly the historical analysis of capitalism influences the way the older Soviet political elites interpret events, but the sacred texts offer less and less guidance for making the practical decisions demanded by the complex society that the Soviet Union has become. With rare exceptions, even those youths who aspire to become members of the Soviet establishment master their catechism with cynicism (the sound of shuffling feet during lectures on "diamat"—dialectical materialism—is reminiscent of the noise during lectures for GIs on social hygiene), suggesting that when they take the levers of power into their hands, the ideas that will shape their thoughts and guide their actions will bear only the slightest resemblance to the ideas that inspired the Revolution.

Three: Is the Soviet Union nevertheless inherently *expansionist?*

Some have argued that the answer to this question is yes. Should that be true, it would follow that in order to move Soviet behavior in the direction of greater restraint and responsibility it would be necessary to change the Soviet system in fundamental ways, and that this should be the primary objective of American policy. Those who take this position claim that it is only by external aggrandizement that the Soviet leadership can cement its power, claim legitimacy, and validate its view of history. Some even argue that there is a parallel between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany, and that just as appeasement served to whet the Nazis' appetite, any accommodation with the Soviet Union can "only lead to disaster."

The study of Soviet behavior, however, suggests that Soviet actions are more consistently explained by reference to the pursuit of nation-state interests than by some inner compulsion related to the structure of the system. The leadership is strengthened by successes and weakened by failures, as is the case in any country, but there is no sign that Soviet adventures abroad have resulted in increased popular support. On the contrary, foreign adventures, whether in Hungary or Afghanistan, are regarded uneasily by Soviet citizens.

There is an expansive tendency in the Soviet Union's behavior, but it is impelled not by the nature of the system but by the sense that the country has grown into a great power. Moreover, it has been activated by opportunities that the Soviet Union itself has not created, and it has been guided by a careful calculus of risks and gains as well as by a capacity for prudence. This was illustrated most recently by the absence of an immediate Soviet reaction to the attacks on Syria during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

The Nazi parallel is particularly misleading. Unlike the Nazis, Soviet leaders do not seek war. No one doubts that who has seen firsthand how fresh are the memories of the destruction and loss of life in World War II, or how universal is the appreciation of the consequences of nuclear war (much more universal than is the case in the United States). Soviet leaders have accepted and accommodated themselves to the practical constraints on their expansionist tendencies. They may hope that the future will bring more favorable opportunities, but faith in their historical inevitability has become ritualistic, and is advanced on national holidays with diminishing conviction.

The Soviet-American relationship is fundamentally competitive and is likely to remain so for the foreseeable future. What we must decide is... whether it is more sensible to manage the competition at lower levels of tension.

Four: Even if the Soviet Union is not inherently expansionist, is it possible for us to maintain peaceful relations with it so long as it seeks to maximize its power and influence?

We have to accept the fact that the Soviet-American relationship is fundamentally competitive and is likely to remain so for the foreseeable future. What we must decide is whether it is in our interest to compete at a high level of confrontation or whether it is more sensible to manage the competition at lower levels of tension. If we seek to force the pace of military competition and to maximize pressure on the Soviet Union by cutting back diplomatic contacts, trade, and all forms of cooperation, the effect will be to increase the level of conflict and the risk of war and to push both societies toward greater, and destructive, militarization.

It is sometimes said in this country that the so-called detente of the early 1970s was a failure and a deception, and that it proved that the effort to moderate relations was bound not to work, leaving us at a disadvantage. But the principal reason why detente was not successful was that neither side fulfilled the two main requirements for reducing tensions. Those requirements are the management of the nuclear competition at lower and more stable levels and the codification of the terms of political competition in the Third World. On each side there were impediments to exercising the restraint that is essential to reducing the risk of war.

On the Soviet side, the main impediments to the stabilization of the nuclear competition appeared to stem from the influence of the military bureaucracy in Soviet politics; tendencies toward overinsurance in military matters; an inclination to think in prenuclear terms; a fear of the U.S. advantage in advanced military technology; a fear of appearing weak and therefore vulnerable to American pressure; and a mistaken belief that a strengthened military posture would make the United States more pliant in negotiations. In the Third World, the main impediment to restraint was the Soviet Union's commitment to expand its influence wherever it could do so at acceptable costs and risks, which it rationalized as support for what it chose to call national liberation movements. The increase in Soviet logistical capabilities and conventional weapons and forces made such interventions more tempting.

On the American side, the impediments to the stabilization of the nuclear competition included a lack of rationality in defense policy-making, as a result of which decisions were dictated by parochial economic and service interests; a residual commitment to superiority rather than parity as the basis for national security; a post-Vietnam fear of appearing to be weak; and a mistaken belief that a strengthened military posture would make the Soviet Union more pliant in negotiations. Moreover, a resurgence of nationalism, a universal phenomenon throughout the industrialized world, made any form of accommodation with the Soviet Union politically difficult. The basic impediments to stabilizing the U.S.-Soviet competition in the Third World were America's inexperience in international affairs, its parochialism, and its ignorance of the areas involved. That led the United States to regard countries of the Third World as abstract counters in the East-West competition, driving all radical movements into the Soviet camp, and to rely primarily on military instrumentalities for dealing with them.

> *"Either we have to learn to live with the Russians or we and the Russians will die at about the same time. And I am all for living."*
>
> *—Dr. George Kistiakowsky,*

In addition, there have been external impediments to a regulation of the competition. This period of international politics has been characterized by an extraordinary turbulence involving dramatic transformations in the industrialized nations, post-decolonization travails in the developing ones, and anarchy in the international system. Under the best of circumstances, it would have been remarkable if Soviet-American relations had not become roiled.

Five: Has Soviet foreign policy, emboldened by what some analysts see as military supremacy, become more aggressive in the years since detente?

There is a two-part answer to the military question. Certainly the improvements in the Soviet Union's conventional capabilities, the increase in the firepower and mobility of its forces, and its greater logistical capabilities—demonstrated in the impressive airlift of materiel to Ethiopia—have made it possible to intervene where it might not have been able to a decade ago. But despite the expanded Soviet strategic nuclear arsenal, it is wrong to speak of supremacy, and there are no grounds for believing that the strategic balance influenced the Soviet decisions to act as it did in Angola, Ethiopia, or Afghanistan.

The lack of restraint shown by the Soviet Union in exacerbating local conflicts cannot be justified, but its interventions have represented a continuation of its longstanding policy of seeking to exploit opportunities, whatever their cause. The 1975 intervention in Angola, for example, was a response to the collapse of the Portuguese position in Africa. (The Soviet Union was able to respond to that collapse more effectively than was the United States, tied as we were to our Portuguese ally and restrained as we were by the post-Vietnam inhibitions against foreign interventions.) In Ethiopia, it was Chairman Mengistu Haile-Mariam's alienation from the United States and his turning to the Soviet Union for support that created the Soviet opportunity, and there, as in Angola, the messianic mission of Fidel Castro gave the Soviet Union the benefit of Cuban soldiers. (In contrast, the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was a response not to an opportunity but to a perceived threat; it can best be understood as a gross political and military miscalculation, reflecting Soviet paranoia about the security of its borders.)

Of course, even though these Soviet interventions were responses to opportunities rather than manifestations of a more aggressive policy, they are still a matter for concern. But it lies within our power to reduce such opportunities by understanding better what local factors generate upheavals and conflicts, and by responding to them more appropriately ourselves.

Six: Does the Soviet Union's military buildup indicate that it has accepted the risks of nuclear war?

The great increase in its conventional forces does raise the possibility that the Soviet Union is prepared to intervene in behalf of its newly acquired global interests. And in its production and deployment of nuclear weapons like the SS-18, an intercontinental missile capable of delivering ten warheads of 500 kilotons each with great accuracy, and the SS-20, an intermediate-range missile targeted on Europe and the Far East, it has not shown reasonable restraint and has aroused concerns in the West that have had the effect of reducing its own security. (In this respect, neither Soviet nor American defense policies have been marked by much rationality or foresight.) But it strains any plausible scenario to see Soviet strategic forces as capable of anything other than preventing a military attack or political intimidation.

Monetary measures of the Soviet Union's military effort have sometimes been used to show that its programs are alarmingly larger than ours, but these are not a reliable basis for comparison. The statistics cited in such comparisons are questionable: they depend on estimates of what it would cost us to produce Soviet weapons using American labor costs, and also on calculations of dollar-ruble equivalencies; they do not take into account the actual Soviet production costs; and even if it is argued that the percentage of the Soviet gross national product devoted to military programs is twice that of the United States, it must be borne in mind that the Soviet GNP is half our own. Moreover, the CIA has recently revised downward its estimates of Soviet military expenditures; those estimates now suggest that after annual increases of about 4 percent a year beginning in the early 1960s, the rate of increase began to level off in the mid-1970s, once the Soviet Union reached parity with the United States.

Judgments about parity are, of course, inexact, seeking as they do to compare quite different force structures (the Soviet Union has three quarters of its strategic force in land-based intercontinental missiles, compared with only one third of ours; the rest is in bombers and submarines). The Soviet Union fears that America's superior industrial technology may give us an edge in the future, and it continues to develop new weapons, duplicating our innovations when it can and compensating for others simply by doing more of what it can do. By any measure, however, it is apparent that given the destructiveness of nuclear weapons, neither side has or can hope to have a usable military superiority over the other. But neither country has had the self-confidence to regard a secure retaliatory force as sufficient.

It has been said that Soviet military writings imply that Soviet leaders believe they can fight and win a nuclear war, but that argument reflects a superficial reading of the literature. Soviet military doctrine has evolved considerably since the time of Stalin, when nuclear weapons were discussed in pre-nuclear-age terms, and the authoritative statements of Yuri Andropov, Konstantin Chernenko, Minister of Defense Dmitri Ustinov, and Chief of the General Staff Nikolai Ogarkov have shown unequivocal awareness that nuclear war would be a danger to the security of their country.

Seven: Does it follow, then, that the Soviet Union is prepared to engage seriously in arms-control negotiations?

Arms-control negotiations about nuclear weapons seemed a radical idea to the Russians when they were first proposed in the Baruch plan in 1946. In the early years of the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty negotiations, which began in November 1969, the Russians were obviously reluctant to consider entrusting their security to such arrangements—perhaps because they didn't feel strong enough, or their military was resistant, or they did not trust us any more than we trusted them. Most of the SALT proposals were advanced by the American negotiators, and many of the Soviet proposals (for nonaggression agreements, a ban on first use of nuclear weapons, and international conferences to discuss disarmament) had an agitprop character. Although the Soviet Union accepted the American proposal for strategic arms limitation talks, it did not appear to have accepted the fundamental SALT concepts: parity, mutual deterrence, and strategic stability.

But the situation has changed in two respects. We have changed. Despite our formal acceptance of deterrence as a guiding principle, we have moved toward developing war-fighting capabilities. Our defense plans are now based on the requirement that

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we be able to prevail in a prolonged nuclear conflict. In this respect, both the declaratory and the actual policies of the two countries have moved closer.

The Soviet Union has also changed: it became more than a passive partner in the negotiations. In the SALT II talks, it offered considerably more major concessions than did the United States; it was also prepared to agree that no new land-based intercontinental missiles be allowed, had we been willing to agree to what had originally been an American proposal. The Russians were stubborn bargainers, but they manifested a serious interest in limiting the nuclear competition.

Eight: What does this say about the belief that the United States must develop "positions of strength" in order to make the Soviet Union negotiate in good faith or accept our deterrent as credible?

To the Soviet Union, it appears that a military balance now exists and that American efforts to secure "positions of strength" mask attempts to achieve superiority. The Soviet reaction will be contrary to what is expected. Instead of feeling pressured to make concessions at the negotiating table, the Soviet Union will match every new American program with one of its own (as it has done in the past, for example when we introduced multiple-warhead systems). It is for this reason that the search for such "positions of strength" will lead to an upward spiral in the nuclear military competition, involving weapons that are less stable (the MX missile and the proposed space-based defense system) and less verifiable (cruise missiles) than those now in existence, with the consequence that it will be increasingly difficult to achieve any agreement.

Nine: Is the Soviet system capable of change?

It is here that we come to a question that is absolutely fundamental to the way we think about the Soviet Union, and it is here that our stereotypes are most strikingly out of date. Since the Revolution, the Soviet Union has evolved from a predominantly peasant society to one that is largely urban and industrializing. Although the process of industrialization has moved forward unevenly, and although large parts of the country do not seem to have changed in the past 100 years, the spread of education and the growth of cadres of specialists have made for a much more complex society, in which controls have been increasingly internalized and "privatization" stubbornly protects pockets of autonomy from intrusion by the central authorities. Leaving the intellectuals aside, for most people the system works, since they compare their living standards not with those of other countries but with their own in the past.

The engine of change is the emergence of new generations, with new expectations and experiences, and a vast generational shift is already in progress. Although it is not yet reflected in the composition of the top party leadership, it is to be seen at lower levels of the party, in the military, and in the various bureaucracies. The younger elite are well educated and competent. Not liberals in a Western sense, their thinking is nevertheless far more sophisticated than that of high-level party members, which has been characterized by parochial fundamentalism. They are free of the formative influences of the Revolution and the Stalinist terror and are relatively knowledgeable about the outside world and prepared to learn from it.

The engine of change is the emergence of new generations, with new expectations and experiences, and a vast generational shift is already in progress.

The prevailing Western images of the Soviet elite, based on monolithic totalitarian models, tend to stereotype Soviet officialdom, leading some observers to conclude that the system is brittle and cannot change without risk of collapse. This obscures the spectrum of views to be found even within the party establishment, which encompasses not only those who are careerists and bureaucrats supreme but also those who might be called "within-system critics," those who, within the bounds of loyalty to the system, possess and sometimes express unorthodox views about modernization. Because the changes they favor may provoke resistance, in the short run their activities may reinforce or even increase the authority of the political police. Whether in the long run such changes will moderate the repressiveness of the Soviet system may depend in part on the international climate.

In the end, one must wonder if the system will be able to cope with its enormous problems. That is a question no one can answer, not even the Soviet leadership. The decline in the country's growth rates is symptomatic of the contradiction between the rigidities of its political structure and the requirements of advanced industrialization. No one was more severe in cataloguing the deficiencies of the Soviet system than Yuri Andropov. The new leadership is also aware of the problems it faces. But it must deal with a profoundly conservative society, changing but resistant to change, fearful, above all, of the effects of reform on the party's control.

Our long-term policy...should be designed to encourage future generations of Soviet leaders to see that acting with restraint and enlarging the area of genuine cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union serve their own self-interest.

How these contending forces will resolve their differences is the most intriguing question of all, and the answer, when it becomes clear, will affect our thinking about our future relations with the Soviet Union.

There are, of course, other questions that we might wish to ask, but the issues we have already touched on point toward something that should be taken into account far more than has been the case: the factor of change. If instead of viewing the Soviet Union as a static system we view it as one in the midst of a historical transformation, then the starting point for thinking through our own policies should be to ask ourselves how they are likely to affect the processes of change in the Soviet system, Soviet conduct in the world, and opportunities for peaceful relations between the two countries.

Our capacity to influence the nature of change in the Soviet Union is limited. At the very least, however, we should exercise care lest our actions and words impair the prospects for changes we would like to see. It should be clear from past experience that if we are perceived to be bellicose, or if we declare our intent to undermine the Soviet order, we strengthen the backward elements in the Soviet political system.

It follows that our long-term policy should have an evolutionary purpose: it should be designed to encourage future generations of Soviet leaders to see that acting with restraint and enlarging the area of genuine cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union serve their own self-interest. The main objective of our policy should therefore be to respond to the Soviet challenge in ways that will protect our security, our interests, and our values, rather than to try to force changes in the Soviet Union or to bring about changes in its foreign policy indirectly by seeking to undermine the Soviet system.

This does not mean that we are not interested in what happens inside the Soviet Union, nor that we should put aside our humanitarian concern about its repressive practices. None of us can remain unmoved by the cruelty with which the Soviet policy apparatus deals with dissidents or with those who wish to emigrate. But we should have learned from our recent experience that it is counterproductive for our government to make the human rights issue an instrument in a political offensive against the Soviet Union and to engage the prestige of the Soviet leadership by frontal, public ultimatums as it did with the Jackson-Vanik amendment and in the tragic cases of Andrei Sakharov and Anatoly Shcharansky. We should also remember that although decreased international tension may in the short run inspire campaigns of ideological vigilance designed to control the spread of bourgeois ideas within the Soviet Union, increased levels of international tension reduce the restraints on the Soviet police apparatus and encourage greater pressures for retrogressive movement toward neo-Stalinism.

Perhaps the best that can be hoped for in our relations with the Soviet Union, in the aftermath of the transition to the Chernenko leadership, is a Cold Truce, an improvement in the climate of confrontation that is now patently leading toward greater military competition and a greater risk of misperception and miscalculation in responses to local crises. Beyond the immediate period, we should recognize that the only sensible alternative to a relationship based on confrontation is one that seeks a *modus vivendi,* in order to manage the competition between us at a less destructive level of tension.

The most important aspect of such a policy is the military competition. Clearly, a military balance is required, but what kind, and at what level? If our political leaders and the public really accept the proposition that our security is better safeguarded by a stable nuclear balance than by unregulated competition, it follows that we should accept stability, parity, and mutual deterrence. We pay lip service to these concepts but have not been guided by them in practice. Their genuine acceptance would make possible serious negotiations that would take into account legitimate Soviet security concerns, as well as our own. Neither in the negotiations on strategic systems nor in those on theater nuclear weapons in Europe are the positions of the two sides so far apart that they cannot be bridged. That is also true of the negotiations on treaties for a comprehensive test ban and on the use of chemical weapons, among others. Meanwhile, it does not make sense for us to introduce systems that are destabilizing, systems that will make us more trigger-sensitive. There also must be a balance in conventional weapons. There, too, our long-term objective should be to seek a balance at a moderate level through negotiations, on the basis of the same kind of mutual deterrence that should guide our nuclear weapons policy.

In the political competition between the United States and the Soviet Union, containment by military force is clearly an inadequate response. There may be occasions when we will need sufficient forces on the ground to prevent Soviet intervention, but this is only a negative capability. More important, we must learn to respond to the causes of the strains and instabilities that create opportunities for exploitation by the Soviet Union. For example, we have allowed our relations with our allies among the industrialized nations to become strained by economic tensions and by their growing lack of confidence in the sobriety and wisdom of our leadership. Yet it ought to be the very heart of our policy to maintain the closest possible ties with them. In the Third World, we must show greater awareness of the sources of instability than we have so far. If we are prepared to deal with the causes of revolutionary change, to address the issues of health, food, literacy, and equity with more understanding, we will be able to respond to these problems before all hope of peaceful resolution is lost and the only solution becomes military arbitration between equally unsavory extremes.

In our relations with the Soviet Union we should rely on incentives as well as on constraints. This means that we must sustain a reasonable level of trade and exchanges and encourage limited measures of cooperation. Holding out the prospect of widening ties as the Soviet Union shows its readiness to act responsibly is a token of our hope that the relationship can move to a less dangerous stage. This, indeed, is the link to our longer-term policy. We cannot assume that Soviet behavior will evolve in this way, but we can let future generations of Soviet leaders know that if they do move in this direction we are prepared to accept this more productive relationship.

At the center of our thinking should always be the concern that the protection of our security and our values depends not only on the sensible management of relations with the Soviet Union but on the condition of the international system itself, on those fragile restraints on the behavior of nations that have been created so slowly and painfully over the years. It must be strengthened against the anarchy and chaos that now threaten it. To do this we must seek not to preserve the status quo but to codify processes of nonviolent change. We must work toward placing constraints on the use of force to produce or to prevent change, and we must be willing, ourselves, to live within these constraints.

One more thing needs to be said. Essential to a *modus vivendi* are diplomatic communications with the Soviet Union, firm but not bellicose, conducted with civility and common sense—recently so uncommon in American politics.

"There is no practical problem existing between nations whose importance is in any proportion to the tremendous losses which must be expected in an atomic war."

—Albert Schweitzer

Citizen Diplomacy

Roscius N. Doan, M.D.

The reality of the threat of nuclear war and the hostile contention of the superpowers make understanding the USSR and its people a critical activity for Americans. Official relations between the two governments are at their lowest ebb in twenty years. In such a climate of hostility, many of us are asking ourselves what we can do as individuals or in groups to make direct contact with our counterparts in the Soviet Union. This growing movement to make contact with the Soviet people is coming to be called Citizen Diplomacy. More and more Americans want to learn about the Soviet Union, to travel there and see for themselves, or to host Soviet visitors in the U.S.

Why has there been so much growth in citizen diplomacy? Many of us are profoundly unhappy with the way things are. We are frightened by the drift toward an accelerated arms race. We feel powerless and in the pits of despair over this international relationship. The antidote for this despair is assuming self-responsibility and taking action with others. Gandhi has said, "Almost anything you do will seem insignificant, but it is very important that you do it." We are taking peacemaking into our own hands.

It is useful to ask ourselves what we perceive in the Soviet Union that is so threatening, what it is that we would spend trillions of dollars and risk ecocidal conflict to avoid. We must question the reasons for this relationship and ask ourselves how our personal behavior is connected to our national behavior. We may quickly find out that the Soviet Union represents to us what we fundamentally reject in ourselves and in so rejecting, we label as evil, sinister, and enemy. Yet actually making contact with Soviet people has been an enriching and balancing experience for many of us. This activity has put a human face on our nation's adversary and deepened our understanding of the complex Soviet reality.

The long-range goal requires commitment to the vision of planetary unity. Despite appearances and our collective reluctance to accept it, the entire human community is embedded in a self-sustaining web of life that comprises one system. As Einstein said, "We experience ourselves as separated from the rest, a kind of optical delusion of our consciousness." We are one; we appear separate.

We must not be put off or intimidated by the seeming impracticality of the vision of planetary unity. As an hypothesis for action, it is far superior to the current hypothesis of separateness that underlies our present international relationships.

The way out of international alienation toward planetary unity will require a commitment to personal work, collaboration and networking, and increased contacts between Americans and others, in this case, Soviets. In our relationship with the Soviets, we are challenged to no longer withhold love from the USSR, and instead to communicate that love to the Soviet people. For many of us, the task is, as Robert Fuller of the Mo Tzu Project has said, to "find what we love within what we hate." Citizen diplomacy is one way of providing a context for this work.

We Americans are fortunate to have a number of advantages. These stem from our open society and our relative freedom from the psychological strictures born of war, oppression, and deprivation. We have great capacity for individual and private group initiative. Foreign travel is easy for us. Communications media are accessible to us.

I am writing from Seattle, a community with a high level of activity in American-Soviet relations. In the fall of 1982, a consortium of peace groups

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presented a nine-day community-wide educational event called "Target Seattle" on the prevention of nuclear war. One activity of that event was the drafting of a letter to the people of our Sister City Tashkent in the Soviet Union. The letter was an expression of concern about nuclear war and a call for our nations to work together to prevent it. This bilingual Russian-English letter was published in petition form, and made available for signing at all Target Seattle events. Community groups and churches also canvassed neighborhoods for signatures. Forty-two thousand signatures were collected on 2,000 copies of the letter. The mayor of Seattle and the City Council signed the first copy, which was sent to the mayor of Tashkent. We informed the official Soviet Peace Committee of the letter. Following Target Seattle, we expressed our desire to the Tashkent mayor to send a delegation to our Sister City to deliver the letters in person. The Soviet response was overwhelmingly favorable. A delegation of 32 of us paid our own ways to the Soviet Union in March of 1983. We were warmly received in Moscow, Samarkand, Tashkent, and Leningrad. In Tashkent the mayor extended the very best of Soviet Uzbek hospitality to our group. We came with a simple message of peace and they responded with great cordiality.

A LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

The people of Seattle and Tashkent are united through the Sister
Жители Сиэтла и Ташкента, побратимов-городов, объединены любовью к
City Program, through our love for our cities, and through the
своим городам и взаимными надеждами на счастливое будущее для своих
hopes we share for our children's futures. Yet if there is a
детей. Мы понимаем, что в случае ядерной войны, все, чем мы
nuclear war, all that we value would be destroyed. As people
дорожим, будет уничтожено. Как представители города Сиэтла и
who live in the Puget Sound community, we pledge ourselves to
прилежащих районов, мы клянемся сделать все, чтобы предотвратить
work to prevent nuclear war. Nuclear war is an unthinkable
ядерную войну. Ядерная война—это невообразимое бедствие, против
horror that must be prevented. Our two nations must work
которого необходимо бороться. Наши народы должны действовать сообща,
together to create peaceful means of resolving conflicts and take
чтобы найти мирные пути разрешения разногласий и освободиться
steps to reduce the danger of nuclear war. We are working for
от угрозы войны. Мы стремимся к достижению этих целей и хотим, чтобы
these goals in our country and would like to be united with other
к нам присоединилсь и другие народы, занимающиеся подобной
people as they work for these goals in their countries.
деятельностью в своих странах.

The educational impact on Seattle in the aftermath of that trip was significant, as we fanned out to report back to our own constituencies and accepted invitations to share our experiences.

Although citizen diplomacy projects frequently center around group travel to the USSR, they can also be a vehicle for the participation of those who stay at home. The Sunbow Quilt Project of Auburn, Washington, is a thriving example of just such a project. Many people in the Puget Sound area are sewing and assembling quilts for delivery to the USSR as symbols of peace and our common bond of humanity with the Soviet people. Last April around 30 quilts made their way to the Soviet Union with a peace tour organized by the Earthstewards. The quilts broke all barriers, the travelers report, and many meaningful "connections" were made. Interest in the trip expanded beyond the travelers themselves to all those who contributed their labors to the quilts, and will be sustained if correspondence between the Soviet recipients and the American givers develops.

Hosting Soviets in American communities is a feasible project. Seattle has seen several Soviet delegations this past year, including a delegation of young Soviet leaders, representatives from the Institute of U.S. and Canadian studies of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and a delegation of Soviet Christian leaders.

Two peace groups in Seattle have recently combined efforts to explore proposing a reciprocal establishment of Peace Parks in the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Ploughshares, an organization of returned Peace Corps volunteers working for peace, and Architects for Social Responsibility are beginning to feed this idea into their national networks. At this writing, preliminary consultations with Americans experienced in Soviet affairs, and with Soviet officials, are under way. The idea of the Peace Parks is to create multiple levels of participation and collaboration in the planning and execution of durable, functional symbols of the hopes of both the American and Soviet peoples for peace.

> *The skeptic may now ask, yes, but will all this activity do any good? What does it have to do with the powers that be in the Kremlin, or for that matter, the White House?*

The skeptic may now ask, yes, but will all this activity do any good? What does it have to do with the powers that be in the Kremlin, or for that matter, the White House? People entering these kinds of projects should not expect great breakthroughs. Healing the deep wounds in our relationship will be a slow process following an uncertain timetable to an unknown outcome. Citizen diplomacy is primarily an educational venture. It is an investment in the future. The least we can say is that those who participate will learn much. Americans may find their perceptions of the Soviet Union deepened and their previously held biases challenged. A possible outcome of these activities is the building of a community of caring, informed citizens with multidimensional experiences of the Soviet Union. Out of this constituency may come creative ideas and fresh initiatives that will ultimately lead to change in the macropolitics.

Are you looking for a trip to the USSR? You first may consider joining a trip already planned by an organization involved in exchange projects, such as Fellowship of Reconciliation, Earthstewards, Esalen Institute Soviet-American Exchange, Citizens Exchange Council, People to People International, and others.

In the Soviet Union, group travel has more advantages than in most countries. The Soviets are set up to respond to groups. Group travelers will have cheaper rates and far fewer hassles. If you travel in a group, you will benefit from a broader range of experiences. With some creativity, you can share the resources of the group both in preparing for the trip and during your travel there.

You may wish to form your own group to the Soviet Union. Seek out an experienced travel agent early to facilitate all phases of trip planning, from visa procurement to reservations with Intourist, the official Soviet travel organization. Establish a realistic timeline for travel arrangements as well as trip preparations.

If you develop your own group, carefully consider together the interests and goals of the group. If possible, go as a delegation with an identity, representing an American organization or constituency. Your group will then have more interest to the Soviets, and more doors will likely be opened to you for contacts with Soviet citizens of similar interests.

Develop cohesion within your group by meetings before the trip to discuss the trip goals. Brief yourselves on the Soviet Union. Invite experienced travelers to share with you their learnings. If your group has high visibility in some way, anticipate how you would handle official situations, or the Soviet media. Develop a minimum set of agreements among yourselves to avoid misunderstanding and disappointment within the group, as well as from your Soviet hosts.

If you expect assistance from Soviet organizations in arranging contacts, write those groups early. Registered letters will show you are serious, and will likely be answered. Follow-through night letters (Western Union) shortly before your planned departure will get there, and will reinforce to them your interest.

Plan carefully beforehand the individuals and organizations you intend to contact. Have their addresses and phone numbers before you get there. Soviet telephone directories are almost inaccessible.

Perhaps your church group may wish to make contact with Soviet church communities. The U.S./USSR Church Relations Office of the National Council of Churches of Christ has organized successful tours to the USSR for this purpose and hosted Soviet churchmen in this country. The First Congregational Church of Saginaw, Michigan (Rev. James Lumsden, 412 Hayden Street, Saginaw, MI 48607, phone 517-754-6565), has embarked on a continuing project that might serve as a model for other churches. The pastor's trip to the USSR in 1983 inspired the congregation to sponsor a Russian language class, organize community seminars on the USSR, and correspond with Soviet church people and Soviet peace activists. Twenty high school students have recently made a trip to the Soviet Union.

Satellite communication technology holds great promise for bringing large groups of Americans and Soviets together. Several television "space bridges" have taken place. The Esalen Soviet-American exchange program facilitated a Moscow-Los Angeles simulcast rock music jam session last year as a part of the U.S. Festival. Other space bridges have included a children's film festival and a joint Soviet-American scientific symposium last November on "nuclear winter" scenarios. The Institute for Soviet-American Relations (ISAR) has formed a Space Bridge Communications Center to coordinate and encourage this new medium's tremendous potential for dialogue and understanding between our two nations.

The number of current U.S.-Soviet exchange efforts is too great for a listing here. However, the Institute for Soviet-American Relations deserves special mention because it has produced two excellent handbooks and publishes a very informative newsletter. Their handbook, *Organizations Involved in Soviet-American Relations* ($15.00), is an encyclopedic description of the goals, activities, and resources of 131 organizations currently involved in Soviet-American relations. Also available from ISAR is a handbook for American groups who want to in-

Target Seattle/Target Washington

Target Seattle, a community event which grew into Target Washington, has been widely acclaimed. Many communities across the nation, large and small, have put on similar events in its wake. Here is the story on Target Seattle/Target Washington.

Scene: It's nearly midnight in the Gilded Garter lounge aboard the Alaska ferry *Columbia*, moored in the heart of Seattle's central waterfront. Off to one side, a dozen or so nuclear freeze advocates are deep in conversation with a powerful congressman, U.S. Rep. Tom Foley (D-Wash.), House majority whip.

It's the first time many of these state leaders in the nuclear freeze campaign have had access to such a prominent official ear for such a long period of time. It may be the first time Foley has engaged in such an extended dialogue on this issue.

What's going on here, anyway? What's happening is the kind of informed, civil exchange of views that Target Seattle and subsequently Target Washington were created to make possible.

During 1982 and 1983, Target Seattle, a broadly based citizens' effort dedicated to informing and involving large numbers of people in the prevention of nuclear war, attracted some 50,000 people to a wide range of educational forums, "town meetings," and other events. In so doing, it became a national model for effective citizen participation in the prevention of nuclear war. Groups in Kansas City, Hartford, Denver, Birmingham, Alabama, and other communities have all taken a leaf from the Target Seattle concept in designing their local activities.

At the beginning of 1984, Target Seattle became Target Washington, a statewide effort co-chaired by Congressman Foley and U.S. Senator Dan Evans (R-Wash.), a popular three-term former governor.

The objectives of this new program are to solicit ideas for constructive initiatives from citizens, to explore possibilities for consensus among state leaders, and to assist communities across the state in organizing local events.

The conference aboard the *Columbia* in mid-April of 1984 brought together high-school students and attorneys, physicians and bishops, scientists and a university president. Besides, Evans and Foley, four other congressmen participated, two of whom stayed for the entire proceedings.

The objective was to discover areas of common ground and to see whether small groups could develop a consensus in support of specific initiatives aimed at reducing the risk of nuclear war. As things turned out, they could and did. For example, nine of eleven small-group discussions aboard the *Columbia* resulted in unanimous agreement that steps should be taken to reduce the risk of accidental nuclear war. Such steps would include improving the current Washington-Moscow "hotline" and establishing one or more jointly staffed "crisis control centers."

Efforts are in progress to assist communities as diverse as Vancouver, Yakima and Spokane to organize events in their areas in the fall of 1984.

Concurrently, citizens from throughout the state have been invited to submit ideas for constructive initiatives to reduce the likelihood of nuclear war. More than 200 have sent suggestions, and more continue to arrive. The results have been compiled and are available.

Target Seattle, out of which Target Washington grew, started one snowy evening in January 1982 in the living room of a retired telephone company executive.

The original idea of undertaking a week-long series of events in the Seattle metropolitan area grew into a nine-day extravaganza culminating with a large rally in the Kingdome, the city's major-league sports palace.

The central premise of Target Seattle and subsequently of Target Washington is that no one wants a nuclear war, but that people of intelligence and good will differ about the best way to prevent such a catastrophe.

A key ingredient in its success was the involvement of diverse elements of the community early in the planning process. Target Seattle advocated no particular solution to the nuclear predicament (e.g., the nuclear freeze, peace-through-strength, unilateral disarmament), but welcomed people of all these persuasions.

Because of the breadth and depth of community involvement and the caliber of national speakers, Target Seattle received massive media coverage. The project's advisory committee included both U.S. senators and the balance of the state's congressional delegation west of the Cascades, as well as Seattle's mayor and the King County Executive. National speakers ranged from Ambassador Edward Rowny, chief U.S. delegate at the START talks in Geneva, to Dr. Helen Caldicott, then national president of Physicians for Social Responsibility, and Archibald Cox, former Watergate prosecutor and now president of Common Cause.

Target Seattle began as an ad hoc committee created to stage one series of events. But in the aftermath of its initial success, people inside and outside the project argued strongly against disbanding the umbrella effort. Many people also asked "What about the Russians?" Target Seattle's second year of activities, subtitled "Soviet Realities," endeavored to answer that question.

Again, national speakers of differing views addressed large audiences, including a day-long symposium with an attendance exceeding 2,500. A new wrinkle the second year was the "Town Meeting," a small-group discussion held in living rooms, churches and other public spaces. More than 500 people hosted such meetings on two consecutive Sunday evenings, giving participants an opportunity to digest what they had heard during the week and to talk about what they could do. As in 1982, total participation during the nine days of Target Seattle events approximated 25,000. And again, media coverage was pervasive on television and radio as well as in the region's newspapers.

What made the entire effort extraordinary was the breadth and intensity of volunteer participation. Hundreds of people gave their time and energy to design graphics, sell tickets, make telephone calls, and do whatever needed doing.

Some said it could only have happened in Seattle with its strong tradition of citizen participation. Others contended it was the transcendent nature of the issue itself.

Perhaps both were right.

Clearly, however, inclusiveness was one of the key ingredients in Target Seattle's success.

From the beginning, the project sought to involve as many people as possible in the belief that preventing nuclear war is truly everybody's business.

For more information, see "Where to Go from Here."

Ann Witkowsky
and Bill Sieverling

vite, sponsor, or host Soviet visitors ($6.00). ISAR also produces, in collaboration with the Friends Committee on National Legislation, a newsletter, "Surviving Together," which provides information on current projects across the spectrum of Soviet-American activities. These publications together comprise a comprehensive access tool for networking and resources.

Earlier I referred to the need to commit to "personal work" as we seek our way out of international alienation toward planetary unity. Because of our conditioning as Americans, we all hold a point of view about the USSR. Those of us who choose to involve ourselves in citizen diplomacy do well to take on the emotional and intellectual work of examining the relationship we see between the U.S. and the USSR in the light of our own personal attitudes and behavior. This exercise is essential if the goal is to transcend particular nationalistic interests. It is not the purpose of this paper to prescribe the course of that journey, but only to point out its importance and suggest an agenda.

We all need to come to terms with the reality of the Soviet Union. We need to acknowledge that our governments are as dissimilar as the historical experiences, attitudes, and values that gave them birth. We need to learn to accept the right of the Soviet Union to exist as it is without accepting all that it does.

We must recognize that neither side is in control of the outcome. Reaching final agreement may be indefinitely postponed. To accept this reality, we must overcome our fears and accept our vulnerability. Many of us are driven by a fear of Soviet military power. We may need to address our fears as specifically as possible and compare them to the reality as best as we can ascertain it. Have our fears of the other superpower's military strength blinded us to our own sources of strength from which we could launch positive, life-affirming initiatives?

We must confront our self-righteousness. It limits our comprehension of reality and our flexibility of response. It prevents our hearing their portion of the planetary truth. We must be able to register those behaviors we perceive in the Soviets that we find objectionable, but yet be open to saying to ourselves, "Yes, we also are capable of doing that."

A serious issue for thoughtful Americans is how we can coexist with a totalitarian superpower, while affirming democratic ideals. The way out of the dilemma, it seems, is to accept diversity (we are not alike) and to be tolerant. This is recognizing that not being totalitarian ourselves is very important. Persuasion, not coercion, is the method. There is a need for enduring patience. Democracy cannot be imposed; it must grow from popular initiative. A nuclear totalitarian superpower cannot be threatened into relinquishing power. Our approach must be to make our commitment to goodwill clear and understood, and to respond to needs without threat.

We Americans are frequently put off by Soviet misrepresentation or manipulation of truth. This state of affairs requires that we be knowledgeable about areas of importance to us. It also requires mature discrimination to know when to allow disinformation to pass by, and when to confront. It sometimes softens the urge to confront angrily if one ponders why is it that the truth evidently hurts so much, that such great efforts are made to avoid it.

Differences are not bad. The U.S. and the Soviet Union are each out of balance in opposite directions. From the perspective of the entire planet, we are each deficient in opposite areas.

We are challenged to examine each other with greater detachment. The opportunity is to move from a state of enmity to a state of cooperation that nurtures the maturation of both our societies.

Therein lies the hope that these two great nations may someday act in accordance with the truth that real national security will come only through the security of the entire planet. If making contact with each other strengthens the vision of unity while acknowledging the reality of diversity, then citizen diplomacy is fulfilling its educational role.

Make the first strike a knock on the door

Ground Zero's Pairing Project recently launched its "first strike." Its motto: *"Make the first strike a knock on the door."* Following a program of education on the Soviet Union and the U.S.-Soviet relationship, the Pairing Project urged American cities to knock on the doors of their paired Soviet cities by mailing "community portraits" of where they live. Portraits included messages of greeting from local citizens, groups and elected officials; demographic data; photos, drawings and letters from schoolchildren; information on local sports and cultural activities; a local newspaper; or other materials that depict life in the American community.

The purpose of the project is to build an educational and communications bridge between American citizens and people in the Soviet Union. The program will be promoted throughout 1984 with a goal to have over 2,000 U.S. communities participating by the end of the year. Well over 800 U.S. communities put "community portraits" in the mail on November 23, 1983 and 400 additional cities are working on their portraits.

Bridging Hemispheres

Peace Through Communications

An Interview with Joel Schatz

by Kris Nelson and Than James

What did you learn from your inquiry into what the world would look like to the Russians if peace broke out?

Schatz: We went there to negotiate arrangements to conduct formal peace visualization workshops which we could document on videotape. In the process, we also sampled a lot of opinions from Russians on their version of peace, and it was virtually identical to the kinds of information we've been extracting from people in North America. People there would like fresher food, improved medical care, better schools, certain kinds of consumer goods to make life a little easier, less alcoholism. It was obvious there are certain universal kinds of human needs that drive the Russian people just as we're experiencing them in this country. There's no difference, really. They go about it in a different way from a government standpoint, but the fundamental yearnings and dreams seem to be the same.

You were also involved in trying to establish telecommunication links between Russian and American groups. What was their response?

Schatz: There was a uniform, exuberant response. Literally everyone we approached with the possibility of extending computer conference networks from the U.S. into the Soviet Union jumped at the opportunity. We asked people of the Soviet State Committee on Publishing, on the Soviet Peace Committee, on the Soviet Women's Committee, on the Committee on Youth Organizations, and on the Institute for USA and Canadian Studies whether they would be interested in exchanging information on a daily basis with people in the U.S. vis-a-vis the peace issue, and they all want to do that. In fact, I have here what may be one of the first messages out of the USSR by computer. It talks about a biochemistry computer conference scheduled for December.

Our major interest in the linkage was for peace projects to be implemented by these daily exchanges.

What other instances point to their readiness to telecommunicate?

Schatz: The interactive video exchange via satellite—a space bridge—which occurred in May 1983, linking the U.S. [Rock] Festival in San Bernardino, California, and Moscow, was played on Soviet television to an estimated 130 to 150 million people. It was a half-dialogue-and-half-music exchange. The dialogue was between astronauts, politicians, educators, school children. It was an unscripted, uncensored exchange followed by an exchange between rock bands. Music from a Soviet band was broadcast in San Bernardino by large screen, and images of American rock musicians were broadcast in studios in Moscow. All live, interactive broadcasts. It concluded with the first transnational jam-session of good jazz in history.

Another [exchange] took place in July 1983 in San Diego. It was a film festival, focusing on children's films. It was really successful. We obtained English translations of reviews of this that appeared in Soviet newspapers. Mr. Gromyko personally congratulated the director of Gastlordio Studios for the success of the satellite exchange.

Why have you chosen to focus on computer exchanges?

Schatz: While space bridges are a wonderful, powerful, group-oriented experience, they are very expensive. Space technology isn't at the stage where people can afford interactive video daily, whereas computer conferences can be maintained at a fraction of the cost. It's also the kind of network that enables groups to do serious work, to exchange scientific reports, to actually hold problem-solving conferences, to use electronic mail. There's been a long

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JOEL SCHATZ has been involved in resource policy-making and public education for twelve years. For the last three years he and his wife Diane have been researching what people in both the U.S. and the Soviet Union feel peace would look like. They are the founders of Transition Graphics in Salem, OR. Joel writes and lectures on social, economic and environmental stability.

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tradition of exchanges with the Russians in the arts, the sciences—astronomers and meteorologists, for example. There are millions of exchanges each year between Soviet and American ham radio operators. They will simply facilitate communication instead of having to travel, or make expensive phone calls, or suffer the agony of mail delays. Why do [the Russians] want to talk? I think what prompts them most is survival.

What historical factors influence their deep feelings for survival?

Schatz: They're preoccupied, almost daily, with memories of World War II. Men wear campaign ribbons on the outside of their suit jackets. Fresh flowers are found on military memorials all over the cities every day. A young bride and groom will leave a wedding ceremony and will place fresh flowers on military monuments.

When they threw out the tsar in their big revolution, there were some who really wanted to redistribute the wealth, but there wasn't a lot to distribute, except for some palaces and paintings. It seems like what they're trying to do is first satisfy the basic needs.

> *They can't imagine how we can have a world at peace unless such basic needs as food, medical care, literacy, and employment are first satisfied.*

You see, when we talk about freedom in this country, it's with a completely different set of semantics than when the Soviets talk about freedom. We talk about the freedom of individual choice to do what we want to do. They talk about freedom *from* poverty, freedom from illiteracy, freedom from illness. This relates to their whole history of being mauled century after century by outsiders as well as by their own leaders.

There's been a transformation within the country since the Second World War. At the end of the war, the ethic was self-sacrifice; everyone was expected to do without for the good of the motherland. Now all that's been changed into something like self-improvement, into producing more, into improving the standard of life—more color TVs and so on. People are producing food in Russia for private profit on plots owned by the state. They get a greater yield per hectare. There's not a simple dichotomy between capitalism and socialism.

What impressions did you pick up about their views of American culture?

Schatz: When it comes to peace, they can't imagine how we can have a world at peace unless such basic needs as food, medical care, literacy, and employment are first satisfied. Russians seemed aghast at the behavior of the U.S. They view us as the wealthiest country in the world. They can't understand why we have so much surplus and overlook the poorest members of our society. They quote figures quite accurately: three million homeless in the U.S.; 10 to 12 million out of work; millions without medical care. I don't think that what they're doing there is so much a function of Marxism as it's a long-standing motivation for survival and lifting themselves out of the fields.

Have plans for the peace poster changed since your trip?

Schatz: Well, we've put some additional things on it. We put a space bridge on, and we've got a lot of high-tech communication symbolism—particularly linking First and Third World—to speed up the flow of quality information to places that need it the most. This peace poster is based mostly on the perceptions of Americans. The next peace poster will be a composite of American and Soviet images of peace, with more Third World connections built into it, since most of the global population is living in poverty. There seems to be a real competitive thing going on between Ronnie and Yuri when it comes to the Third World. We want to address that.

A lot of things made sense to us, having spent three weeks there, in terms of [Soviet] attitudes toward Third World countries. There's a tremendous identification with people who are trying to redistribute wealth. They look at something like the arms race and say openly: "We can be accused of a lot of things, but at least we're not fueling the arms race to make gigantic profits for certain individuals." That's one difference between the motivation to build more weapons between the two cultures. I think Mr. Reagan has it wrong, calling these people evil; I would prefer to call them frightened.

Does this fit in with their desire to communicate with us?

Schatz: Yes, but they're also very interested in the U.S. They need a lot of input to do what they want to do now: build a consumer society. We saw Walkmans on the street, kids with "ghetto blasters" playing Pink Floyd in public, the influence of Western clothing style. They want everything we've got—like the rest of the planet seems to want.

They're wanting to make those rewards possible but not by sacrificing people on the low end. The entire culture is integrating and coping with a history of abuse. I would say the biggest lesson we received from our visit was the need to study more of the history of the Soviet Union, to understand where they're coming from today, that [the Soviet system] isn't some diabolical plot to squash planetary consciousness.

What are you working on, now that you've returned from the Soviet Union?

Schatz: We're creating interest in space bridges in Seattle and Portland. I would like to hook schools in both countries—have kids work on collaborative projects. I'm working on a project with a school near Portland to do a space bridge with a school in Moscow. The City of Seattle wants to build space bridges with its sister city, Tashkent, USSR.

It's a time of enormous opportunity. What do we have to fear if we truly believe in the first amendment? The freedoms we enjoy can only be maintained by preserving the right to have free and open discussion. We ought to be the last people in the solar system to want to discourage communication with anybody, unless people feel such lack of confidence in freedom and democracy that they think they'll catch a case of communism if they talk to a member of the Soviet government.

What do you think lies ahead for people-to-people communication?

Schatz: One of the [facets] of high technology that fascinates me is its potential for quietly and rapidly rendering international frontiers less important than they are at the moment. The first computer was made operational the same year we destroyed Nagasaki and Hiroshima. So it's kind of a race between communications and nuclear obliteration. The advent of microwave dishes and associated technologies is exciting to me as a move toward decentralized communications. Someone just called me to say a friend in Salem, Oregon, picked up a Soviet soap opera by microwave, and they taped it from a Soviet satellite that goes around the North Pole. They're now picking up Soviet television stations every day.

It's impossible not to be involved in this because it's global by definition. Ham operators in the Soviet Union and the U.S. have been talking to one another for decades without any problems from their governments. I think we'll see an inevitable opening up of communication, because there's no way for them to stop it. You can put a microwave dish inside a home and still pick up signals. You don't need fancy, very expensive equipment to do that. It's out.

> *One of the [facets] of high technology that fascinates me is its potential for quietly and rapidly rendering international frontiers less important than they are at the moment.*

"We have met the enemy and he is us."
—Pogo Possum

THE FIRST STEP

It saddens me so,
those fingers ever pointing,
from the first evil gesture
to the point of near extinction.

The old men,
the ones who relish re-runs of World War carnage—
Japs & Krauts & G.I. Joes,
all making ack-ack noises,
"Ah, now there *was a war!"—*
those same old men are now boys with bang-bang fingers,
would-be heroes who have lived too little
and read not enough,
are now young men who vote with their heads rammed between
their wallet and a bible they pretend to understand. . .

But Jesus said, "Love thy neighbor,"
and Jesus said, "Love thy enemy,"

And so I guess the first step
is to take my own finger
and put it on a button tritely marked,
"Love is the answer!",
take my finger and with my own blood sign a treaty
permanently disbanding my own formidable army
of hatred and illness and fear,
make a corny pact with myself that says,
"Peace in the world starts with peace in the heart."

Take this step and try to remember
there are G.I. Joes in every uniform of every country
who are all an equal part of the One God
whose eye is everywhere and whose finger does not point.

Tomás Fuentez

Where to Go from Here

Citizen Diplomacy

For more on citizen diplomacy, see two recent articles: *New Age Journal*, January 1984; *Nuclear Times*, June 1984.

City-to-city contacts

Only six U.S. cities have a Soviet Sister City relationship: Houston, Oakland, Jacksonville, Baltimore, Detroit, and Seattle. For more information, write:

Town Affiliation Association of the United States, Inc.
1625 I Street NW Suite 424-426
Washington, DC 20006
Phone: (202) 293-5504

Ground Zero seeks direct links between American and Soviet cities and has an informative newsletter, "Linkages."

Ground Zero is a nonpartisan, nonadvocacy organization that exists to provide information about a range of nuclear war issues and to involve citizens in the effort to prevent nuclear war. For a Pairing Project organizing handbook or more information on how your church or community can participate, contact the Ground Zero Pairing Project:

Ground Zero Pairing Project
P.O. Box 19049
Portland, OR 97219
Phone: (503) 245-3403

Christian contacts

Prof. Bruce Rigdon is trying to arrange some pairing of American churches with Soviet churches. Write him at:

National Council of Churches of Christ
475 Riverside Drive
New York, NY 10115

Contact points with the registered Christian church in the USSR:

Russian Orthodox Church:
Metropolitan Filaret
ul. Rileyeva 18/2
Moscow G-2, USSR

Evangelicals:

Rev. A.M. Bychkov, General Secretary
All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians - Baptists of the USSR
P.O. Box 520
Moscow, USSR

The seat of the AUCECB is the Moscow Baptist Church:

Pokrovski bul'var
Maly vuzovski per. d.3
(short walk from Kirovskaya Metro station)
Phones: 297-8164, 297-5167

Other contact points

Union of Soviet Friendship Societies
14 Kalinin Avenue
Moscow USSR

The "official" peace group:
Yuri Zhukov, President
Soviet Peace Committee
36 pr. Mira I-10
Moscow 129010 USSR
Phone: 280-3382

Below is the best U.S. contact for the "unofficial" peace group, which has seen severe reprisals to its members. Several have emigrated. This group publishes an international news bulletin on independent peace activity in the USSR: *Return Address: Moscow*, in U.S. $18/yr.

Committee to Establish Trust between the U.S. and USSR
c/o Sergei Batovrin
1793 Riverside Drive Apt. 5B
New York, NY 10034

You can write a "Letter to the Editor":

Editor, *Pravda*
ul. Pravdy 24
Moscow A-47
125867 GSP USSR
Phone: 251-7386

You can write a letter to the General Secretary:

Konstantin Chernenko
No. 4 Staraya Ploshchad
Moscow USSR

Exchange programs

Sunbow Quilt Project
Box 1081
Auburn, WA
98027-1081

Ploughshares
1500 Hoge Bldg.
Seattle, WA 98104

Fellowship of Reconciliation
Box 271
Nyack, NY 10960

Earthstewards Network
Box 399
Monte Rio, CA 95462

Esalen Institute
Soviet-American Exchange Program
3105 Washington Street
San Francisco, CA 94115

Citizen Exchange Council
18 E. 41 St., Suite 1900
New York, NY 10017

People to People International
2420 Pershing Rd., Suite 300
Kansas City, MO 64108

Institute for Soviet-American Relations
2738 McKinley St. NW
Washington, DC 20015

Washington Architects for Social Responsibility
P.O. Box 131
Pike Place Station
Seattle, WA 98101.

Target Seattle

A 140-page notebook, describing in detail how Target Seattle was organized, is available for $25, including postage and handling. The book includes samples of printed materials, analyses, and recommendations.

Target Seattle
909-4th Avenue
Seattle, WA 98104
(206) 382-5013

Information about the USSR

Read great Russian literature: *The Brothers Karamazov* and *Crime and Punishment* by Dostoevsky. Soviet citizens are often amazed that Americans have read Dostoevsky: "His books are so Russian!"

What About the Russians - and Nuclear War? Pocket Books. A primer on the Soviet Union and the U.S.-Soviet relationship.

From the Yaroslavsky Station: Russia Perceived. Elizabeth Pond. Universe Books. N.Y., 1984. "The best single popularized volume now available explaining the Soviet people, their rulers, their system, their country." (Christian Science Monitor)

The Soviet Viewpoint. Georgi Arbatov and William Oltmans. Dodd, Mead and Co., N.Y., 1983. Arbatov is director of the Institute for USA and Canadian Studies in Moscow.

> *Peace is something to cherish. But you must be careful with it. If you don't pretty soon there won't be anyone to make peace with.*
>
> *—Lori, age 11*

10

Military Spending and Its Effects

. . . the whole army and navy are unproductive labourers. They are the servants of the public, and are maintained by a part of the annual produce of the industry of other people. Their service, how honorable, how useful, or how necessary soever, produces nothing for which an equal quantity of services can afterwards be procured.

Adam Smith
The Wealth of Nations

. . . A militarized economy may very well expose the soft underbelly of America.

William Winpisinger
International President, IAM

The arms race is one of the greatest curses on the human race; it is to be condemned as a danger, an act of aggression against the poor, and a folly which does not provide the security it promises.

Vatican Statement
to the United Nations,
1976

Introduction

This chapter is a short course in the "hidden" economics of the arms race. We know that many people have jobs as a result of the arms race. Did you know, though, that up to twice as many people would have jobs if there were no arms race? Or that 7 out of 10 Americans live in Congressional Districts that pay more in taxes for military spending than they receive in military contracts? Or that the United States will soon become a debtor nation, owing more money that it is owed, as a result of arms expenditures?

This chapter explains how the arms race is undermining the economy of this country. There is some eye-opening background from the Center for Defense Information. From Employment Research Associates, the facts on why and how military spending is bad for the economy—how the more the Pentagon spends, the more jobs are lost. Finally, two prominent businessmen, Stanley Weiss, founder of Business Executives for National Security, and Harold Willens, author of The Trimtab Factor, *share their perspectives on the effects of military spending and their recommendations for reducing it to a more reasonable level.*

Economics can seem abstract or distant. It isn't. It reaches into our lives and into our hearts. The chapter begins with a very personal view of the effects of military spending by novelist Ken Kesey.

A Letter to Senator Mark Hatfield

Ken Kesey

This letter was written to Senator Mark Hatfield following the death of Ken Kesey's son. Jed Kesey was a University of Oregon wrestler. On the way to a match over icy, hilly roads, the team van didn't make it. It went off the road and crashed 185 feet down the steep embankment. Jed Kesey died at a Spokane hospital. Teammate Lorenzo West was also killed, and two others were critically injured.

About this letter, Kesey notes: "I sincerely hope that I do not—as Richard II worries—'play the wanton with our woes,' by this display of my family's private grief and publication of my personal correspondence. I mean it only to suggest a path for others wandering in similar pain. We've all got a lot of dying ahead of us. We might as well learn how to go about it."

Dear Senator Hatfield:

. . . From the very first my response to this anguish has been nagged by a terrible teeth-grinding of blame, of blame un-laid. I tried to stanch it. Don't blame, I told myself. It just hurts people. There's been enough hurt already. Turn the other cheek, I kept telling myself.

But the nagging kept on: "What if the other cheek is somebody else's kid? In some other slapdash rig? On some other ill-fated underfunded trip next wrestling season? Or next debate season? Or next volleyball season? Moreover, what if this young blood has been spilled not merely to congregate people and their feelings, but also to *illuminate* a thing going wrong?"

So I want to try to apprise you, Senator, of just how my chain of blame is proceeding:

I could blame the Oregon coach or his assistants for driving a borrowed rig over a treacherous pass without snow studs, or seatbelts, or even doors that closed properly. But these guys are already doing the best they can to scrape together funds and transportation for a "minor" sport. I could blame my alma mater for not funding the activity better. I could blame the Pacific Athletic Conference for not protecting athletes en route to sanctioned events, or I could blame the whole National Collegiate Athletic Association for fostering a situation where more energy is devoted to monitoring the ethics of the few "stars" in the sports firmament than to the actual welfare of the untold thousands of unknown athletes traveling to their minor events all across the nation.

Faye and I have received more than a thousand letters from around the nation. Most are like yours—sweet, straight, supportive. Many are from people who have lost kids or grandkids on the highways, like Bob Straub and Len Casanova. But a lot of them are from teams, the kids and coaches of wrestling teams, high school and college. Or the parents of kids on teams. And most of these letters mention at least one near scrape. Some speak of worse, like the wreck of the wrestling bus in Montana that killed nine on the same day and in the same area. One member of the Washington State College woman's crew team writes of returning from a rowing meet in Lewiston last year, over the same road that got Jed and Lorenzo. The girls couldn't even afford state vans. They were travelling in private cars. She said she came around a foggy corner and saw her sister's car mashed into the grill of a Greyhound. Her sister was dead. No one in the big bus was so much as bruised.

And every wrestling tournament we've attended since the accident (yeah, they still go on, and we still go; it's always been our family's fashion) has prompted a parent or coach or school administrator to come up and speak to us of their renewed anxieties—the midnight returns from Glide down foggy I-5; battling the chiptrucks along the Umpqua; picking their way across the January passes from Redmond and La Grande and Lakeview. In rigs without seatbelts, without CBs or trauma kits, usually driven by the coach or his wife. But what can they do? they ask. It's hard enough to pass a school budget in Oregon without asking for fancy protection. Just not

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*KEN KESEY is a novelist—**One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest, Sometimes a Great Notion,** and something forthcoming, set in Alaska.*

Reprinted from *The CoEvolution Quarterly*, Summer 1984.

The Administration's 1985 budget requests an appropriation of $102 million for military bands. The total amount requested for the entire sponsorship of arts in America—music, painting, sculpture, theater, literature—is $112 million.

The Washington Spectator
April 15, 1984

enough money in the communities. Nobody wants to increase property taxes, not even for safer playgrounds, let alone for safer activity buses. Sure, the kids need to be defended against the treacheries of travel, but there's just not enough money. Where are the already-scrimping schools gonna come up with the revenue for that kind of defense?

Then, the other night, as I watched the national news, it came to me. We were lobbing those 16-inch shells into the hills of Lebanon. The Pentagon spokesman said he wasn't certain exactly which faction we were hitting, but he reassured us that we were certainly hitting *somebody*. Then he was asked what each of those shells costs. The price was something enormous. I can't remember. But the spokesman countered by saying that the price for national defense is always high, yet it must be paid.

And I began to get mad, Senator. I had finally found where the blame must be laid: that the money we are spending for national defense is not defending us from the villains real and near, the awful villains of ignorance, and cancer, and heart disease and highway death. How many school buses could be outfitted with seatbelts with the money spent for one of those 16-inch shells?

I know it's a radical notion, and I have no idea what to do about it. There are going to be a lot of lawsuits coming out of this tragedy; there will be no other way the Topliff family can afford a boy paralyzed from the neck down; there will be no other way to force new safety regulations. It's going to be a real tough battle for a lot of folks who are already badly wounded, and it's going to be messy. And I'm afraid the real villains will squirm away again.

Help deal with this, Senator. Please. Talk about it. Talk about bringing some of these umpteen billions back home, back into the vulnerable guts of this nation where our dollars can actually be used for our actual national defense. I intend to begin work on it, in whatever ways I can find. I may have to join those old long-haired peaceniks on the railroad tracks when the next White Train full of nuclear warheads rolls across our land. Just like in the sixties. I guess it's kind of old fashioned, but it looks to me like it's the job God has dealt this hand around.

Thanks for listening to me ramble. I remain,

Sincerely,
Ken Kesey

The Debit Side of the Balance Sheet

Employment Research Associates

Over seventy percent of American citizens live in Congressional Districts which suffer a net loss of tax money when the Pentagon budget goes up. Of the 435 Congressional Districts, 320 have a net loss in their balance of payments with the Pentagon. This means that the Federal government acts as a giant syphon funneling tax money out of 320 Congressional Districts into those which have large military bases or very high military contracts.

This fact is not generally known. The majority of Members of Congress put out press releases and announcements when their District gets a military contract. But they do not tell the whole story in these releases. For that would mean informing their constituents as to how much money leaves their District to go to the Pentagon. In accounting terms, this is the equivalent of an income statement without a balance sheet.

For 320 Congressional Districts, the Pentagon budget is an ongoing and direct threat to their long-range economic and political well-being.

The average Pentagon tax burden imposed on each Congressional District for FY 1983 alone was $515 million, and this amount is rising each year as the military budget and related costs mount rapidly.

A Pentagon tax burden of this magnitude will make impossible the achievement of sustained high rates of growth in industrial production, employment, and productivity.

The capital base, both public and private, of the United States, which is the foundation upon which both jobs and real income ultimately rest, is eroding at a troubling pace relative to other major industrial nations.

Taking Stock: The U.S. Military Buildup

Center for Defense Information

The military budget for 1985 at about $300 Billion is the largest in the history of the nation.

For the first time the Pentagon has proposed military spending levels during peacetime greater than those at the height of the Korean or Vietnam Wars. The last three military budgets (1982-84) total $730 Billion and the Pentagon has proposed $1.9 Trillion more for the next five years. Thus, current budget plans for 1982-89 would provide $2.6 Trillion for the military. By comparison, the U.S. spent $2.3 Trillion from 1946-81, a period of 35 years which includes Korea and Vietnam. Actual expenditures could be even higher. The General Accounting Office (GAO) has found that the Pentagon's present five year plan is understated by at least $173 Billion and at most $324 Billion.

The military budget request for Fiscal Year (FY) 1985 is $313 Billion. This works out to $860 million a day, $36 million an hour, $596,000 a minute, almost $10,000 a second. This budget is 18% higher than last year's and represents a 72% rise since 1981.

One of the fastest growing portions of the budget is the Department of Energy (DOE) funding for the design, testing and production of nuclear weapons. Up over 16% from last year and 114% since 1981 (from $3.6 Billion to $7.8 Billion) these huge budgets, the Administration says, are required to fulfill plans to build 17,000 nuclear weapons in the coming decade. The next five years call for DOE to receive $44.7 Billion to design, test and produce nuclear weapons.

Soviet Military Spending

Since the late 1970s the most widely cited rationale for the huge U.S. buildup was that it was in response to huge Soviet military budgets. Secretary of Defense Weinberger has repeated it without elaborating on how Soviet military spending is estimated.

The Central Intelligence Agency is responsible for estimating Soviet military spending. Their methodology is to compute what the Soviet military would cost if built and operated in the U.S. using U.S. prices and wages. For example, to compute personnel costs the CIA assumes a Soviet conscript's salary to be $575 a month, which is what the U.S. Army pays a private, whereas the Soviet conscript actually gets 4 or 5 rubles ($8.00) a month. The CIA asks a U.S. corporation to compute what it would cost to build a T-72 tank, or new radar or aircraft, a figure which even the CIA points out has very little to do with how much the item actually costs the Soviet government.

In 1983 testimony before the Joint Economic Committee the CIA made a significant downward revision of its estimate of Soviet military spending for the period of 1976-81 which went almost unreported in the press. The new estimate showed an increase of only 2% per year overall and no increase in the buying of weapons. During the same period average annual U.S. military expenditures had a real growth rate of approximately 4% and since then they have averaged 9%.

Like the bomber and missile "gaps" of the past that later proved illusory we now find, as Senator Proxmire said, "Moscow has not been expanding its effort at the rapid rate that was once believed. It slowed its defense expansion beginning about seven years ago, a fact that the Soviets neglected to communicate and that the West failed to detect."

Despite this newly gained knowledge, Secretary Weinberger continues to cite the "unrelenting" Soviet buildup as justification for their proposed 18% in-

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*This article is excerpted from **The Defense Monitor**, a publication of the Center for Defense Information. The Center for Defense Information supports a strong defense but opposes excessive expenditures for weapons and policies that increase the danger of nuclear war. It believes that strong social, economic and political structures contribute equally to national security and are essential to the strength and welfare of our country.*

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> *Moscow has not been expanding its effort at the rapid rate that was once believed. It slowed its defense expansion beginning about seven years ago, a fact that the Soviets neglected to communicate and that the West failed to detect.*
>
> **Senator Proxmire**

crease in 1985. It is certain the Soviets will respond with increases of their own.

The time honored technique used for more than three decades to deflect criticism and promote higher military budgets is to instill fear in the American public about the Soviet Union. As Richard Perle, Assistant Secretary of Defense, has said, "Democracies will not sacrifice to protect their security in the absence of a sense of danger. And every time we create the impression that we and the Soviets are cooperating and moderating the competition, we diminish that sense of apprehension."

The Iron Triangle

One of the most significant indicators of the military's influence in American society is the degree to which preparations for war are integrated into our economy. The relationship between the corporations, the Pentagon and Congress (sometimes called the Iron Triangle) concentrates enormous power in these three institutions. Before World War II the armed services themselves built most of their weapons. Only after the war did private enterprise enter the very lucrative business of preparing for war on a full time basis.

THE PENTAGON AND THE UNIVERSITY

During and after the Vietnam war, military research at universities dropped but is again on an upswing. In three years the amount has gone from $652 million to $942 million. As with the other trends it is concentrated at a few universities, the top ten receiving 73.3%.

University	Rank in top 500	Amount FY83 (millions)	Amount FY80 (millions)
1. MIT	15	$248	$155
2. Johns Hopkins	17	$227	$163
3. Illinois Institute	51	$ 42	$ 26
4. Univ. of California	54	$ 40	$ 30
5. Stanford Univ.	67	$ 26	$ 18
6. Georgia Tech	70	$ 25	$ 15
7. Univ. of Texas	72	$ 23	$ 16
8. Penn State	77	$ 20	$ 12
9. Univ. of Rochester	78	$ 20	$ 15
10. Univ. of So. Calif.	81	$ 19	$ 10

Source: DOD
Chart Prepared by CDI

A number of major companies are now concentrating on military contracts and as a result fewer and fewer corporations are taking larger and larger shares of the military pie. Prime military contracts for FY83 totaled $128 Billion, up from $77 Billion three years ago. The top 100 corporations took 70%, while just the top ten took 34.3% ($44 Billion). Three years ago the top 100 took 66% of the total and the top ten 29.8%. The top ten are so well entrenched that while they occasionally trade places they rarely fall from their elite positions. On the basis of the B1-B bomber, Rockwell went from fourteenth to third in three years.

President Eisenhower stated in his farewell address in 1961 that "we annually spend on military security more than the net income of all United States corporations." The net income for the Fortune 500 for 1983 was $68.7 Billion while the military budget was $265.3 Billion.

The Congressional Budget Office states funding for non-military research and development has decreased significantly since the early 1980s. In real terms, funding in the 1985 budget is 29 percent below the 1980 level. Among the programs that have suffered the sharpest decline are alternative energy projects and research on such environmental issues as air and water quality, acid rain and hazardous waste.

Military research and development take over two-thirds of the entire federal R&D budget and account for one-third of all research (public and private) done in the U.S.

BUDGET SHIFTS TO THE PENTAGON
($ in Billions, outlays)

This chart shows more specific budget shifts over a five year period with the military dollars rising 70% and most other Federal spending declining or going up slower than the rate of inflation.

	FY1981	FY1985	% change
Military	$159.7	$272.0	+70
Hospital/medical care for vets	6.9	9.6	+38
Consumer and occupational health and safety	1.0	1.2	+12
Ground transport/highways/mass transit	17.1	18.6	+9
Higher education	6.8	7.2	+6
Food and nutritional assistance	16.2	17.0	+5
Elementary, secondary and vocational education	7.1	7.1	+1
Community development	5.0	4.8	−5
Recreational resources	1.6	1.5	−6
General revenue sharing	5.1	4.5	−11
Pollution control	5.2	4.2	−19
Veterans education, training and rehabilitation	2.3	1.3	−41
Energy conservation	.7	.4	−44
Training and employment	9.2	4.9	−47
Energy supply	5.2	1.6	−70
Conservation/land management	1.2	.3	−73

Source: U.S. Congress
Chart prepared by CDI

Not surprisingly the same military contractors who take the lion's share of procurement money also receive the majority of the research and development money. For FY83, 1,901 businesses, educational and non-profit institutions, government agencies and foreign contractors received $16.3 Billion. The top 500 took 98.2% of the total and the top ten almost 50%.

DOING BUSINESS WITH THE PENTAGON

Below are some examples of what DOD paid for certain spare parts compared to what the standard price should be, based on comparable material in civilian systems.

ITEM	Standard price	Price paid (overcharges)
Circuit breaker	$11.10	$243.00 (22 times)
Push switch	$15.41	$241.00 (15 times)
Semi-conductor	$.04	$110.00 (2750 times)
Resistor	$.05	$100.00 (2000 times)
Transitor	$.24	$75.00 (312 times)
Tube	$12.00	$639.29 (53 times)
Case assembly	$6,445.65	$45,236.16 (7 times)
Oil plug	$117.05	$1,050.31 (9 times)
Connector	$13.03	$143.28 (11 times)
Soldering iron	$3.75	$272.16 (73 times)
Tape measure	$10.00	$427.00 (42 times)
Hammer	$18.40	$450.00 (24 times)

Source: DOD
Chart prepared by CDI

Waste, Fraud and Abuse

Much has been made, and rightly so, of the waste, fraud and abuse that seems endemic in the Pentagon. Tales of $450 hammers, $270 soldering irons, and 4 cent diodes which cost the taxpayer $110 shock the public and Congress. There is of course much to keep track of. Last year DOD awarded 241,442 contracts of $25,000 or more and 14,525,103 contracts for less than $25,000 (up one-and-a-half million from the previous year). This works out to over 56,000 contracts every working day.

The horror stories are often explained away by some Pentagon officials as aberrations, unique events in a generally sound system. This is not the conclusion of the Pentagon Inspector General who is charged with rooting out these practices. "I think these are not just the random mistakes that happened because some accounting system went haywire," he told Congress. "Overpricing is a series of problems of a systematic nature in the way we buy spare parts." He went on to try to pinpoint the problems. Among those he cited were that many people in the procurement business were not sufficiently "price conscious." In other words they didn't care what it cost. A GAO study criticized the Pentagon's practice of basing the job performance appraisals of procurement personnel on the number of contracts they award, with little attention to cost efficiency.

Another problem is that the prime contractor for a weapon system is frequently the sole supplier for spare parts and maintenance material. There is little competitive bidding and virtually no incentive to keep prices low when contractors can charge whatever they want. At the same time the military imposes little control, judgment or even common sense about the intrinsic worth of such material. For example, in 1981 a plastic cap for a stool leg cost $1,086 and this year it was to cost $1,118. This did not seem an excessive increase to the clerk ordering it, but there was no judgment made that plastic stool caps should only cost about $1 to begin with.

Spare parts only account for a fraction of the DOD's annual budget, but unfortunately, the highly publicized horror stories are indicative of a much larger problem. Waste, fraud, and abuse in military spending are widespread and rooted deep in the Pentagon's system of doing business. "The rip-off of taxpayers on the big items—weapons, engines, aircraft—is as bad as on spares," according to maverick Pentagon analyst A. Ernest Fitzgerald. Although President Reagan vowed to eliminate waste in the military budget, he has thus far failed to make a dent in the multi-Billion dollar problem. Indeed, many of his Administration's policies have exacerbated longstanding cost control problems at the Pentagon.

Lawmakers on Capitol Hill have recently stepped up legislative efforts to stem the tide of waste, fraud and abuse in military spending. Congress is currently considering a measure dubbed the "creeping capitalism" bill which would require the Pentagon to increase the amount of contracts it opens to full competitive bidding by 5% per year until 70% of DOD's contracts are awarded this way. Also under consideration is a measure which would authorize the DOD's Inspector General to suspend payments or otherwise reform contracts if he determines by audits that the government has been overcharged or defrauded. Pentagon officials have testified against both measures.

Despite vigorous objections from the Defense Department, the Congress last year succeeded in passing several measures aimed at cracking down on military waste. Responding to reports of widespread abuse in the Pentagon's in-house weapon testing program, lawmakers established an independent office of weapon testing. The existing testing office, buried within the Pentagon bureaucracy, has been plagued by charges that it relies too heavily on data provided by the weapon companies, and that its tests are often unrealistic and its evaluations lack objectivity.

A recent GAO study of the existing testing system found that evaluations of weapons performance were "too fragmented to provide a coherent and meaningful picture of a system's progress." The GAO also concluded that "because these evaluations do not adequately present the operational and technical risks

At some point Congress must enforce its legislative authority or abandon any pretense that the military is subject to Congressional control.

of proceeding to the next phase without correcting problems uncovered in testing, the decision makers are forced to rely principally on the judgment of the project managers [who] tend to understate the gravity of performance problems and to emphasize the risks of delay." The new independent testing office was to take charge on November 1, 1983, but to date, no director or permanent staff has been appointed. Even more significant is that the President requested no funds in the budget for the new testing office, an omission which would seem to constitute a direct challenge to Congressional authority.

The Congress also enacted legislation last year requiring the Pentagon to obtain warranties from its weapons manufacturers covering the workmanship, materials, and performance of the systems they build. Among the most vocal supporters of the measure were members of the House and Senate who back the President's military buildup and fear that frequent reports of Billion-dollar lemons could endanger the "national consensus" for higher military spending. Congress passed into law provisions for comprehensive warranties, which provide the Secretary of Defense with very limited authority to waive the warranty requirement.

The Defense Department, which opposed the provisions from the outset, reluctantly published its guidelines for implementing the new law in March 1984. These regulations are intended to emasculate the law. They exempt large categories of military contracts from coverage under the warranty law and permit the Secretary of Defense to redelegate his waiver authority to subordinates who may issue blanket waivers of the law without consulting Congress. The guidelines also severely limit the liability of weapons firms.

In addition, buried deep within the Administration's fiscal 1985 budget request is language that would repeal the warranty law altogether. The Pentagon seems determined to resist any changes in its time-honored way of doing business. At some point Congress must enforce its legislative authority or abandon any pretense that the military is subject to Congressional control.

Democracies will not sacrifice to protect their security in the absence of a sense of danger. And every time we create the impression that we and the Soviets are cooperating and moderating the competition, we diminish that sense of apprehension.

Richard Perle
Assistant Secretary of Defense

The Effects of Military Spending

Employment Research Associates

Because of a long held myth, huge military budgets have passed Congress for decades with virtually no comment upon their economic impact. Like many myths, it had its genesis in historical circumstance. Everyone over fifty remembers the Depression. And everyone under fifty has heard about it. The memories of long lines of destitute people waiting at soup kitchens, of men selling apples on the street corners made an indelible impression on the American consciousness.

Then came World War II. Eleven million young men were drafted into the armed forces and war factories were opened all over the country hiring unemployed men and women. Everyone had a job. So the concept that was stamped upon the collective memory of Americans was that the war ended the Depression, and therefore that military spending created jobs.

No one said that the government spending $80 billion a year in 1941 on *anything* would have ended the Depression. The federal government could have replaced worn out housing, run-down railroads, and decrepit hospitals. Any vast influx of investment and consumption into the system would have terminated the Depression. But most Americans observed that when the war began the Depression ended, and therefore assumed military spending must be good for the economy.

Myths die hard. It has taken years of the current economic malaise, the combination of high unemployment, high inflation, and high military spending, to cause people to begin to reexamine their assumptions about the economy and the impact of military spending.

Contrary to widespread belief, military spending is not good for the economy. It does not increase employment. It generates unemployment.

Our study, *The Price of the Pentagon: The Industrial and Commercial Impact of the 1981 Military Budget*, showed that over 1,500,000 Americans were without work in 1981 due to the Pentagon's budget.

This was a *net* loss of jobs. All of the 1,764,000 jobs generated during the production of missiles, submarines, and other goods and services for the Pentagon were taken into consideration. This figure was then compared with the 3,284,000 jobs lost throughout American industry and commerce due to diminished consumer expenditures. The result was a net loss of 1,520,000 jobs to the industrial and commercial base of the United States.

This lack of jobs and job opportunities spanned the overwhelming majority of occupations. People ranging from factory workers to teachers and from civil engineers to bank tellers suffered a net loss of jobs because of the high military budget.

Of the 160 occupational groups in the U.S., 128 groups had a net loss of jobs. These 128 groups comprise 92% of the labor force. Factory workers suffered the most severely with a net loss of over 460,000 jobs. There were 272,000 fewer jobs for clerical workers, and over 200,000 jobs lost in sales. Craft workers suffered a net loss of 185,000 jobs, and proprietors, managers, and officials had over 116,000 fewer job opportunities. Service workers, laborers, and farmers also all had a serious net loss of jobs.

Only professional and technical workers showed a net job gain. And this gain was highly concentrated in certain occupations: aero-astronautic and electrical engineers, computer scientists, physicists and mathematicians. The people who provide human services—health professionals and educators—showed a substantial job loss.

How is this possible when we have long been told that military spending creates jobs and is good for

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EMPLOYMENT RESEARCH ASSOCIATES is an independent, nonprofit economic consulting firm based in Lansing, Michigan. ERA specializes in analyzing the impact of government policies on the U.S. economy.

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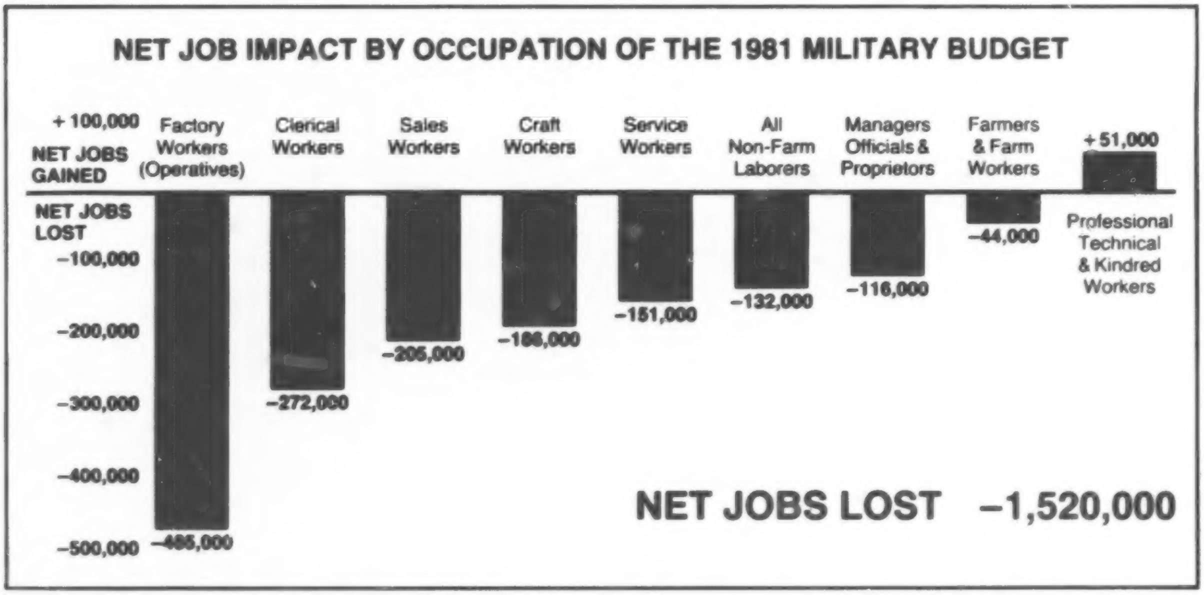

the economy? It happens because the same dollar cannot be spent in two different ways at the same time. When taxpayers all over the country are paying high taxes, much of which goes to the Pentagon, they cannot spend this money on their own needs. This means that consumer purchases are substantially cut and the industries which produce cars, clothing, food, homes and the other things which people need, have lower sales and lay-offs.

In 1981, when consumers spent $1 billion on goods and services, 38,000 jobs were created. The Pentagon's spending the same sum on the procurement of goods and services generated 26,000 jobs.

Therefore, every $1 billion transferred from purchases by consumers to purchases by the Pentagon caused a net loss of 12,000 jobs in industry and commerce.

These jobs were lost due to diminished consumer spending. It is difficult to visualize what the transference of $154 billion from the taxpayer to the Pentagon means to the average person, the average family. This transfer of funds through Federal taxes cost the average American family $2,200. This was $2,200 less to spend in 1981 for food, housing, education and all other needs.

The unemployment generated by military spending falls heavily upon women. Only 1% of employed women work on military contracts or for the armed forces. As every rise in the military budget comes at the expense of civilian expenditures, the vast majority of women in the work force suffer a loss of job opportunities when the military budget goes up.

Women lost jobs in 49 out of the 50 states when the Pentagon was spending $135 billion. The women of New York suffered a net loss of over 181,000 jobs; in California, a net loss of over 144,000 jobs; and in Illinois, 98,000 jobs. Virginia, alone among the states, had a net gain—8,600 jobs.

In almost every situation, individual women suffer the negative effects of high Pentagon spending.

- As a working wife, her job opportunities are diminished while her family's income is ravaged by an inflation fueled by high Pentagon expenditures.
- As a head of household, she tries to make ends meet, while the federal government transfers money from the programs which helped her survive into the budget of the Pentagon.
- As a single woman, she has fewer job opportunities in the better paying industries, because the diversion of funds to military production is causing lay-offs in education and social services, and plant closings in civilian industry.

Military Spending and Inflation

Military spending not only generates unemployment, it is highly inflationary. Over half of the budget controlled by Congress goes for military purchases and salaries. *It is the most inflationary form of federal spending.* There are several reasons for this.

First: most military contractors produce on a cost-plus basis. They have no incentive to improve efficiency and cut waste. In fact, the contrary is the case, as contractors get guaranteed profits no matter what the costs incurred. As their profits are calculated as a percentage of their costs, their basic incentive is to *increase* their costs and thus their profits. This is the opposite of the free enterprise system.

Second: the federal government must either borrow money or increase the money supply in order to finance skyrocketing military expenditures. Increasing the amount of money in circulation can fuel inflation. Borrowing money decreases the amount of available credit and bids up interest rates. This increases the costs of financing government debt, business investment, consumer purchases and education.

Third: military contractors themselves enter the money markets to borrow capital for the production of military hardware. This reduces the availability of capital for the civilian sector and gives an additional boost to interest rates.

Fourth: military contractors use up scarce resources. This makes them less available to civilian businesses. Therefore, the stock of raw materials, technical talent, goods, and services available to civilian businesses is reduced, and prices are bid up, thus pushing up prices for goods and services along the production chain.

The inflation hits workers in two ways. The value of their pay checks is reduced as their raises do not keep pace with the inflation. They are then forced into a cruel spiral in which if they bargain for higher wages which anticipate price rises, they are blamed for causing the inflation. But if they do not anticipate coming price rises in the bargaining sessions, they take a yearly pay cut.

People are also hit by the inflation through their jobs. As purchases of durable goods and services are the first things that consumers put off, job opportunities are diminished. When the interest rate goes to 12% or 14%, automobile purchases sink, home construction drops and vacation travel declines. Business people cut back on their orders for new cars, new plants and equipment. The industrial layoffs which result are rapidly reflected in bankruptcies in retail trade which throw still more people out of work.

Military Spending and the Civilian Economy

The preeminence given to military industry and technology over the last three decades has had a delayed but serious impact upon the civilian industrial economy. In stark contrast to the enormous sums allotted over the years to military technology, civilian technology has been starved for capital and thus for talent.

Between one-third and one-half of the U.S. scientists and engineers have been working on military and space contracts since 1950. This has meant that this great pool of talent has not been available to work on civilian commercial designs and applications of new technology. There is no mystery why the Germans, Japanese, or Swedes have pulled equal to or ahead of us in steel, autos, machine tools and electronics. Virtually all of their scientists and engineers are working on civilian technology.

> *"The United States may buy itself two things with the $1 trillion defense budget of 1981-1985. The first is an economic decline of the sort that comes about once or twice in a century. The second is a nuclear war."*
>
> *—Emma Rothschild, 1981*

As the productivity of our trade rivals rises rapidly while ours stagnates, the costs of our goods, but not their quality, rises. This means that it becomes cheaper for many firms to build factories abroad or to import finished materials and components. These business decisions also export jobs. The control may still rest with an American management, but the jobs have been moved to Germany, Taiwan, or Korea.

Workers in autos, electronics, radio and television production, electrical equipment and textiles have seen the loss of hundreds of thousands of their jobs as factories are closed in Pittsburgh, Buffalo and Detroit and moved abroad.

People have little sense of the magnitude of the investment in the Pentagon in relation to other investments in the society. *During the 1960s and 1970s the Pentagon spent more money than the after tax profits of all U.S. corporations combined.* This includes ATT, ITT, General Motors, Ford, Sears—all of them. This is where our taxes have been going, and the results have been the deterioration of American industry and increased inflation and unemployment.

For decades, capital has been siphoned off through taxes to the Pentagon. This means that less capital is available for civilian enterprises, and that important areas of the economy have been undermined. Less capital investment means fewer jobs. Railroads, mass transit, steel, and the solar energy industries are severely undernourished. Massive infusions of capital to these industries are necessary both to decrease our dependence upon oil reserves and to enhance our quality of life while depolluting the environment.

New taxes are not needed to bring about badly needed changes in our country. But our taxes can be productively rechanneled to reduce the inflation and create jobs for all Americans.

Defense: Everybody's Business

Stanley A. Weiss

In recent years the United States has embarked upon a major buildup of arms spending to better meet the myriad threats that face us. Or so we're told. But as a business executive who has looked closely at the way this money is being spent, I think it is a misconception to say that a genuine defense buildup is going on. One major reason is the shortage of sound business principles at the Pentagon.

I look at military spending and see practices that stand business sense on its head. Congress and the military have built a system that rewards bureaucratically administered prices and tries in every imaginable way to block competition on prices and equipment reliability. According to the General Accounting Office, only about 6 percent of all defense contracts are fully competitive.

So we create monopoly contractors, and then we buy in small, expensive lots. We permit contractors to declare that their bolts and washers are "trade secrets" to cut off any future competition, and then we allow the Department of Defense to accept such absurd declarations. We have a military acquisition system without checks and balances; a system that never cancels anything, no matter how much costs soar or how poor performance is. It even stretches out the most costly, noncompetitive contracts for 20 years or more.

There are two principles that every successful business executive understands but that have never penetrated the system of military buying:

- If you offer anyone a subsidy to produce something, you will get more of it, produced with less efficiency;
- If you deal with a monopoly supplier, you will *always* get a higher price, and you will *usually* get lower quality.

Yes, this military buying system will give you $435 hammers. Yes, this system will give you $1,000 bolts. These examples are *not* aberrations. They are the inevitable result of an inherently flawed process. It does no good to outlaw $1,000 bolts unless you overhaul the system that produces them.

The trouble is that the problems are not confined to the weapons systems procurement process. Let's look at readiness. What have we got to show in military readiness after spending over a trillion dollars on defense since 1980? There are indications, even from within the Pentagon, that readiness is down. The best that can be said is that we don't really know whether readiness is up or down. Gen. Charles Gabriel, air force chief of staff, recently told *The Washington Post* that air force pilots now practice firing one heat-seeking and one radar-seeking missile a year. He saw this as an improvement over the less-than-annual practices of the past. A trillion dollars since 1980, and our pilots get two practice shots a year!

> *I look at military spending and see practices that stand business sense on its head.*

Even when allowing for inflation, spending over twice what we spent in 1957 buys us half as many active ships and half as many active aircraft as it would then. It also buys fewer active army battalions than it would then. Nearly all of this debacle in force structure and unit costs has occurred while the loudest calls for a buildup have been in the air. Unfortunately, as the budget statistics make clear, dollars are heading "north" while quantities head "south." The best description of what is going on is that in the area of conventional weapons we are spending ourselves broke as we unilaterally disarm.

Business generally understands the concept of long-term corporate planning. Does the Department of Defense? The United States has not had a top-to-bottom reassessment of its military strategy in more than 30 years. Two former chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. Maxwell Taylor and Gen. David Jones, have testified before congress that so many missions have been piled on the DOD over the last generation that the United States does not have a

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Throwing more money at this fundamentally flawed budgeting process will not buy us a better defense.

military strategy in the usual sense of the term. If we don't have a military strategy, how can we hope to have military spending priorities linked to military strategy priorities?

Even within these proliferating military commitments and missions, we don't budget soundly. To cite only a few of the points GAO has recently noted:

- DOD budget projections presented to congress always assume hardware prices will *fall* in the future when those prices almost always *go up*;
- DOD chronically underestimates how much it will cost to staff and maintain new weapons systems;
- DOD plans for future outlays are based on economic models for which there are no historical parallels;
- Funds that are supposed to go into *planned* program growth in *existing* programs are frequently diverted into *new* program starts;
- When the inevitable budget shortfalls arrive, programs are never cancelled, no matter how costly they are.

If the business executives I represent spent their investors' and stockholders' money like this, we'd not only be broke, we'd be in big trouble with the Securities and Exchange Commission.

I cannot emphasize strongly enough: throwing more money at this fundamentally flawed budgeting process will not buy us a better defense.

We have already started up a large number of tremendously expensive programs without a clear military strategy for their use and without reliable cost projections. Unless we act quickly and decisively, this mismatch between forecasting and reality will continue diverging, involving additional hundreds of billions of dollars. This would plunge the U.S. military of the late 1980s into the greatest procurement and readiness crunch in U.S. history. Quite simply, we won't have an extra trillion to pay for this ominous accumulation of budgeting mistakes.

Business executives need to adopt the stance of a skeptical investor, look at the Department of Defense and ask: Does the "firm" have a clear corporate plan linking goals to resources? Are its products of high quality? Does its financial reporting suggest an organizational integrity that inspires confidence? Does the "firm" adapt successfully to a fast-changing and challenging market?

The "firm" in this case is not one a skeptical investor can walk away from. We are dealing with a function that is essential to the security of a free society. That fact must inspire us to fix what's wrong! Those of us who want a strong defense will increasingly need to demonstrate how defense can be both effective and affordable.

Here are some questions that we as business executives should be thinking about:

- Why are the defense "lines" diverging: Why do more and more dollars buy fewer and fewer goods?
- Are we pursuing a conservative investment strategy that will provide us with the necessary long-term stability in the force structure? Is the pace of modernization sustainable over time?
- Do we have a clear, easy-to-implement definition of readiness? How can we better align all the parts of the Department of Defense to work toward a goal of improved readiness?

It does no good to outlaw $1,000 bolts unless you overhaul the system that produces them.

Not all private-sector experience translates directly into the management of defense activities. But when conservative Republican senators tell reporters that the Pentagon is "rotten with bad management," and when the DOD and the executive branch so ignore the tide of congressional complaints to the point that congress moves ever closer to seizing its blunt instrument of budget authority, someone had better force the DOD to take a hard look at reality.

Stunned by multibillion dollar weapons duds, congress last year directed the DOD to set up an independent office of testing and evaluation. The Pentagon has been dragging its feet in complying. A permanent director of this office should be appointed forthwith, and the office should get its important mission under way.

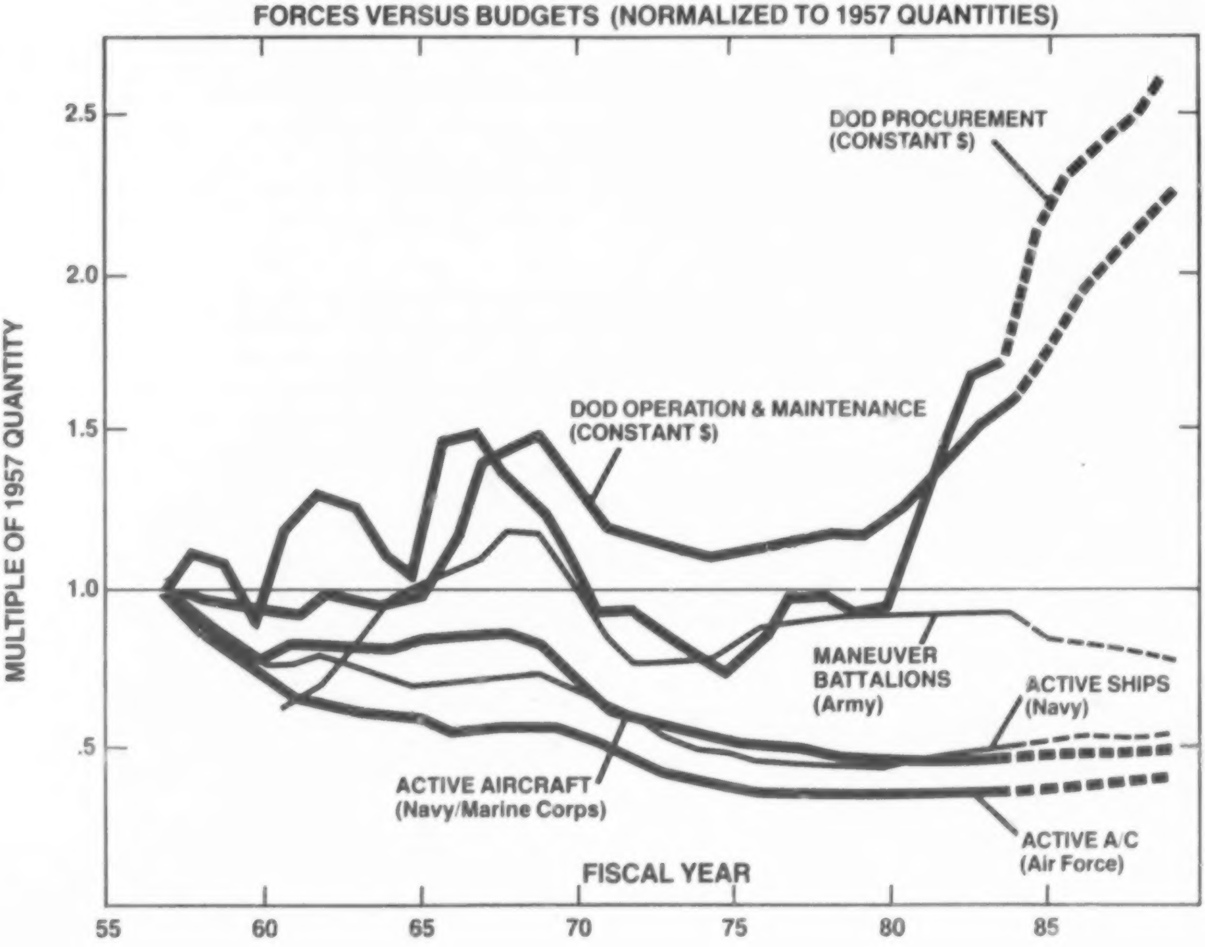
Congress was also irritated with the amount of "get well" money that was being paid out for poorly performing equipment, so it ordered the DOD to get warranties on its purchases. The Pentagon reacted by trying to slip a repeal of the law into a supplemental appropriations request. The navy, to its credit, is supporting warranties. The rest of the DOD needs to shape up.

In the wake of a barrage of scandals concerning the overcharging for spare parts, congress has finally decided that it can't pass laws against $435 hammers without addressing the system that produces them. Congress is now trying to reform military procurement—with no help from the Defense Department. Even the most responsible and carefully drawn procurement reform bills are drawing a steady stream of Pentagon naysayers, with the message that such reform isn't needed and/or can't be done. Congress itself has long been a part of the procurement problem; the DOD is missing an important opportunity to turn congress into a part of the procurement solution.

Last year, the General Accounting Office said that only about 6.6 percent all 1982 DOD contracts were fully competitive. Despite some promising signs, such as the encouragement of "competition advocates" in the services, the 1983 percentage was actually *down* to 5.7 percent. Frankly, the business community and the American people are not going to tolerate this kind of performance much longer. We're *giving away* one of this country's most priceless advantages: its vital, energetic free enterprise system.

Independent testing and evaluation, warranties and procurement overhaul are examples of areas where executives can put their business expertise to work improving the U.S. defense establishment. There are other areas as well—the process of relating strategic goals to resources, for example, and the development of more reliable budget projections. It's time we did so.

Restoring defense excellence ought to be everybody's business.



The Trimtab Factor

Harold Willens

Despite the obvious and growing danger posed by the nuclear arms race, the management of our national enterprise continues to pursue a policy of preventing nuclear war by preparing for it. Aside from the obvious peril of a global holocaust, our increasing dependence on nuclear weapons as a means of maintaining our security has other serious consequences for our nation. It affects our economy, our influence in the world and our morale as a nation.

Business leaders are uniquely qualified to evaluate the impact of our national security policy. In examining any policy, people who make business decisions are trained to lay aside dogma, tradition and rationalizations in order to ask the basic, bottom-line question: Does it work?

A prime example of this is the Ford Motor Company's experience with the Edsel. The experts who conceived and designed this classic flop were human beings who guessed wrong. If the company's decisions and budget had been controlled by Edsel ideologues—passionate believers in their brainchild—Ford might have continued to pour good money after bad, transforming a miscalculation into the death of a major corporation. Instead, Ford's management recognized and admitted a mistake. They absorbed a huge financial loss in the short term, but they went on to lead their company into an even brighter future.

That kind of tough decision, much magnified, confronts us today. We are shareholders in the American enterprise and our Edsel is a national security policy too heavily reliant on nuclear weapons. If continued, this policy will almost certainly carry us to a "final bankruptcy" from which there is no recovery. To avoid this catastrophe, we must stop doing what does not work.

The Decline of America

True national security requires a strong economy, yet today the once-firm foundations of America's economic strength and superiority are crumbling. Our stagnating economy is characterized by unprecedented federal deficits, high unemployment and declining industrial productivity and innovation.

Not surprisingly, because American economic strength has been on the decline, it appears that our prestige in the world is also diminishing. Since the war in Vietnam, the U.S. has suffered a series of setbacks in its influence in the world community.

Alternatingly militant and vacillating foreign policies have confused friends and potential adversaries alike. Our multibillion-dollar arsenal remains unusable—unless we are willing to commit national suicide. The spirit of confidence and optimism once so characteristic of our nation has given way to doubt and confusion.

Attempts to explain this American decline rarely take into account the effects of the nuclear arms race. Preoccupation with the military aspect of our national security has prevented us from considering other, equally fundamental aspects of security—economic strength, global influence and national morale.

Simon Ramo, Director of TRW, Inc., a major military contractor, estimates that more than $1,000,000,000,000 ($1 Trillion) has gone into preparing for nuclear war to date. Over the next six years an estimated $450 Billion will be spent on the same purpose. The generally accepted view is that this massive military spending has been a boon to the American economy. However, leading economists, including Charles Schultz and Murray Weidenbaum, both former directors of the Council of Economic Advisers, are challenging this assumption.

These economists now argue that military spending (which has averaged 30% of the entire federal budget over the past three decades) has contributed significantly to American economic decline. The en-

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HAROLD WILLENS is President and Chairman (retired) of the Los Angeles-based Wilshop and Factory Equipment Corporations, and author of ***The Trimtab Factor.*** *A "trimtab" is a tiny rudder attached to a much larger rudder, which can easily turn a huge ocean-going ship with very little pressure. Mr. Willens feels that business leadership can, like a trimtab, help give needed direction to U.S. military policy.*

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> *American business executives [must learn] that the nuclear arms race is not only absorbing their profits but is also reversible if only we would apply good management sense.*
>
> **Sen. Mark O. Hatfield**

during myth that military spending is good for business has blinded us to this reality. The fact that World War II followed the Great Depression convinced many that military spending creates jobs and boosts productivity. However, the astronomical sums spent during World War II would have produced the same result had they been invested in *anything*.

At the root of the myth that what's good for the Pentagon is good for the economy is a misunderstanding of the nature of military products as opposed to other products. Dollars spent on tanks, bombers and submarines are dead-end dollars. They consume enormous amounts of valuable resources but return nothing to the economic system. Military spending may in the short term stimulate employment and purchasing power, but in the long run it drains the economy.

While military expenditures do not produce goods and services, they do create the classic inflationary situation in which too much money chases after too few goods. Many assume it was the OPEC oil-price increases that initiated the 1970s inflationary spiral. In fact, heavy military expenditures, including the cost of the Vietnam War, first fueled the inflationary fires in the 1960s. By 1969, four years before the oil embargo, the rate of inflation had already tripled.

Once this nation was the world's leader in the innovation of products and processes. Over the past two decades, however, the U.S. has fallen far behind other countries in the rate of technological progress. This is due in large measure to the fact that the military sector claims 30% to 50% of all the scientists and engineers in America. U.S. industry has thus lost its former capacity to innovate and to absorb increasing costs by enhancing efficiency.

The shortage of civilian scientists and engineers has also contributed to blunting the competitive edge of U.S. industries in the world market. Foreign competitors, particularly Japan and West Germany, have made deep inroads into the automobile, steel and commercial electronics markets. The explanation is not hard to find. While two-thirds of our federal Research and Development funds go to the military, West Germany spends only 15% to 20% and the Japanese less than 5%.

Too often, debates over new weapons systems have more to do with the jobs involved than with the actual need for the weapons themselves. A growing number of economists maintain, however, that military spending actually generates unemployment by diverting resources from the civilian economy.

Studies conducted by Employment Research Associates and corroborated by U.S. Labor Department statistics show that increases in the military budget have actually reduced employment opportunities. On the average, a Billion dollars spent for military purposes generates far fewer jobs (18,000) than the same amount spent in the civilian sector (27,000). In every area nonmilitary expenditures create more jobs than does military spending.

The long-term diversion of capital and labor to weapons production has sapped our civilian industrial strength. A recent study by the Council on Economic Priorities compares 13

Bankrupting America

Employment Research Associates

The military budget is bankrupting America because the U.S. is spending more than it is earning abroad, thus increasing our international debt and shrinking our international assets. By 1985 the United States will owe the rest of the world more than other nations owe the U.S. We will be a debtor nation.

Paul Volcker, head of the Federal Reserve Board, described the situation as follows: "The net investment position of the United States overseas, built up gradually over the entire postwar period, will in the space of only three years—1983, 1984, and 1985—be reversed. The richest economy in the world is on the verge of becoming a net debtor."

U.S. Budget Director David Stockman, testifying before the Senate Budget Committee, put it more simply: "We are in the same position that many companies are in when they are on the eve of Chapter 11" (bankruptcy proceeding). This trend, which is compounded by high levels of military spending, reveals an underlying, deep-seated weakness to our allies and antagonists alike, thus undercutting the image of steadfast power which the U.S. government seeks to project by military means.

> *Individuals can truly make a difference on the greatest issue of all time—the prevention of nuclear war. I urge all Americans to . . . join in the effort to end the nuclear arms race before it ends the human race.*
>
> **Sen. Edward M. Kennedy**

major industrialized countries and shows that those which spend a smaller share of their economic output for military purposes generally have much stronger economies.

This is not to say that massive military spending is the only cause of America's economic problems, nor to suggest that the nation should neglect its legitimate security needs. But there is ample reason to question whether the hundreds of billions of dollars destined to create still more nuclear weapons add up to a sensible investment in genuine national security.

Even if we never use any of the weapons in our enormously redundant nuclear arsenal, we will still inflict great damage on ourselves. As our economy stumbles and as our cities, neighborhoods and schools deteriorate, the quality of American life declines. The emotional and psychological damage of the arms race can be just as devastating to the national spirit as war itself.

Living in the shadow of nuclear war, we seem to have lost the energetic and determined optimism once so characteristic of the American people. Without a bomb being dropped, we are already suffering a sort of psychic radiation sickness—a frame of mind that affects every aspect of our lives.

A poll taken in California in 1982 showed that 85% of the respondents believed there would be a nuclear war in their lifetime. Fear of the future, indeed of having *no future*, permeates the lives and attitudes of our children.

The nuclear weapons race is robbing our nation of its most precious resource, its spirit. Without a sense that there is a future, we find ourselves slowly losing our will to survive. Rather than protecting us, a national security policy based on nuclear weapons represents the greatest threat to our survival. A businesslike assessment of our present policy indicates that it is in the best interest of our national enterprise to find alternatives to the nuclear arms race.

The Way Out

We should begin immediately a step-by-step program of American initiatives aimed at slowing, stopping and reversing the Soviet-American nuclear arms race.

Stop testing nuclear weapons

The U.S. would announce that we will suspend any further testing of nuclear weapons, challenging the Soviet Union to reciprocate while we conclude negotiation of a formal Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). If the Soviets continued testing or refused to conclude the treaty within a reasonable period of time, the U.S. would no longer be bound by its proposal. If the President were unwilling to initiate such a moratorium, the Congress could take the initiative by amending the relevant appropriations bill or taking other legislative action.

Stop testing nuclear delivery systems

We would next propose a moratorium on the flight-testing of nuclear weapons delivery systems. Like the ban on testing, this step would be relatively easy to verify, since missile and aircraft flights are highly visible. Such a moratorium, again contingent upon Soviet compliance, would inhibit the deployment of highly destabilizing delivery systems. As with each step of this proposal, a successful

Bankrupting America

Employment Research Associates

The Reagan Administration plans military outlays of $1 trillion 428 billion for FY 1984 through FY 1988. This sum exceeds the total market value of all stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange, American Stock Exchange, and Over-the-Counter markets in late July, 1984.

These figures show that over the next five years the U.S. government investment in war will be greater than the market value of the entire U.S. industrial structure. These figures are conservative, because they make no allowance for debt service on the military share of the Federal debt.

From another perspective, if dedicated to peaceful pursuits, this sum of money would allow a *doubling* of the basic capitalization of every firm listed on the New York Stock Exchange, the American Stock Exchange and Over-the-Counter markets.

> *We must abandon our Edsel policy of building ever more devastating bombs and win the important competition to produce better lives and economies in the Third World. Americans must join to take the management of the American enterprise away from the experts who produced this Edsel.*
>
> **William E. Colby, Former Director, CIA**

moratorium would be codified into formal agreements, building confidence on both sides.

Stop deploying new nuclear weapons systems

The United States would then extend the moratorium to the deployment of any new nuclear weapons systems. As with testing, verification of this step is not difficult, since even now we are able to count every Soviet missile launcher, bomber and submarine. Again, we would announce our own halt in deployment, challenging the Soviets to do the same.

Stop producing nuclear weapons

With the first three steps successfully taken, we would then tackle the more difficult issue of banning the production of fissionable material and the actual production of nuclear warheads. The manufacturing process is easier to conceal, but with the first three steps accomplished there would be little motivation to continue making the weapons. Further, the Soviets have already formally accepted the principle of on-site inspection for arms control verification as part of a CTBT. The first three steps would establish still more mutual confidence and trust needed to implement improved verification procedures by both sides.

Reduce nuclear arsenals

Once the two superpowers agree to halt future weapons development and ensure that neither side could get ahead in weaponry, the ground would be laid for true reductions in their swollen nuclear arsenals. This final step would begin with an appraisal of existing arsenals and the proposal of positive measures to carry out a stable, orderly and balanced program of reductions. Each side would keep an adequate deterrent capability while lowering the level of its nuclear arsenal.

Stop Making Edsels

It is time for business leaders to lead the American people in asking whether the social and economic aspects of national security must not be weighed against the illusion of safety produced by an absurdly excessive quantity of nuclear weapons. It is time to decide whether or not national security can exist without economic security.

The solution is simple: Stop making the Edsel. Some will still claim that there is no solution other than the course we have followed. A senior officer of Ford Motor Company during the Edsel crisis told me there were those who argued that too much had been invested in the Edsel to stop production. Had they prevailed, the result would have been bankruptcy. There are always people who say the risks of change are too great, but what greater risk could we face than the annihilation of thousands of years of human endeavor?

Find A Way

Business people who succeed know that when the survival of their enterprise is threatened, they must change course. As influential shareholders in our national enterprise, business leaders must mandate our management—our employees in government—to stop and reverse the nuclear arms race. We must tell them: Find a way. Come up with a plan. It can be done. It must be done. Do it.

Bankrupting America

Employment Research Associates

By far the single greatest source of pressure on U.S. interest rates is the unprecedented rate of growth in the Federal debt. The $200 billion deficits are the result of the combination of high levels of peacetime military expenditures and tax cuts. By the Administration's own calculations, by 1985 the Federal debt will have doubled from its 1981 level of $941 billion to about $1.8 trillion. It took the U.S. almost 200 years to accumulate its first $1 trillion of debt, but it will take just 8 years to reach $2 trillion under the policies of the Reagan Administration.

The Federal debt is now rising about $500 million every day. Military spending and related costs will soon exceed $700 million per day. Militarization and financial stability are not easily made compatible.

If you want peace . . . prepare for ~~war~~ peace

Quite aside from the eventual cost of mutual annihilation, what is this unprecedented peacetime investment in war-making capacity doing to the quality of life in the two superpowers? The U.S. and USSR rank No. 1 and 2, militarily (or No. 2 and 1—at the absurd level of overkill possessed by each this is a distinction without a difference). But how do these two nations, self-proclaimed models for the "free" world and "socialist" countries, rate globally according to such indices of civilization as education and health? *World Military and Social Expenditures 1983, An annual report on world priorities,* shows that in 1980, the U.S. ranked 16th among the world's nations in per capita public expenditures on education; the Soviet Union, 34th. The U.S. ranked 13th in per capita public expenditures on health, 19th in infant mortality rate; the Soviet Union ranked 37th and 47th by these two criteria.

The U.S. devotes nearly $300 billion a year to military defense against putative foreign enemies, but a survey shows that 45 percent of Americans are afraid to go out alone at night within one mile of their homes. We have apparently no dearth of missile and nuclear weapons experts, but are facing a critical shortage of qualified school teachers. Half of the 13-year-olds in America can't read a newspaper index. Among the Dallas school system sixth-graders involved in one study, one-fifth could not find the United States on a map of the world. A survey of geography students at Cal-State Fullerton revealed that 75% could not locate Moscow.

The U.S. and USSR rank 1 and 2 in sales of military equipment to other countries. How do they rank in economic aid to a world in which every minute 30 children die for want of food and inexpensive vaccines—in which the cost of a single nuclear submarine equals the annual education budget of 23 developing countries with 160 million school-age children—in which 2 billion people live on incomes of less than $500 per year—600 million have no jobs or are employed only part-time—2 billion lack dependable safe drinking water—450 million suffer from hunger and malnutrition? In 1980, the U.S. ranked 18th in per capita expenditures among aid-giving nations; the Soviet Union ranked last.

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Where to Go from Here

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ERA is an independent, nonprofit economic consulting firm. *The Price of the Pentagon, Neither Jobs Nor Security,* and *Military Spending: An Occupational Hazard* can be ordered for $3.00 each from ERA.

The Trimtab Factor. Harold Willens. How business executives can help solve the nuclear weapons crisis, and why they should. Morrow, 1984.

11

Converting to a Peacetime Economy

Not enough bridges have been built, not enough coalitions have been made by local workers and their trade unions with community action and public interest groups.

William Winpisinger
President
International Association
of Machinists and
Aerospace Workers

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Introduction

This chapter looks at positive economic directions available to us. For instance, a nuclear freeze would have economic effects that, on balance, are very positive. Excerpts from William Hartung's A Nuclear Freeze: Its Costs and Consequences, *go into these effects. He explains what "conversion" is and outlines the bills in Congress that would set up a national conversion program.*

Joel Yudken writes about the progress the Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project has made in California's Silicon Valley, an area with many defense contracts. He writes also of the obstacles weapons manufacturers face in converting to production that is more socially useful and provides a list of conversion projects around the country.

Finally, Marion Anderson presents a plan for a major redirection of funds from the military to the civilian economy, with a summary of its effects on jobs.

A Nuclear Freeze
Its Costs and Its Consequences

William Hartung
with Rosy Nimroody

The economic benefits of a bilateral U.S.-USSR nuclear weapons Freeze far exceed its costs. CEP has studied the effects of a Freeze on employment, the budget, and the use of specialized resources. We conclude that:

- Halting nuclear weapons production would save $98 billion in budgetary resources in the next five years alone, and over *$400* billion between now and the year 2000.
- If Freeze cutbacks are compensated for by a tax cut or increased civilian government spending, overall employment will *rise* by 50,000 to 150,000 jobs.
- Savings from a Freeze over the next five years are enough to restore Federal aid to education, Food Stamps, child nutrition programs, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, the Social and Community Services Block Grants, and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration to 1981 level funding, without increasing Federal deficits.

Clearly, there still will be problems of adjustment for those communities currently depending on nuclear weapons production for jobs and income. But with proper advance planning and readjustment assistance programs, these difficulties can be minimized. The majority of states will feel little or no negative impact: the top ten states received *94 percent* of all DoD prime contracts for weapons systems covered by a Freeze in Fiscal Year 1982.

Budget savings associated with cancelling multibillion dollar programs such as the MX missile and the B-1 bomber are the most visible short-term economic benefits of a Freeze. In the next five years alone, a halt in the production and deployment of nuclear warheads and their delivery vehicles would save *at least* $98 billion. Over the next two decades, these initial budget savings would grow to over $400 billion.

Short-term savings will come mostly from postponing procurement of nuclear delivery vehicles: the MX and Trident missiles, the B-1 bomber, the Pershing II missile, and the Air, Sea, and Ground-Launched Cruise Missiles. Cancelling the B-1, MX, and Trident programs alone will provide two-thirds of total Freeze savings over the next five years. Termination of warhead production will produce $21 billion of the $98 billion total.

These short-term savings are only the beginning. Spending on classified programs (such as the Stealth bomber and advanced Cruise Missile) and other new proposals that do not yet have detailed funding projections (like the Midgetman small ICBM) would also be terminated under a Freeze. Since their costs are not yet defined, we did not include them in our five-year savings estimates. Still, their cancellation would save tens of billions of dollars in the next decade.

Two other factors would affect longer term savings from a Freeze:

1. If a Freeze leads to reductions in nuclear weapons actually deployed, there could be tens of billions of dollars saved in operations and maintenance funds.
2. A mutual Freeze would call into question the need for many related programs: strategic air and ballistic missile defense; command, control and communications for a prolonged nuclear conflict; and delivery platforms such as the Trident submarine which are primarily designed to carry new, more accurate nuclear armed missiles.

Of course, the extent to which these resources are freed up for civilian purposes or applied to other military programs will depend upon how conventional military forces are treated under a Freeze. Reagan Administration officials argue that further conventional increases would be needed. Other ex-

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Contrary to popular belief, cuts in military spending achieved by a nuclear Freeze need not increase unemployment.

perts, such as former Secretary of Defense Robert MacNamara, have asserted that nuclear and conventional buildups could be cut simultaneously. Due to the lack of a clear consensus on this point, CEP has focused on the issue of how much funding a Freeze would free up for some other purpose.

Employment Could Rise

Contrary to popular belief, cuts in military spending achieved by a nuclear Freeze need not increase unemployment. CEP estimates indicate that a Freeze could *displace* between 250,000 and 350,000 workers in military and military-supplying industries. These projections, however, are only half the story. Freeze budget savings used to fund other Federal programs, or to cut taxes, would actually produce a net *increase* in overall employment.

An econometric analysis by the Congressional Budget Office indicates that $10 billion in government expenditures on weapons procurement in 1983 would have produced 40,000 *fewer* jobs than if the same $10 billion were spent on civilian government programs *or* general military spending (including military personnel). Applying these findings to a Freeze, CEP found that a shift of its budget savings to civilian programs in FY 1984 could increase overall employment by 50,000 jobs.

Studies by both the Employment Research Associates (ERA) and Chase Econometrics demonstrate that substituting a tax cut for nuclear weapons related spending would increase overall employment levels. In their study of the original B-1 program, Chase found that if these funds had been spent on a tax cut, overall employment would have increased by 30,000. ERA found that as of 1981, $1 billion in spending on nuclear weapons systems created 24,000 jobs. If this $1 billion was spent by consumers, about 38,000 jobs would have been created. Based on these findings, CEP estimates that a Freeze with an equivalent tax cut in FY 1984 could increase overall employment by 150,000. The precise magnitude of employment increases may vary depending on the general state of the economy. Even so, the consensus of major studies is that overall employment should increase as long as weapons cutbacks are compensated for by equivalent levels of government or private spending.

Blue Collar Jobs Hurt Least

Jobs in basic industries like steel and auto production, already hard hit in recent years, would *not* be heavily impacted by Freeze cutbacks. In direct production of nuclear-armed missiles and bombers and nuclear warheads, technical positions predominate. *Fifty-five percent* of guided missile industry employment is in professional and technical job categories. Missile and aircraft production, which would be most heavily affected by Freeze cutbacks, employs three to six times as high a proportion of professional and technical personnel as the average manufacturing industry. These job categories have unemployment rates well under half the national average. Conversely, nuclear weapons industries employ only 1/2 to 1/4 as many operatives and laborers as the average industry. These positions have been hardest hit by unemployment, with a rate twice the national average.

Easing the Economic Transition

Even the most effective application of savings from a nuclear Freeze will leave serious problems of adjustment for tens of thousands of workers and scores of communities currently involved in nuclear weapons production. These problems will be mitigated, but not eliminated, by three factors:

1. If Freeze savings are returned to consumers in the form of a tax cut or spent on civilian government programs, overall employment will rise.
2. Job displacement will be heavily skewed towards scientific and technical job categories with unemployment rates less than one half of the national average.
3. The vast majority of states will suffer little or no negative economic impacts from the implementation of a Freeze—the bottom 40 nuclear weapons contracting states received only *6* percent of these awards in FY 1982.

To address the adjustment problems of defense-dependent communities, CEP reviewed several approaches to economic conversion, the process of planning for the civilian use of skills and facilities no longer needed for military purposes. The immediate character of a Freeze, affecting as many as 350,000 workers, mandates a nationally coordinated approach to minimize local economic disruption.

Federal assistance to help soften the adverse effects of changes in military policy has numerous precedents. One is the work of the Pentagon's Office of Economic Adjustment which helps communities adjust to military base closings. Another is the regular practice of providing substantial contract termination payments to corporations upon cancellation of DoD weapons programs.

Conversion legislation would offer protections to workers and communities dependent upon weapons production for jobs and income similar to those currently available to military contractors. An economic conversion law would offer a measure of public control over the economic effects of weapons procurement decisions.

There are currently two economic conversion bills before the Congress: The Weiss Bill and the Mavroules Bill. The most comprehensive approach, sponsored by Rep. Ted Weiss (D-NY), is the Defense Economic Adjustment Act, HR 425. The Weiss bill has four major provisions:

1. Establishment of a national Defense Economic Adjustment Council, co-chaired by the Secretaries of Commerce and Labor, to develop concrete plans for nonmilitary projects in key areas of national need that could be steered to areas affected by defense contract cutbacks or base closings
2. Mandatory alternative use committees composed of workers and management for any military base or defense plant with 100 employees or more
3. One year pre-notification of base closings or major contract cutbacks
4. Supplemental unemployment benefits, re-training assistance, and planning grants for workers and communities affected by defense program cutbacks, to be drawn from a "Workers Readjustment Reserve Trust Fund" built up from a 1.25 percent surcharge on all DoD prime contract awards

A less comprehensive but still strong bill (which is more likely to pass) proposed by Rep. Nicholas Mavroules (D-MA), is HR 4805. It provides for pre-notification of contract cutbacks, and workers retraining and readjustment programs comparable to those called for in the Weiss bill. However, it makes alternative use planning dependent upon the initiative of local units of government and has no "reserve fund." The Mavroules approach puts administration of conversion programs in the hands of the President's Economic Adjustment Committee, an existing agency chaired by the Secretary of Defense and supported by the DoD's Office of Economic Adjustment.

Even if national legisation is not passed before a Freeze takes effect, there are a number of state and local planning options (see list on "State and Local Conversion Initiatives").

Conclusion

Economic opportunities offered by a nuclear Freeze far outweigh its costs. A Freeze would potentially produce tens of billions of dollars of immediate budget savings. Overall employment could rise by as much as 150,000 under a Freeze, and most states and communities would suffer no economic dislocation.

State and Local Conversion Initiatives

Although there is no national economic conversion mechanism currently in place, local initiatives offer some prospects for easing the economic transition to a nuclear Freeze in some states and localities heavily dependent upon nuclear weapons production.

Connecticut has passed a "Defense Readjustment Act" that focuses on diversifying the state's economic base by offering tax and credit incentives to nonmilitary businesses moving into the state. The incentives also apply to Connecticut military contractors seeking to diversify into civilian business lines.

The **Washington** State Legislature is currently considering a "Jobs With Peace Bill" (HB 1601) which would tax profits from the production of nuclear weapons systems and put the income generated by these taxes into civilian economic development efforts in those parts of the state with the most serious unemployment problems. The bill was developed and promoted by the Washington State Conversion Project, a coalition of trade unionists and peace and community activists.

Minnesota's state legislature has recently held hearings on a new bill (116J.930) which would create an office of economic conversion within the state's Department of Energy and Economic Development.

In **Long Beach, California**, members of the United Auto Workers union local at McDonnell Douglas are working with the Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project to identify and pursue new civilian product lines for the plant and its work force.

In **Ohio**, the Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers union local at the Department of Energy's Piketon Gaseous Diffusion Plant has begun an "Atomic Reclamation and Conversion Project" to plan for new industrial possibilities to replace the declining nuclear weapons and nuclear power related role of that facility.

If Freeze budget savings were applied to specific problems—from income maintenance, nutrition, and education to cutting Federal budget deficits—they would offer substantial resources for beginning to solve pressing national economic problems.

Arms control proposals alone cannot be expected to cure the nation's accumulated economic ills. Nevertheless, a Freeze does offer significant economic opportunities if it is properly planned for in advance.

No shift of resources as large as that entailed in stopping production of a whole new generation of nuclear weapons simultaneously can occur without problems. However, careful planning and a national approach to economic conversion can minimize these transition problems. Even in the absence of conversion planning, the disruptive economic effects of a halt in nuclear weapons production will be much less severe than many have assumed.

Conversion Projects in Progress

Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project
222C View Street
Mountain View, CA 94041

Bay State Center for Economic Conversion
639 Massachusetts Ave., Rm. 316
Cambridge, MA 02139

Connecticut Economic Conversion Task Force
Rev. Kevin Bean
St. Luke's Parish
Box 3128
Darien, CT 06820

MX Information Center
232-1/2 University Street
Salt Lake City, UT 84102

New Mexico Peace Conversion Project
3211 Silver SE
Albuquerque, NM 87106

Cruise Missile Conversion Project
730 Bathurst Street
Toronto, Ontario M5S 2R4
Canada

South Shore Conversion Committee
19 Oak Hill Road
Weymouth, MA 02189

Atomic Reclamation and Conversion Project
Local 3-689
Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union
P.O. Box 467
Piketon, OH 45661

Defense Careers

"Why is the defense industry interested in you? What will it mean to you to work in defense? You will not find the answer to these questions in the brochures and promotional materials supplied by defense industry recruiters," states a booklet prepared by High Technology Professionals for Peace.

The booklet entitled *Are You Considering a Career in the Defense Industry?* was designed for college students and others who are entertaining the idea of working for a defense contractor. The 12-page publication raises a number of critical issues which, ideally, will be considered by students prior to making a professional plunge into Pentagon work.

Among the topics addressed in the booklet are: how secrecy requirements may affect one's personal and professional life, the problem of becoming over-specialized in a field with only military applications, the pattern of layoffs in defense work and how that affects careers, the inherent differences between military and civilian industry, and, of course, the central issue: the moral and ethical considerations of defense employment.

In addition to discussing these issues, the publication also encourages prospective employees to take a forceful stance with defense industry recruiters and poses a number of probing questions which should be asked and answered satisfactorily prior to accepting a defense job.

For copies of this booklet, see "Where to Go from Here."

from Plowshare

Industrial Conversion: Beating Swords into Plowshares

Joel Yudken

Located in California's Silicon Valley, which received nearly $4 billion of defense contracts in 1982, the Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project (MPCP) is an educational and research center that investigates the consequences of military spending, defense dependency, and conversion planning. It is also developing alternative uses of technology for social needs and alternative use planning.

For example, MPCP helped promote the development of a vigorous solar energy industry in Santa Clara County in the late 1970s and early 1980s. MPCP aided the start-up of a solar energy company by former defense workers and played the key role in organizing a solar energy coalition comprised of businesses, labor unions, community organizations, and public officials. With the aid of a grant from the National Science Foundation, MPCP sponsored a Citizen's Technology and Employment Program which brought together engineers and scientists, labor representatives, and community groups. Its purpose was to examine impacts of technology on local employment and to initiate new programs that utilize technology to create jobs and meet human needs. Out of this effort came a project that brought low-income people together with building trades workers and solar designers in an attempt to set up a community-owned solar/weatherization business. A second project, the Community Health Information Project (CHIP), was also initiated. CHIP involves disabled people, rehabilitation and human service workers, and computer professionals from local firms in setting up a microcomputer-based information service and network for the disabled community.

MPCP is now working jointly with the UAW local at McDonnell Douglas Corporation's ailing civilian aircraft plant in Long Beach, California. With assistance from the California Department of Economic and Business Development, MPCP and the UAW are developing a plan to utilize idle plant capacity and employ laid-off workers by building light rail vehicles, commuter aircraft, cogeneration equipment, and power wheelchairs. At present, a labor-management committee is being formed to explore the real potential for assembling rail passenger vehicles at Long Beach, for use in Los Angeles County.

On the other side of the continent, shipyard workers have formed the South Shore Conversion Committee to look into ocean thermal energy equipment as a product alternative at General Dynamic's Quincy shipyards in Massachusetts. Other projects, such as the Washington State Conversion Project; the Bay State Conversion Project; and similar groups in Orange County, California; St. Louis, Missouri; Rocky Flats, Colorado; and Toronto, Canada are actively promoting conversion among local constituencies and communities. New efforts are also getting under way in other defense-dependent areas.

Difficult Undertaking

Despite these activities, the conversion of military factories to alternative uses is still far from being realized. In order for conversion to become a serious possibility, conversion legislation must be enacted. In the meantime, locally organized projects and conversion experiments such as those at General Dynamics or McDonnell Douglas form the basis for a grassroots conversion movement and teach us a great deal about the possibilities and mechanics of conversion planning.

For example, the McDonnell Douglas project illustrates the difficulties that military-dependent companies have in diversifying into civilian areas. As a Wall Street analyst recently noted, "There's probably a reason why there haven't been a lot of success stories in diversification efforts. Basically, it gets down to the fact that few of the defense company managements know anything about the commerical marketplace. They have no concept, because they work in a different world."

Government-subsidized research and development is also an obstacle to conversion. In the aerospace industry, the federal government provides substantial

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JOEL YUDKEN is director of programs for the Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project.

This piece is excerpted from the article of the same name that appeared in the Spring 1984 issue of *Business & Society Review*. Reprinted by permission.

subsidies to firms developing military products but provides little assistance to firms developing civilian products. For example, the cost of design and development of a new generation wide-bodied jetliner is estimated at up to $2 billion. These costs must be borne by the manufacturer. Thus, Boeing still derives most of its operating profits from military sales, although its gross commercial aircraft revenues are usually much larger.

This is a substantial barrier to the willingness of military firms to shift their production into commercial areas. They have a major economic stake in maintaining huge, expanding weapons budgets. The relative profitability of military sales, and the significant problems that confront military-dependent firms in converting to new nonmilitary production, exerts economic pressures on congresspeople who feel obligated to vote for military projects on the basis of saving or creating jobs and businesses in their districts.

The "exit barriers" to shifting from military to nonmilitary markets, as defense analyst Jacques Gansler calls them, belie the viewpoint of many people that conversion is a problem that can await significant reductions in the defense budget before we need to tackle it. But, without prior economic programs and policies in place that facilitate conversion planning at the firm and plant levels, many military-dependent companies would suffer tremendous adjustment problems when and if serious budget cuts are made. Many tens of thousands of jobs and scores of businesses would be jeopardized.

In the present circumstances, military companies clearly have few incentives to shift to commercial products. As noted above, this has the further effect of putting companies, their work forces, local communities and their elected officials in the position of having to push for more military spending rather than support investment in new areas of commercial production that could be tailored to meet specific social needs.

Therefore, conversion policies would not just concentrate on income protection, job retraining, and plant-level alternate use planning. It must eventually include new programs for targeting public investment and creating incentives for channeling private investment to make military industrial conversion into nonmilitary socially needed production—such as mass transit, alternative energy equipment, housing, waste management systems, medical technologies—more attractive and profitable.

A new research and development policy must be established which directly supports civilian technology and production needs. Thus, some of the very expensive R&D costs for socially needed new product areas (e.g., light rail cars, solar energy conversion) could be partially subsidized through government programs, just as military technologies are subsidized today. Government support in Japan and Western Europe, for example, has helped manufacturers there develop new products that they have been able to sell on world markets.

Economic conversion must be made to be viable, or large-scale disarmament will be accompanied with the spectre of massive economic dislocation. As political economist Lloyd Dumas has noted, "conversion is not that easy. You can't just flip a switch and take people producing fighter aircraft or missiles, and easily convert them to producing refrigerators and mass transit vehicles."

Conversion is difficult because it challenges the priorities of powerful interests and forces them to think in different ways about management, investment, product development, technological innovation, and workplace organization. On the other hand, conversion presents a concrete and achievable alternative to military dependency. As Dumas says: "We understand the nature of this transition problem. We know how to deal with it. It just takes some time, some energy, and some effort to go about it."

> *"They shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. But they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree; and none shall make them afraid."*
>
> *—Micah 4:3-4*

Conversion: A Strategy for Economic Renewal

Marion Anderson

One of the central fears which fuels the arms race and the huge military buildup, is the anxiety of the people who work on military contracts that they will lose their jobs if the contracts are cut or terminated. This fear has been skillfully exploited by those who wish to keep the arms race going. This fear can be ended or alleviated by a combination of careful planning and conversion legislation. In fact, conversion can be a great opportunity for this country to move both towards industrial rebirth and full employment.

To see the real problems—our real vulnerabilities—all we have to do is look around us at loss of markets, factory closings, high unemployment, low investment, rising energy costs, and deteriorating cities, roads, and public facilities. The perpetual drain-off of resources in the name of "national security" has undermined civilian research and investment and has contributed to our massive unemployment.

If we are to address these serious problems, military spending must be brought under control and brought down. To show what a major reduction in military spending could mean for our country's economy, Employment Research Associates analyzed the employment and occupational impact of a $40 billion economic converison program.

Economic conversion from a military to a civilian economy means shifting the tax money currently being spent on armaments to civilian use. It can mean retooling factories so that they are changed from military to civilian production, retraining people who have been engaged in the production of armaments, and the conversion of bases.

Economic conversion will allow us to satisfy a number of key economic needs simultaneously. New plants and equipment could be bought to make us again competitive in world markets. Some of our most highly trained scientists, engineers and technicians would become available to staff unfilled faculty positions and be available to work in civilian enterprises. Skilled blue collar and white collar workers would become available just as the need for their skills expanded.

In the following analysis, Employment Research Associates used the BLS (Bureau of Labor Statistics) Input-Output model of the economy to determine the impact of a $40 billion reduction in Pentagon purchases of goods and services and a subsequent investment in several key areas: capital investment, alternative energy, high speed rail, and job retraining.

This shift of funds from military to these civilian purchases would result in a net gain of 652,000 jobs. This is a net gain of over 16,000 jobs for every $1 billion transferred.

We suggest the following types of investment:

Capital Investment $15 Billion
+550,000 jobs

In many of our industries, plants and equipment have been allowed to age and deteriorate to alarming levels. The average age of our industrial facilities in 1981 was about twenty years, about double the figure for Japan. In key industries such as machine tools, only 31% of our stock was under ten years old in 1978, whereas in Japan, 61% was under ten years old. Older machinery means less productivity per worker. The result of this lack of productivity can either be the labor "give-backs" of recent history, or a damaging loss of markets to foreign competitors who have either newer machines or lower wages, or a combination thereof.

The allocation of $15 billion for the construction of new factories and the purchase of modern equipment could be an important first step in rebuilding the economy. These factories could be leased either to local businesses, to cooperatives, or to workers. The money would not be given (or lent) to multinational corporations to build more factories abroad while shutting down facilities at home.

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*MARION ANDERSON is Director of Employment Research Associates. This article is a section from the report **Military Spending: An Occupational Hazard, The Impact of Military Spending on Occupations** (see "Where to Go From Here".)*

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Alternative Energy $15 Billion
+622,000 jobs

An important reason for the lack of rapid development of alternative energy industries has been doubts about a firm market for the products. A program of $15 billion to offer low interest residential loans for purchasing and installing solar space and hot water systems would be an important start. This sum would provide the initial funding needed to equip 5,000,000 homes with solar energy equipment.

Development of High Speed Rail Systems $5 Billion
+153,000 jobs

Railroads are the most energy efficient means of moving freight and people. Our railroads have been allowed to deteriorate alarmingly. Rebuilding our railroads could bring back to life many of our critical industries including machine tools and steel. Rebuilding them would require the skills of a vast array of out-of-work Americans including laborers, skilled crafts people, factory workers, and civil engineers.

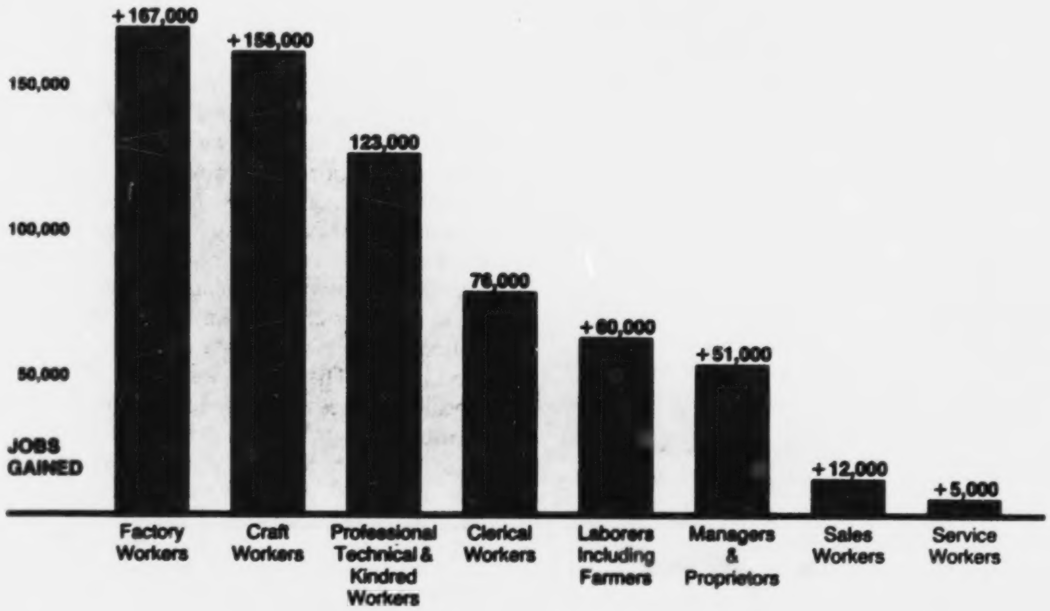
A $5 billion research and development program aimed at the development of high-speed rail and other mass transit systems would be just the beginning of this crucial national endeavor.

Retraining Programs $5 Billion
+278,000 jobs

Many highly skilled individuals presently employed by military contractors, such as aero-astronautic engineers, physicists and mathematicians, will require retraining when military procurement is cut. Thousands of aircraft mechanics and assemblers, shipfitters and ship engineers will need retraining to fill the positions that will be opening up in the converted industries and in the general civilian economy. Other training programs should be established to upgrade the training of unskilled and semi-skilled workers to become the skilled technical workers needed in the newly converted industries.

The structure of our economy is rapidly changing and an effective conversion program will only accelerate the change. Individuals will need assistance in maintaining and improving their skills in order to

**NET JOB IMPACT
OF A $40 BILLION ECONOMIC CONVERSION PROGRAM**



NET GAIN OF JOBS +652,000

play a productive role in the changing civilian economy.

The allocation of $5 billion for educational programs could be one of the most important and best decisions we could make to ensure a healthy economic future with jobs for all.

When the occupational impact of a $40 billion conversion program is examined, the results are clear. People in the vast majority of occupations will gain job opportunities.

Metal workers will reap a bonanza, with 133,300 new jobs opening up. Teachers will gain 102,000 new jobs as the need for skill retraining mounts. Jobs for sales workers and for managers increase dramatically. Over 63,000 jobs in construction would be generated.

Both the impact upon individual occupations and the overall impact upon job creation demonstrate that shifting money out of Pentagon procurement and into needed civilian industries will be a bonanza for the hard pressed, the unemployed, and the economy as a whole.

Where to Go from Here

Conversion Planning Assistance

Center for Economic Conversion (formerly the Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project). 222C View Street, Mountain View, CA 94041, (415) 968-8798.

A national resource for conversion planning. CEC is developing a computerized database of conversion information resources, assisting local conversion organizing, helping develop state and national legislation, and organizing conferences.

Publications

Plowshare Press, $20/yr ($10/yr limited income), bimonthly, from the Center for Economic Conversion (see above).

The Military in Your Backyard: How to Determine the Impact of Military Spending in Your Community. A 150-page workbook. Includes extensive references. To order, contact the Center for Economic Conversion (see above).

How to Research your Local Military Contractor. The Highlander Research and Education Center. 16 pp., $3 from Highlander, Rte. 3, Box 370, New Market, TN 37820.

Converting the Work Force: Where the Jobs Would Be. Employment Research Associates. $3 + 20% postage and handling from ERA, 474 Hollister Building, Lansing, MI 48933, (517) 485-7655.

The Economic Consequences of a Nuclear Freeze. William Hartung. The complete study, by the Council on Economic Priorities in book form (140 pp.); provides a detailed assessment, data, and an explanation of research methods. $14.00 postpaid or free with membership; 20% off ($9.55) in quantities of five or more. Regular membership $25, limited income/student membership $10. The Council on Economic Priorities, 30 Irving Place, New York, NY 10003.

Military Spending: An Occupational Hazard; The Impact of Military Spending on Occupations. Employment Research Associates, $2. (See address above.)

Are You Considering a Career in the Defense Industry? High Tech Professionals for Peace, 639 Massachusetts Ave., Room 316, Cambridge, MA 02139, (617) 497-0605.

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Socially Responsible Investing

Dollars are to the economy as votes are to politics.

Catherine Burton

Introduction

Talking about investing money may seem far from the point when the concern is stopping or preventing violence in the world, but there is a fundamental connection. By providing our money for a bank or a corporation to use, we are saying, in effect, "I support what you are doing and here is the use of my money to help you do it." Usually we have little or no idea of the results of our investments, and often these results may be just the opposite of what we would choose. Our money may help institutionalize poverty in a Third World country, or help build weapons, nuclear or conventional, or contribute to polluting the planet.

Socially responsible investing is simply the process of taking control of your money and making sure it is being used in ways that accord with your principles. This chapter is an introduction to the idea and to the field.

Investing for Peace: A New Dimension in Political Activism

Thomas H. Stoner, Jr.

A growing number of churches, colleges, pension funds, and personal investors have begun to invest for peace by developing investment strategies that encourage weapons producers contracted with the Department of Defense (DoD) and the Department of Energy (DoE) to convert their operations toward the production of socially useful activity. For some, investing in peace actually involves holding stock in Lockheed, General Dynamics, and a host of other aerospace and military-related companies to try to sway fellow stockholders to divest their company's contracts with the DoD and DoE. The other approach is to divest any holding in weapons contracted companies and establish a method by which the social and financial merit of potential investments are screened. These alternative investments benefit the economy, environment, and society as a whole, while still reaping the highest possible return.

Developing a peace investment strategy, as with any investment portfolio strategy, requires both an intellectual framework and specific, definable goals. Many investors believe that military investment and spending diverts capital away from socially useful activities and funnels it to a handful of large, already heavily capitalized companies. For them, such investment is unwise and is financially imprudent from a macro-economic perspective. Social investors also hold that excessive dependence on the military sector of the economy is "socially injurious" and therefore strive to discourage this activity and improper use of capital.

Using their power to invest, divest, or promote stockholders' rights, investors can help inspire research and a process which would promote conversion of companies in the military industry. The objective of investing in peace, therefore, becomes building political and financial pressure on military companies to move from military production toward meeting human needs through civilian production. Such socially responsible activities demonstrate the social and economic attractiveness of an economy geared to the promotion of human services rather than excessive dependence on military activity.

Social investors are confronting a number of issues which prompt a useful dialogue for evaluating the merits of continued cold war versus disarmament. Arguing against the stance that a large military arsenal outweighs its costs, social investors have worked to document military spending as an actual detriment to the health of a sustained economy, nuclear and chemical weapon stockpiling as environmentally costly, and excessive reliance on military strength as destabilizing to the international-political environment.

They have rebutted the argument that military spending is necessary for the economy. Since World War II, it has often been argued that military spending stimulates the economy by generating increased productivity and employment. The Keynesian philosophy of the 1940s and early 1950s postulated that the American economic system naturally suffers from insufficient demand, and military spending provides an ideologically acceptable stimulant for economic growth. President Reagan's supply-side theory has also supported the Keynesian idea: increased military spending has meant "more business and less government sponsoring of social programs."

Although World War II did in fact help the U.S. spend its way out of the Great Depression, since then it has become increasingly obvious that, over the long term, military spending has had exactly the opposite effect. "Today, unlike the 1940s and 1960s, we can no longer afford large levels of military spending," says Bob DeGrasse, Jr., Research Fellow at the Council on Economic Priorities, a New York-based research group. "Military spending essentially yields no product useful for consumption, or even further production, and has created difficulties of capital formation—consuming the best of the nation's scientists and engineers."

Social investors have also pointed out that heavily capitalized weapons manufacturers have gained excessive power in affecting democratic decision mak-

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ing and economic development. Nearly two-thirds of the total dollar value of DoD contracts awarded are concentrated among the 100 largest recipients. With this vast capital income and prestigious weight, military-contracted companies have aggressively strengthened their ties with government. Through extensive lobbying of Congress, big PAC contributions, and engaging in propaganda campaigns, these weapons manufacturers have continued to instill a cold war mentality in the government, press, and public.

Social investors have argued that weapons manufacturing poses a serious threat to environmental safety and human and natural resources. There is, of course, no question that nuclear war would cause catastrophic environmental damage. But social investors point out the often neglected fact that even the *manufacturing* of nuclear weapons causes human and environmental damage. Extracting uranium from the earth exposes miners to toxic radiation. Nuclear materials must be transported from extraction facilities to production sites by rail and roadway, which increases the possibility of radiation spills and leaks.

They have also argued that the development of chemical and biological weapons pose the same dangers as nuclear weapons. Chemical weapons such as defoliants, Agent Orange, napalm, and other incendiary weapons were used by the U.S. in the Vietnam War, resulting in an ecological imbalance of Southeast Asia. The transportation, production, and storage of these weapons run the risk of accidental release as well.

Furthermore, social investors charge that the cold war fervor stirred by weapons manufacturers has prompted the development and eventual deployment of destabilizing strategic weapon systems. The propagandizing of the Soviet threat has prompted the public and government to back the development of new weapon systems, even though they actually work to undermine peace. The MIRVed missile (a missile containing several independently targetable warheads), for example, is a weapon system that has actually increased the perception that the United States or the Soviet Union could launch a successful first strike. This raises the likelihood that nuclear weapons would actually be used in a crisis situation.

Proxy Resolutions and Peace Investing

Many church groups and religious activists have suggested buying shares of the top weapons manufacturers and using shareholder proxy resolutions to bring corporate responsibility to the defense industry. They have chosen proxy resolutions because they are designed to increase the voice of common stockholders. Through investment and cosponsorship of resolutions, this group of social investors hopes to build up enough internal support to request military contracted companies to take a political stand with regard to their contracts with the DoD and DoE and the development of military weapons for nuclear and space warfare.

> *"The use of the modern technology of war is the most striking example of corporate sin and the prostitution of God's gifts."*
>
> *—Church of England bishops, 1978*

Many of the proxy resolutions have asked companies to consider their ethical obligation to society. Citing moral and ethical criticisms of the nuclear arms race, the proxy resolutions ask shareholders to have the company divest its military-contracted business.

Valerie Heinonen, Director of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility's Military Program, says that "Churches and other religious groups have taken on proxy resolutions in order to promote greater corporate responsibility among these corporations. The majority of proponents of the proxies believe that Churches must use their endowments and stockholders' rights to take witness to the issues of corporate responsibility and the growing threat of nuclear war." Heinonen recognizes the importance of the board room in corporate decision making, and says, "We need to inform all people, so collectively we can make better decisions. Proxy resolutions offer an excellent way to do this."

The IRRC reported that 81 resolutions were submitted to more than 60 corporations in 1984. Eight companies were asked to disclose their criteria for weapons contracting, two were asked for disclosure of their space weapons and DoD contracts, and one company for a termination of its contract with the DoD, according to Heinonen. Many of the votes on these resolutions carried the 5% needed to resubmit the proxies in the following year and have drawn quite a bit of attention.

The Securities and Exchange Commission last year designed new laws limiting proxy resolutions. Now shareholders have to own $1,000 of a company's stock for at least one year prior to the date of filing the proxy. This action makes it more difficult for social investors to get involved in the process, but it demonstrates the power of how such an individual effort can test the traditional means of changing corporate behavior.

Divestiture and Investing in Peace

The majority of wealth in the United States, which consists of pension funds, trust accounts, and college and church endowments, is controlled by a small group of money managers. Historically, these money managers have had a very orthodox view of what constitutes a responsible investment. They have viewed the measurement of social costs and benefits as largely irrelevant in defining the goals of an investment portfolio. Recently, people are becoming aware of where their money is invested and how they can invest their money to meet financial objectives while promoting social goals. This is giving rise to a new breed of investors who believe that there are both financial and social bottom lines.

By divesting from companies involved in weapons manufacturing, social investors are using their money to encourage military-contracted companies to redefine their relationship with the DoD and DoE. Furthermore, by divesting and rechanneling investment from armament production into such industries as solar energy, energy efficient housing, education, waste management, mass transportation, progressive food companies, and alternative health care, investors are providing a political criterion for the future direction of economic development.

If extensive divestiture ($10 to $100 billion) were to occur, social investors would increase the cost of financing the production of weapons. The flow of capital to other industries would create a greater demand for alternative securities and decrease the value of the stock of weapons contractors. When a weapons manufacturer tries to issue more common stock to increase its financial position, it would have to issue a greater number of shares. As each share is issued, the earnings per share would be further diluted. Other company stockholders, upset by this decrease in earnings per share, would want to seek out other investments despite any motivation by political, philosophical, or ethical concerns.

The result would likely be that large sums of capital could be freed, becoming available to smaller and less capitalized companies. The demand for the securities of the alternative companies would likely rise, pushing the stock price up. By causing a higher stock price, investors would reduce the cost of equity financing (which is issuing common stock to raise money for further growth) for these industries. In this way, social investors would be contributing to the health of our economy.

By taking aggressive action, social investors will be effectively expressing their opposition to increased military spending and their advocacy of peace. The divestment from weapons manufacturers is a direct action which will have an effect, no matter how large or small. Reinvestment would be defining the alternative of directing our capital toward meeting human needs. And in this way, investors would be promoting the idea of peace.

Reinvesting in Peace

To meet the need of social investors, a number of mutual funds and investment advisory groups are sprouting up across the country. Our firm, Franklin Research and Development Corporation, is an investment management firm for socially concerned clients. We also publish a newsletter, *Insight,* that gives investors social and financial information on leading investments in the stock market, as well as trends in social investment.

There are also mutual funds, including Pax World Fund in New Hampshire, Calvert Social Fund in Washington DC, and Working Assets in San Francisco, California. Other investment advisory firms include U.S. Trust in Boston and Strategic Investing in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Brokers interested in social investing, such as Amy Domini at Mosley, Hallgarten, and Estabrook in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Bob Schwartz at Shearson American Express in New York, are also springing up in major brokerage houses across the country.

The kinds of companies which social investors include in their portfolios are such firms as AFG Industries (a large glass manufacturer which has taken the lead in developing solar and energy efficient glass), Quaker Oats (noted for its more nutritional foods and its nondiscriminatory employment policies), and Herman Miller (noted for its progressive employee relations and innovative product design). Other, more progressive financial investments include revolving loan funds, such as that offered by the Institute for Community Economics in Greenfield, Massachusetts, which has been set up to provide low-interest loans to build housing in underdeveloped communities. The investment offers a socially beneficial service at minimal risk to the investor.

Finally, people *must begin to realize their own potential to be involved in the peace and divestment effort.* Investing in the broadest context includes choices about consumption and employment, as well as wealth. We as consumers usually have a choice over which brand of product we purchase. Many of us can choose who we work for. By sitting on church committees, school boards, and other businesses and organizations that invest money, there should be no question that concerned individuals can begin a successful divestiture campaign. Pension funds alone constitute over $1 trillion dollars and are expected to increase to $3 trillion by 1995. Adding church and school endowments and personal savings to pension funds, these investment efforts would greatly further the goal of peace.

Putting Your Money Where Your Heart Is

Susan Meeker-Lowry

There are many positive actions we can take in our everyday lives to help bring peace to our critically troubled world. One of the most powerful tools we have is our economic power. This is true whether we are rich or poor. We take this power with us when we enter the grocery store, when we purchase an appliance, when we open an account at the bank and when we decide how we will invest for our future. More and more people are beginning to "put their money where their heart is," which is the basic premise behind what is called social or ethical investing. Social investors feel we can no longer afford to separate our financial selves from the rest of our lives. Investments are an extension of the investor. They say, "I support this company. I want it to succeed." It is becoming more obvious to many people that a company cannot be successful (especially in the long term) if it wantonly pollutes the earth, makes weapons with the potential to totally annihilate us all, exploits its workers or other countries' people and resources or produces a poor quality, basically useless product or service. We can no longer afford—socially or financially—to support irresponsible companies that endanger the very future we are investing for. Recently, social investing has received much publicity. It has even been called a trend—as opposed to a here-today-gone-tomorrow fad! There have been articles in such diverse publications as *Registered Representative, Barrons, CoEvolution Quarterly, New Age Journal, Wall Street Journal, Amicus, Mother Earth News*—to list just a fraction—as well as in hundreds of newsletters and local papers around the country.

> *More and more people are beginning to "put their money where their heart is," which is the basic premise behind what is called social or ethical investing.*

The concept of social investing is not new. The first groups of investors involved were mostly church groups, religious and utopian communities. In the '60s and early '70s, because of Vietnam and Watergate, nonprofits, universities and a few individuals joined. The Pax World Fund was initiated in 1971 in direct response to the Vietnam War with a policy not to invest in companies with defense contracts. In 1972 Dreyfus Third Century became the next fund launched, but it was 10 more years before the present movement really began with any kind of momentum. There are now five socially responsible mutual funds, each with its own social screen—what it will and will not invest in. In general they avoid nuclear weapons production, involvement with South Africa or other repressive regimes, environmental pollution, bad employee relations, discriminatory practices, government T Bills. Contact the individual funds for their own screen and prospectus. The investor has a wide choice of investment programs available through these funds from IRA accounts and managed growth portfolios to the very liquid money market account. Initial minimum investments range from $250 (Pax World Fund) to $2650 (New Alternatives). So far this year two socially responsible money funds (Calvert and Working Assets) have been yielding over 9% and are among the top money markets—social screen or not.

SUSAN MEEKER-LOWRY is co-editor of ***Good Money: The Newsletter of Social Investing*** *and editor of* ***Catalyst: Investing in Social Change.*** *Good Money is a worker-owned business that conducts research and publishes information for social and alternative investors. Susan is also on the board of editorial advisors for* ***New Options Newsletter*** *and a member of many social change organizations. She is the mother of three boys, and ensuring their future is most important to her.*

Not for Us to Reason Why

In response to a shareholder resolution which called for the establishment of ethical criteria to govern the acceptance of military contracts, GTE Corporation responded as follows: "It is the responsibility of the United States Government to determine the nation's foreign policy interests and to decide which programs are necessary for an effective defense policy. It is inappropriate to substitute corporate or shareholder judgment for government judgement in these areas." (GTE Notice of Annual Meeting, March 1984)

from *Plowshare*, (May-June 1984).

Besides putting money in a mutual fund, an investor *can* find responsible companies to invest in as part of his or her portfolio. The first step is to decide what to avoid (this is usually the easy part!) and what to support (for example: appropriate technology, alternative energy, workplace democracy, high quality goods and services produced in an environmentally conscious way, wholistic approaches to health and medical technologies, innovative building ideas, etc.). The amount of risk the investor is able to take must be considered as well as what percentage of the total investment portfolio is needed for liquidity. There are money managers, financial planners and brokers around the country who will work with investors to develop a well-balanced and socially responsible portfolio that should bring the return the investor needs. Investors can help their own brokers and money managers to become aware of their social concerns and take them into consideration when making investments by taking a more active part in some of the research that goes into the decisions. For example, the investor could join an organization or subscribe to a publication that provides social (and financial, too) information on corporations and their practices and share this with the broker or manager. Useful sources include: Council on Economic Priorities, the Data Center, GOOD MONEY, Resource Publishing Group, the Funding Exchange, Interfaith Center of Corporate Responsibility, Investor Responsibility Research Center (see "A Guide to Socially Responsible Investing," this chapter). There is plenty of well-documented evidence that taking social concerns into investment decisions does not lower financial return as long as the financial concerns are also taken into consideration. In fact, many social investors actually make more money than they did before cleaning up their portfolios! There are numerous organizations, books and newsletters available that enable the investor to do a lot of his/her own research. The Social Investment Forum is an organization/network of members including people from the socially responsible money funds, brokers, financial planners, money managers, research organizations, publishers of books and newsletters, community economic development planners, etc.

Social investing can mean more than exchanging "bad" investments for "good." Individuals are becoming more concerned about having healthy local economies and keeping our money "at home." Although it can be difficult to do this in some communities (unless you own your own business), it is becoming increasingly possible. Making loans to small businesses that you support and have done much thorough research on—with professional help, if necessary—is one way of investing locally. However, most people are leery of making direct loans to business people who may also be friends. Problems can arise on both sides and these personal loans should be very carefully drawn up to take into consideration all possible future problems. It *can* be done, however, and Roger Pritchard is one individual who has been making loans successfully to small businesses for many years. His process of careful screening and making provisions for arbitration, should disputes evolve, has resulted in many successful loans. Supporting local businesses by being their customers is also *most* necessary to keep our communities healthy.

Some organizations such as the Institute for Community Economics have revolving loan funds (RLF),

Nuclear Free Investments

Thirteen Roman Catholic congregations in the Chicago area have withdrawn $1.8 million in stocks and bonds from fifteen nuclear weapons-related corporations. The corporations include AT&T, Boeing, DuPont, Ford, GE, General Dynamics, GTE-Sylvania, Honeywell, IBM, and Westinghouse. Sr. Mary Frances Schafer, B.V.M., National President of the Sisters of Charity and spokesperson for the congregations, said that the divestment action was seen as a last-step measure. As shareholders, they had tried for years through dialogue and resolutions to change the corporations' nuclear weapons policies, but to no avail.

From *Fellowship* (May/June, 1983)

Putting our money where our hearts are is one more, potentially very powerful way to integrate our lives and work for peace—and a sustainable future.

which enable individual investors and institutions to loan money to the fund, which in turn loans it—at below market rates in most cases—to cooperatives and other democratically run small businesses, worker-owned businesses, low-income housing projects, land trusts and other economically, environmentally and socially sustainable projects. Each fund has its own purpose and some (ICE's for example) actually allow the individual investor to state his/her rate of return and method of repayment. Money can be loaned for zero interest on up to the market rate, and it will be accepted, if there is a need for money at that rate. Naturally, the lower the profit desired by the investor, the easier it is to place the money with a needy project. ICE, and other funds as well, provide technical assistance both in the preparation of proposals (to get matching or additional funding from banks or other lending or grant making institutions) as well as in the actual carrying out of the project. This insures that there will be a very low default rate. As of this writing, ICE has had *no* defaults! ICE also works with organizations to help them set up their own local revolving loan fund and also helps with land trusts.

There are other ways of keeping our money close to home as well. Some research on local banks may surprise you! Perhaps there is one in your town that invests its money within the state by loaning money for housing and small businesses. Check out credit unions. Credit unions exist for their members who share a common bond such as geographical location, place of employment or are members of an association. This can provide for a more committed and accountable group resulting in less risky loans and a more open loan policy—taking the individual into account rather than just the answers on the loan application. Members can buy shares which earn dividends that depend on the income earned by the credit union after expenses or they can have deposit accounts which earn a fixed rate of interest. For a list of women and minority owned banks and credit unions in your state, send SASE to the Council on Economic Priorities.

Another interesting program, which can be used as a model for similar programs around the country, is SHARE (Self-Help Association for a Regional Economy). SHARE is a loan collateralization program. Members open a savings account in their cooperating local bank and these accounts are used as collateral for regular bank loans to small businesses producing necessary goods and services for their area as determined by the careful screening of SHARE's board of directors, who are elected by the members. Interest received on these accounts is less than what could be made if the money were invested elsewhere, but for many alternative investors the positive social change the investment helps bring about is more important than a large financial return.

More investors are earmarking a percentage of their total portfolio for what I call social change investments. These can include loans to the previously mentioned RLFs or a loan collateralization program, but there are many other possibilities as well. Some nonprofit organizations have interest-free loan programs. You loan money to an organization with such a program which then invests it using only the interest earned for the organization's projects. At the end of the predetermined loan period, the original amount of the loan is returned. You have not made a profit, but you *do* receive a tax deduction (provided the organization has 501(c)(3) status) and the same money can be loaned in this manner again and again. Many important and necessary projects cannot be completed without this interest-free money. Tax deductible donations are also important and can provide valuable tax breaks for those with high incomes.

One of the most powerful tools we have is our economic power. This is true whether we are rich or poor.

Nonprofit organizations are beginning to see that starting a for-profit subsidiary to help support the "parent" will be more reliable, in the long run, than relying on government money or private grants. Such organizations are often looking for loans from social investors or for limited partners to get these money making efforts off the ground.

The opportunities for investing in social change are limitless. You *must* do your research very carefully. Remember, a decision to invest in a project that isn't well planned and managed, and therefore doesn't succeed, not only loses your money, but the positive social change you were hoping to bring about doesn't occur either. You must also realize that social change investments can be very high risk.

Aside from the personal financial decisions we all make, we can also help our towns, cities and states use *our* money to work for peace by organizing and informing people about the potentially powerful Nuclear Free Zone movement and by supporting other nuclear free ordinances at the voting booth. Although many cities and towns have voted that they want to be "nuclear free," Takoma Park, Maryland (12/12/83) and Amherst, Massachusetts (5/17/84) are the first two towns to declare that they will do *no* business with nuclear weapons producers. Ordinances were passed that a socially responsible investment policy and plan for implementation be proposed and adopted. In order to be eligible for city contracts or awards the company (or person/organization) cannot be engaged in *any* aspect of research, production, transportation, etc. of nuclear weapons or components. Nuclear Free America (NFA) will provide you with an information packet, a copy of their newsletter and help on getting a Nuclear Free Zone movement started in your town or city.

This kind of "mass divestment" strategy advocated by NFA and many other organizations such as ICCR and IRRC (mentioned previously) and individuals *can* have a very powerful effect. For example, Michigan, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Washington, DC, and the city of Philadelphia have all passed laws barring South African investments by their governments. Many universities and organizations as well as individuals have also divested of South African investments. So—it is *not* impossible to get peaceful investment policies legislated. But it *will* require lots of hard work, dedication, door knocking—and prayer!

There are other, less obvious ways we can use our economic power to work for peace and bring about a "peace consciousness." When an organization or business we are involved with needs to make a purchase such as an appliance or piece of office equipment, we can do some research on the various manufacturers of such products and purchase from the most "peaceful" company. We should discuss the process with co-workers *and* write the companies we didn't support and tell them why. Being on the school board provides similar possibilities—not to mention the opportunity to initiate a peace curriculum for the children, which could also address the issue of using our money in a peaceful and responsible way.

We can no longer afford—socially or financially—to support irresponsible companies that endanger the very future we are investing for.

We are truly a global society. Our ability to communicate instantly with anyone, practically anywhere in the world, is now a reality. As a result we are becoming increasingly aware of our connection to the rest of the world and—most importantly—our responsibility to it. We are concerned about the health of the planet and its ability to sustain quality life for future generations. We are concerned about our work and how it relates to our personal lives. We are aware of how important it is to live our lives free from fear, distrust and passivity. More and more of us are choosing to live our everyday lives in peace and harmony. And we know that whenever we are successful, these positive feelings spread to our family, friends and gradually outward to the community (and the world!) at large. Putting our money where our hearts are is one more, potentially very powerful, way to integrate our lives and work for peace—and a sustainable future.

(Ed. note: The organizations and individuals mentioned in this article are listed in "A Guide to Socially Responsible Investing.")

A Guide to Socially Responsible Investing

This directory is a guide to a number of investment opportunities, advisors, and sources of information. It is presented for information only and does not represent the recommendations of *The Peace Catalog* or of any of the contributors to the Guide. If you are interested in any of the investment opportunities listed here, you should consult with the organizations directly and with your financial advisor.

The majority of listings in this Guide are from the *EarthBank Guide to Socially Responsible Investing*, which will be included in the forthcoming *EarthBank Guide to a Sustainable Economy*, edited by Catherine Burton and Geralynn McPhee (see EarthBank listing below). Additional listings are from Susan Meeker-Lowry of *Good Money*, the Council on Economic Priorities, and *The Money Guide*. Each is listed below.

Positive and Negative Screens

The following social/environmental/ethical screens have been used in evaluating businesses and their products and services. Consult your conscience and determine what values are important to you.

Support

- Products, services, and companies concerned with environmental protection, such as anti-pollution and air safety devices; clean industries mindful of energy policy and using renewable energy sources
- Products and services to meet basic needs
- Companies which engage in economic democracy, equal opportunity employment, worker safety and quality of life at the workplace. These include worker-owned and managed businesses and other businesses which support community self-reliance and are sensitive to good labor and community relations.
- Companies which produce durable, high-quality, recyclable, repairable, useful goods and services, including energy-conserving and efficient housing and hardware
- Companies dedicated to ecologically sustainable land use
- Efficient mass transport networks
- Companies engaged in appropriate health care services and products
- Companies which employ ethical advertising and relevant media

Avoid

- Products, services and industries which are ecologically damaging or polluting. These include companies without a mindful energy policy
- Nuclear weapons and nuclear power industries
- Companies which engage in exploitive, repressive, and discriminatory practices, including discrimination on the basis of age, sex, race, handicaps; exploitation of Third World peoples; and investments which support the economies of repressive regimes
- Companies which produce nondurable, unsafe, useless, or wasteful consumer goods and services or energy-inefficient housing and hardware
- Companies which engage in erosive land use
- Inefficient or wasteful transport industries
- Companies involved with addictive substances and systems including tobacco, alcohol, and gambling
- Companies which use false advertising and exploitive media
- All weapons and defense industries
- Animal exploitation and abuse projects

Conventional Money Market Funds

CALVERT SOCIAL INVESTMENT FUND
MONEY MARKET PORTFOLIO
1700 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20006
Contact: Grace Parker
(301) 951-4810 or (800) 368-2748

This socially responsible money market fund is invested in U.S. government agency securities including the Federal Farm Credit Association, Student Loan Marketing Association, and Bank for

Cooperatives and other government obligations meeting the Calvert criteria. Minimum investment is $250. It includes checkwriting and automatic cash withdrawals.

SOUTH SHORE BANK OF CHICAGO
71st and Jeffrey Blvd.
Chicago, IL 60649
Contact: Joan Shapiro
(312) 861-0630

A full service commercial bank acquired by the Illinois Neighborhood Development Corporation in 1973 dedicated to neighborhood revitalization through federally insured CDs and money market funds. Safe, sound, and successful in rebuilding local communities while being financially stable and profitable.

WORKING ASSETS MONEY FUND
230 California Street
San Francisco, CA 94111
Contact: Jerome L. Dodson
(800) 543-8800 or (415) 989-3200

A new fund that is determined to be competitive in terms of safety, liquidity, and yield with banks and other money market funds, while choosing investments that meet specific social, ecological, and financial criteria. Investments are in government secured obligations in housing, small business, renewable energy, education, and farms. A strict and extensive negative screen is used to eliminate financing socially discriminatory and ecologically destructive enterprises.

Mutual Funds

CALVERT SOCIAL INVESTMENT FUND
1700 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20006
Contact: Grace Parker
(800) 368-2748

The Managed Growth Portfolio Fund is a mutual fund comprised of investments aimed at providing capital growth. Strict social/ecological criteria are applied in selecting securities having proven track records for environmental responsibility, participatory management, equal employment opportunities, worker safety, and quality products and services. Companies involved in nuclear energy, South African investments, and weapon systems are screened out. Steven Moody at the U.S. Trust Company in Boston in the fund's manager. The fund has shown a dramatic rise in investors during its first year, as more people search for responsible investments. Minimum investment is $1,000.

DREYFUS THIRD CENTURY FUND
600 Madison Avenue
New York, NY 10022
(800) 223-5523

This common stock mutual fund gives consideration to environmental protection, occupational health and safety, consumer protection and product purity, and equal employment opportuntiies. Growth in value has been quite respectable. Minimum investment is $2,500.

NEW ALTERNATIVES FUND
295 Northern Blvd., Suite 300
Great Neck, NY 11021
(516) 466-0808

A mutual fund comprised of solar and alternative energy investments that increased 25% in value in 1983. Minimum investment is $2,650.

NEW CONCEPTS FUND
100 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10017
(212) 679-3620

This fund evaluates management attitudes toward customers, employees, neighbors and society in general. In addition, it reviews product lines and manufacturing processes. Selected companies are those that, on balance, contribute more to the world than they take out of it.

PAX WORLD FUND
224 State Street
Portsmouth, NH 03801

This mutual fund was organized by the Methodist Board of Christian Social Concerns. It seeks to screen out defense-related industries and invest in housing, health care, and pollution control. Minimum investment is $250.

Revolving Loan Funds

Revolving loan funds exist to support community/regional groups by providing capital, technical assistance, and special interest support networks. Capital is provided by individual and institutional lenders or through the sale of debentures. Terms vary, but range from short to medium term loans (1 to 10 years) and low to moderate interest (0 to 10%). These funds have been quite successful in meeting loan agreements. Loan funds are one of the best ways of using surplus capital in supporting producer, consumer, and distrubution cooperatives and other forms of worker-owned businesses; community developments; and low-income housing projects, land trusts, and alternative energy companies.

BREAD AND ROSES REVOLVING LOAN FUND
1425 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, PA 19102
(215) 563-0636

Founded in June 1984, this fund became operational in October 1984. Its purpose is to make loans in support of community-change organizations in and around the Delaware Valley. The Fund will be managed at first in conjunction with the Institute for Community Economics and will be modeled on ICE's revolving loan fund. As with ICE's fund, individuals will be able to lend the Fund monies at an interest rate and term of their own choosing.

CHRISTIANS FOR URBAN JUSTICE:
HOME OWNERSHIP REVOLVING FUND
563A Washington Street
Dorchester, MA 02124
(617) 825-6080

Minimum investment is $500 for two years at no interest. The Fund finances the renovation of small apartment buildings in low-income sections of Boston. The aim is to provide housing at about half the cost of a privately financed project. After two years, repayment is at the discretion of the investor. Repayment requires six months notice.

COMMUNITY INVESTMENT FUND
INSTITUTE FOR COMMUNITY ECONOMICS
151 Montague City Road
Greenfield, MA 01301
(413) 774-5933

This revolving loan fund negotiates loans with terms set by lenders to support community land trusts, low-income housing, cooperative businesses, and community development projects in both rural and urban areas. The fund has grown to over $1,000,000 and helped efforts in more than a dozen states. As a successful model of a community development loan fund, ICE provides assistance in developing loan funds as well as technical assistance in land, housing, and small business enterprises. Publishes a handbook on Land Trusts and the Community Economics newsletter on investment development strategies, land trusts, and community development. A valuable resource.

COOPERATIVE FUND OF NEW ENGLAND
Braintree Hill Road
Randolph, VT 05060
(802) 728-9728

The Coop revolving loan fund receives capital from individual investors. It makes low-interest loans to consumer, producer, and worker cooperatives in New England. The Coop Fund has been successful in the last 9 years and is now seeking longer term low-interest loans for expanded services.

ECUMENICAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATIVE SOCIETY
475 Riverside Drive, Room 1003
New York, NY 10115
(212) 870-2665

Operating since 1977, the purpose of the EDCS is to provide long-term, low-interest loans to cooperatively owned businesses being started by the poor in countries around the world, particularly developing nations. EDSC is an international organization headquartered in the Netherlands. It was founded by the World Council of Churches, has primarily church membership, and sees one of its primary goals as "challenging" churches in developed and developing nations to make below-market-rate investments in projects that have "a social return along with a yearly dividend." It has invested in cattle and sheep raising projects in Chile, a housing project in India, a beekeeping project in Turkey, and a shrimp and fish farm in Indonesia. EDCS is now capitalized at $7 million. Since 1981, it has made 18 loans totalling nearly $5 million. It has had no defaults. Individuals can invest in EDSC subvention certificates. These pay an annual dividend that varies at EDCS' discretion, but cannot exceed six percent. Dividends in 1982 were two percent. The certificates can be purchased in multiples of $250 and are redeemable after two years at EDCS's discretion.

FUND FOR AN OPEN SOCIETY
1427 Vine Street
Philadelphia, PA 19102
(215) 568-6715

This fund acquires capital through lender grants and/or purchases of debentures and mortgages or mortgage-backed notes. Funds are used to grant loans for low-income housing to single families and tenant cooperatives. As a mortgage lender in Philadelphia, Washington DC, and Atlanta, the fund has loaned close to $2 million without foreclosure or loan defaults.

HABITAT FOR HUMANITY
419 West Church Street
Americus, GA 31709
(912) 924-6935

An offshoot of Koinonia Partners, Habitat is a religiously oriented fund that constructs low-cost housing for the poor. It sells these houses at cost with 20-year mortgages carrying no interest. Habitat works with affiliates in 51 cities in the U.S. and has projects in 12 countries abroad. In 1983, it was involved in the construction of about $2 million in housing. The Fund receives about 20 percent of its capitalization from no-interest loans. Individuals may lend the fund any amount at zero percent interest. Loans may be directed to specific projects or specific countries.

INDUSTRIAL COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION REVOLVING LOAN FUND
249 Elm Street
Somerville, MA 02144
Contact: Laura J. Henze
(617) 628-7330

The ICA has a revolving loan fund designed to provide risk capital to finance worker cooperatives in low-income and blue-collar communities. Loan capital is currently provided by institutions, with a future possibility of accepting individual investors.

JUBILEE HOUSING
1750 Columbia Road NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 332-4020

Accepts any size investment at zero to six percent interest, set by the investor. Investment may be terminated or recalled by the investor at any time. The Fund finances purchase and renovation of large apartment buildings in Washington, DC for use as low-income housing. Promissory notes are backed by Jubilee Housing's equity in its buildings. A reserve is kept in liquid investments to honor withdrawals.

JUBILEE PARTNERS
Paul and Silas Revolving Bail Fund
Box 68
Comer, GA 30628
(404) 783-5244

Provides a revolving bail fund to free Central American refugees from INS prisons, especially people who are in imminent danger of being deported to death or torture. Freed refugees are prepared for North American culture and assisted with asylum applications for residency in Canada (or elsewhere). When the refugee leaves the U.S., the bail money is returned and used to free someone else. Any amount may be invested and will be returned when and as requested by the investor. No interest.

KOINONIA PARTNERS
Fund for Humanity
Route 2
Americus, GA 31709
(912) 924-0391

Koinonia Partners, a religiously oriented farming community, was founded in 1942. Its Fund for Humanity was set up in 1968. The Fund for Humanity's primary purpose is the construction of affordable housing for low-income families in rural Sumter County, Georgia. The Fund pays for construction of single-family houses, which it also helps build. Construction costs now run about $25,000. These houses are then sold to qualifying families at cost and with a twenty-year mortgage carrying no interest. Mortgage payments average less than $100 monthly. Between 1969 and 1982, the Fund financed the construction of about 100 houses at a cost of approximately $2 million. The size of the Fund's annual expenditures is now about $300,000. It is funded 50 percent from outright gifts, 25 percent from no-interest loans, and 25 percent from mortgage repayments. Individuals may lend the fund any amount at zero percent interest, repayable on 30 days' notice for amounts under $5,000 and 60 days' notice for larger amounts. (In practice, loans are repaid within several days.)

NEW HAMPSHIRE COMMUNITY LOAN FUND
Box 666
Concord, NH 03301
(603) 224-6669

The newly established NHCLF makes loans to New Hampshire organizations unable to obtain financing otherwise. NHCLF was established with the close cooperation of the Institute for Community Economics and is closely modeled on ICE's fund. As of June 1984, NHCLF stood at approximately $100,000. It had made its first loan ($43,000 to a cooperatively owned trailer park). Merchants Savings Bank of Manchester, NH, had also made a commitment to make $25,000 available to NHCLF at favorable rates. Individuals may set the terms of any loan to NHCLF, its interest rate, payment schedule, and any restrictions on type of projects or geographical region for which the funds may be lent out.

SHARE
(Self Help Association for a Regional Economy)
E.F. Schumacher Society
P.O. Box 124A, RD 3
Great Barrington, MA 01230

The SHARE program consists of a passbook savings account through a local bank that provides capital for loans to community businesses. The bank manages the account while a separate board evaluates and decides on the loans and serves as a technical association network.

THE SOUTHERN COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT FUND
P.O. Box 3885
Lafayette, LA 70502
(318) 232-9205

As a minority development bank serving 16 southern states, the SCDF provides loans and assistance to cooperatives, small businesses, and community development enterprises through the sale of debentures. During its successful operation since 1969, the SCDF has become a model for a development bank.

WOMEN'S WORLD BANKING
P.O. Box 1691
Grand Central Station
New York, NY 10017
(212) 759-9660

WWB was created to advance and promote the entrepreneurship of women, particularly women who have not generally had access to the services of established financial institutions. Through the sale of debentures, WWB provides technical assistance and loan guarantee programs in over 20 Third World countries and for groups in the U.S.

Credit Unions

CENTER FOR COMMUNITY SELF-HELP
CREDIT UNION
P.O. Box 3259
413 East Chapel Hill Street
Durham, NC 27705
(910) 683-3016

The SHCU provides loans of up to $5,000 for worker-owners in North Carolina to support start-ups, conversions to, and development of cooperatives. All deposits are insured.

NATIONAL CONSUMER COOP BANK
2000 S Street NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 376-0382

Headquarters for the Federally chartered National Consumer Coop Bank with branch offices in 8 regions of the United States. Services include loans to local coops, technical assistance, and a self-help start-up fund for loans. Does not accept individual deposits.

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT CREDIT UNIONS
577 Sixth Street
Brooklyn, NY 11215
(212) 768-7859

The NFCDCU is comprised of 100 low-income financial cooperatives and credit unions in 34 states. It is dedicated to community development. The credit unions finance housing development, mortgages, cooperatives, and small businesses, as well as personal loans through its Capitalization Program via insured deposits. Management and technical assistance is also provided.

Ethical Investment Advisors and Brokers

AFFIRMATIVE INVESTMENTS
Harvard Square
P.O. Box 801
Cambridge, MA 02238
Contact: Stewart E. Perry
(617) 491-4578

This newly created advisory service focuses on alternative investments (not stocks or bonds) that support disenfranchised populations and community development. Investments are evaluated for social awareness and financial viability.

FINANCIAL ALTERNATIVES
1514 McGee Street
Berkeley, CA 94703
Contact: Roger Pritchard
(415) 527-5604

Advising, consulting, training, and workshops in small business.

FRANKLIN RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT
CORPORATION
222 Lewis Wharf
Boston, MA 02110
Contact: Joan Bavaria
(617) 723-1670

This company specializes in individual money management designed to suit client objectives. Concerned with both social issues and financial performance, FRDC has available the use of computerized social screens. The Insight Newsletter is sent to all clients.

JOHN HARRINGTON
P.O. Box 4321
Napa, CA 94558
(707) 252-4173

An investment advisor who works with individuals and institutions to identify interests and monetary needs. Substantial portfolios only.

MOSELEY, HALLGARTEN, ESTABROOK
& WEEDEN, INC.
44 Brattle Street
Cambridge, MA 02138
Contact: Amy Domini
(800) 225-5372 or (617) 876-5700

Author of the soon-to-be-released book, *Ethical Investing*, Ms. Domini is a stockbroker, lecturer, researcher, and writer on ethical investing. With a full service brokerage house behind her, her services include portfolio management, securities decisions, and tax and retirement planning using client-determined financial and social criteria.

SHEARSON/AMERICAN EXPRESS
666 Fifth Avenue, 12th floor
New York, NY 10103
Contact: Robert J. Schwartz, PhD
(800) 223-6024 or (212) 974-3200

With over 20 years of experience, Dr. Schwartz is one of the leading figures of the socially responsible investment movement. He advises individual and institutional investors and specializes in portfolios designed to exclude investments in defense, nuclear power, South Africa, etc.

STRATEGIC INVESTMENT ADVISORS
142 Lincoln #781
Santa Fe, NM 87501
Contact: Tamsin Taylor
(505) 983-9370

This registered investment advisor service offers financial planning and alternative investment advice, especially involving renewable energy, to individuals, organizations, and institutions. Besides helping investors determine which investments are appropriate, the service is a clearinghouse for alternative investments.

UNITED STATES TRUST COMPANY
30 Court Street
Boston, MA 02108
Contact: Steven Moody, Robert Zevin
(617) 726-7254

As manager of the Calvert Funds, U.S. Trust also provides socially sensitive portfolio management for individuals and institutions with minimum accounts of approximately $250,000. Their experience during the last 10 years, along with their research department, equips them to advise on conventional and alternative investments.

Networks and Membership Organizations

ASSOCIATION OF HUMANISTIC BUSINESS
3508 Lowell Street NW
Washington, DC 20016

Network information on socially responsible business, consumer needs, humanizing the workplace, worker owned/operated business, as well as the needs and resources of members.

THE BUSINESS INITIATIVE
344 West 12th Street
New York, NY 10014
Contact: John Graham
(212) 243-2163

Network of individuals in business who meet monthly to relate business practices with social concerns.

CONSCIOUS COMMERCE
123 West 94th Street
New York, NY 10025

Identifies and supports businesses and projects whose products and services are socially and/or environmentally responsible and that have substantial profit-making potential.

CO-OP AMERICA
2100 M Street NW, Suite 605
Washington, DC 20063

Provides many services to co-ops including insurance; consulting; computer, legal, and job services; and a social investment fund. A national membership association of more than 200 organizations concerned with social and environmental responsibility and a spirit of cooperation in the workplace. Publishes a Catalog of goods and services made and sold by co-operatives and worker owned businesses. Individual memberships $5; organizational memberships $50.

COUNCIL ON ECONOMIC PRIORITIES (CEP)
84 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10011

Very valuable nonprofit organization that researches and reports in an unbiased and detailed fashion on the practices of U.S. corporations. Publishes a newsletter ($25/yr, 10 issues) as well as research papers, reports and books. Their work is indispensable to social investors.

DATA CENTER
464 19th Street
Oakland, CA 94612
(415) 835-4692

Publishes profiles of many major U.S. corporations, consisting of more than 200 pages of clippings from selected newspapers and magazines, organized and bound, a quarterly newsletter, and *Corporate Responsibility Monitor*, a monthly collection of the best articles from 100 newspapers and magazines. Individual memberships $15, organizations $125, include the quarterly newsletter, free reference and research assistance, and discounts on other publications.

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EARTHBANK ASSOCIATION
P.O. Box 87
Clinton, WA 98236

A network of individuals and organizations who feel an ecological, social, and personal resonsibility in their economic and financial activities. Dedicated to the concept of bioregional economics and agriculture, as well as cooperation and sharing among bioregions. Working on establishing an EarthBank Credit Union and revolving loan fund for Cascadia Bioregion. Publishes quarterly newsletter, *EarthBank News*, for $15/yr. EarthBank membership is a one-time fee of $5.

INTERFAITH CENTER ON CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY (ICCR)
475 Riverside Drive, Room 566
New York, NY 10115

Publishes *The Corporate Examiner*, a 10/yr newsletter for church groups and individuals concerned with corporate activity, featuring up-to-date reports on shareholder resolutions and lobbying efforts at a wide variety of U.S. corporations. $25/yr.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR COTTAGE INDUSTRY
P.O. Box 14460
Chicago, IL 60614
Contact: Coralee Smithkean

Publishes a newsletter, organizes conferences, and monitors legislation on cottage industry in the U.S.

NUCLEAR FREE AMERICA
2521 Guilford Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21218
(301) 235-3575

Working on establishing nuclear-free zones around the country. Provides information on the top defense contractors and networking for those interested in social and alternative investing.

NUKEWATCH
315 West Gorham Street
Madison, WI 53703

Has $7.50 "Invest in Peace" organizer's kit with lists of major military contractors, guidelines on how to obtain investment information, suggestions for starting "Invest for Peace" campaigns, a directory of socially responsible investment services, and helpful materials developed by other organizations. Coordinates Nuclear Free Zone activities in the Midwest.

SOCIAL INVESTMENT FORUM
Franklin Research & Development Corporation
222 Lewis Wharf
Boston, MA 02110
Contact: Joan Bavaria
(617) 723-1670

National member organization of individuals, businesses, and organizations involved in social and alternative investing, including brokers, planners, and money managers around the country. Franklin Research also publishes a newsletter, *Insight* (quarterly with monthly updates, $36/yr), with social and financial information. Ms. Bavaria is also a money manager for socially concerned investors with large portfolios.

Directories, Periodicals, and Background Research

(Note: Each of the membership organizations and networks listed above also publishes a newsletter. Some also publish reports and other material.)

THE FUNDING EXCHANGE
135 East 15th St.
New York, NY 10003
(212) 260-8500

A national organization of nine community-based public foundations established to fund grassroots and activist organizations addressing critical social issues. The Funding Exchange and the Bread and Roses Community Fund have prepared the *Directory of Socially Responsible Investments,* which lists 23 firms, organizations, and individuals. The listings include mutual funds, conventional interest-earning instruments, alternative investments, investment advisors, brokers, and resources that deal with nontraditional investments like worker-managed companies, low-income housing, renewable energy, and cooperative enterprises. 32 pages, available for $5.00 from The Funding Exchange.

GOOD MONEY
28 Main Street
Montpelier, VT 05602
(802) 223-3911

A worker-owned business providing research, information, and networking on social investing to individuals and institutions. The Center publishes three nationwide newsletters (availabie for one subscription of $36/yr for individuals): *Good Money* deals with more traditional investment opportunities in publicly traded stocks and bonds with a positive perspective; *Catalyst: Investing in Social Change* is a clearinghouse for alternative investment opportunities in small businesses, cooperatives, and worker-owned businesses, as well as a report on exceptional nonprofits, many with revolving loan funds or other private investment possibilities; *Netbacking* is a networking tool for subscribers. The Center also publishes investor handbooks and provides financial services to area residents.

INVESTOR RESPONSIBILITY RESEARCH CENTER (IRRC)
1319 F Street NW, Suite 900
Washington, DC 20004
(202) 833-3737

Publishes a variety of detailed studies on important topics in book form, primarily intended for institutions involved in socially responsible investing. Most IRRC publications cost about $25. Price list on request.

THE OTHERSIDE
300 W. Apsley St.
Philadelphia, PA 19144

The Money Guide has articles on the money-market and mutual funds that claim to be socially responsible but aren't, on where to find a good bank, and other interesting advice, as well as a detailed directory of funds, and information sources, with evaluations and recommendations. $2.00.

TECHNOLOGY, TRADE AND INVESTMENT
Box 4869, Station E
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 5J1
Canada

Publishes a monthly energy newspaper, *Renewable Energy News,* featuring reports on renewable energy businesses and technology, stock reports, and related information. Available for $28/yr.

RESOURCE PUBLISHING GROUP, INC.
1401 Wilson Blvd., Suite 101
P.O. Box 390
Arlington, VA 22210

Published the *Concerned Investors Guide*, which is a comprehensive guide to the social and environmental practices of corporations.

TRANET-Economics
P.O. Box 567
Rangeley, ME 04970
Contact: Peter Thibeault

TRANET (Transnational Network for Appropriate/Alternative Technologies) is a quarterly newsletter-directory of, by, and for people who are changing the world by changing their own lives and adopting alternative technologies. TRANET has published an alternative economics networking directory in its 1983 fall issue. (EarthBank provided them with various types of information, including responsible investments and philanthropy.) TRANET will update the directory three times a year. $10.00.

"Endless money, the sinews of war." —*Cicero*

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Nonviolent Action

Can there not be a government in which majorities do not virtually decide right and wrong, but conscience?—in which majorities decide only those questions to which the rule of expediency is applicable? Must the citizen even for a moment, or in the least degree, resign his conscience to the legislator? Why has every man a conscience, then? I think that we should be men first, and subjects afterward. It is not desireable to cultivate a respect for law, so much as for the right. The only obligation I have a right to assume, is to do at any time what I think right.

Henry David Thoreau
On the Duty of Civil Disobedience

Those who discovered the law of nonviolence in the midst of violence were greater geniuses than Newton.

Mahatma Gandhi

Introduction

The American tendency to look for technological solutions is well-known. Nowhere is it more evident than in our approach to war, where high-tech is good and higher-tech is better, and more of course is stronger. We are so used to this perspective that we tend to ignore solutions that do not involve technology. We may acknowledge that Ghandi persuaded England to leave India and never used a single weapon, but we learn little from the fact and continue to put our faith in weapons. In fact, sophisticated nonviolent struggle can be superior to armed combat when the objective is social change or defense, and can reduce or eliminate the use of weapons which in a nuclear age is all to the good.

Nonviolent action can be effective because a society, especially a modern society, is completely dependent on the coordinated acts of its citizens. If any significant part of the population begins to be actively non-cooperative that society will have to somehow satisfy their demands. The same can be true even on a national or international scale.

This chapter begins with "Disregarded History," an overview of the history, nature, uses and great power of this approach by Dr. Gene Sharp, one of the leading authorities on the subject.

Following "Disregarded History" are articles on three ways nonviolent action is being used today. Women's Peace Camps are a growing and powerful phenomenon in this country and around the world. The Tracks Campaign focuses the powers of love and close attention on the train that carries nuclear warheads across America—the White Train. And finally, Ed Pearson points out that if we didn't pay for these weapons we wouldn't have them, and discusses what to do about that undeniable, uncomfortable fact.

Disregarded History

The Power of Nonviolent Action

Gene Sharp

Berlin, 1943

It was the late Autumn of 1943 in the capital of the Third Reich, in the midst of the war, towards the end—so far as Germany itself was concerned—of "the Final Solution" to the "Jewish question." The extermination program, and the decision to adopt it, had not been undertaken until the war was well under way, though the Nazis had long wanted to carry out such a program. The Jews who still remained "at liberty," if one could use such a phrase, were predominantly those who had special characteristics which had caused them to be left until the end. Some of them were intellectuals and members of the Berlin artistic community, and some of them were Jews who were married to non-Jews.

On this day, the Gestapo was preparing for final action. Trucks drew up in front of factories and homes to cart off the Jews who remained in Berlin.

All day, the account goes, the trucks rolled through the streets, escorted by armed SS men, and crammed with those for whom this was the beginning of the end. On this day every Jew who was still alive in Germany was arrested and temporarily housed in a prison or camp while awaiting transportation to an extermination camp.

It is said that people on the street who noticed what was happening lowered their eyes and looked away in indifference or shame. They did nothing.

The Jews were taken to various points in Berlin and divided according to "appropriate" bureaucratic categories. Those men who were married to non-Jewish wives were temporarily housed in a prison of the Rosenstrasse near Gestapo headquarters.

Then something happened which had no parallel in the history of the Third Reich.

Somehow or other, their wives found out where they were. They gathered on the Platz outside of the prison and publicly demanded that their Jewish husbands be released: an act of audacity, defiance and courage, certainly. But it was also a demand which flew in the face of the Nazi objective to remake Germany and Europe biologically by exterminating those who were regarded as less than human. *If the Nazis granted the demands of the women, they would have thereby given up one of their supreme objectives.* After a while the women's demonstration broke up, only to reassemble later in the afternoon. When again they shouted and cried above the traffic demanding that their husbands be released. Their husbands came to the windows of the prison defying all orders to the contrary, and again, with great audacity, demanded their own release. Gestapo headquarters was nearby.

Anything you have read or heard or seen on films of the nature of the Nazi system and its methods is almost certainly true. A few machine-guns located on the roofs of buildings could have eliminated the women. But the Gestapo did not shoot them. Not this time. Instead, they consented to negotiate and asked the women to be reasonable. The women continued to insist that their husbands be released. Heinz Ullstein, from whose book the account comes, who was himself one of these men and his wife one of the demonstrators, says that the Nazi regime was shaken by an incident which had no equal in Nazi Germany. The authorities gave reassurances; they spoke soothingly. *And they released the prisoners.*

Guatemala, 1944

It is the following Spring in 1944, on the other side of the Atlantic in Guatemala where General Jorge Ubico had ruled with an iron fist, to say the least, since 1931, and thousands of Guatemalans had been shot for being suspected revolutionaries. Sometimes American magazines described him as the kind of

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dictator that built roads and schools, you know, with the kind of dictatorial regime that is necessary for "development," in the language we use these days. Ubico at the time of Hitler's 1934 blood purge, said "I am like Hitler. I execute first and hold the trial afterwards." Then World War II came, and Ubico, knowing which side of the Atlantic his bread was buttered on, joined the allies. Some American troops were stationed there during the war. There was discussion of the four freedoms for which that war was being fought. Domestic issues were causing unrest, both in the business community and among the working people. But much more dangerously than all of that, in nearby El Salvador, where a significant military revolt against the dictator, Hernandez Martinez, had been crushed, women and then students initiated, and finally the whole population joined in, a nonviolent revolution. Within a couple of weeks, they had totally destroyed the dictatorship. Hernandez Martinez had retired from politics and left the country.

The example was deliberately imitated in Guatemala. The action began slowly, at first. In late May, 45 lawyers publicly asked that the judge who tried most of the civil, as distinct from military, cases of opponents of the regime should be removed from office. Ubico asked for specific charges and amazingly a newspaper was allowed to print them. Then the day before the annual Loyalty Day parade which the teachers and pupils in the schools staged in favor of the dictator, 200 teachers petitioned Ubico for a wage increase. The teachers who drafted the petition were arrested. They were charged with conspiracy against social institutions of the supreme government. Teachers replied the next day with a boycott of the parade and those who boycotted the parade were fired from their jobs.

On the 30th of June, a manifesto announced the formation of a Social Democratic Party and called for the rights of opposition parties for social justice, for a lifting of the terror, and hemispheric solidarity. Students then petitioned for university autonomy—and for the rehiring of two discharged teachers and the release of the law students who had been jailed. They threatened that they would call a students' strike if their demands were not met in full within 24 hours. And since student strikes are almost "innocuous" and "helpless" and "don't really accomplish anything," all Ubico did was declare a state of national emergency. He denounced the opposition as Nazi Fascist. He of all people! And students who knew what had happened to many of the other opposition people became frightened. Some of their leaders took refuge in the Mexican Embassy. But some young lawyers and professional men, in support of the students, refused to submit. Then the school teachers who had not been arrested went on strike. And you know that dictators are always telling us, both dictators-that-are and dictators-to-be, how popular they are. "It is not necessary to have an election because we have unanimity in our country behind the purposes of government," or, "There was a massive plebiscite to indicate we have 99 and 44/100 percent support." Ubico had not done it quite that way, but against charges that he was dictatorial, he had said, "If 300 respected Guatemalans were even to *ask* me to resign without an election, I would resign."

Well, in a few days two men came to the national palace carrying a piece of paper. They delivered "the memorial of the 311," people who had quite literally risked their lives by signing their names demanding that he resign. They explained in the document the reasons for the unrest. They asked for effective constitutional guarantees and for suspension of martial law. The same day students marched past the American Embassy with their hands lowered at their sides to emphasize nonviolent means. The officials seemed surprised with that type of demonstration. That evening there was a peaceful meeting which demanded Ubico's resignation from office.

That night, however, at a neighborhood religious and social celebration, there was an outbreak of violence. Some say people got too drunk. Some say agents were put into the crowd to create violence. Hundreds were beaten and arrested.

The next day the foreign minister summoned to the national palace the two men who had delivered the memorial. The head of the secret police joined them. Simultaneously in front of the national palace there was another demonstration, and, since nonviolent demonstrations are supposedly "helpless" and "innocuous," again the government didn't do "very much." All they did was to summon against it platoons of soldiers, the cavalry, armored cars, tanks, machine guns and police armed with guns and tear-gas bombs. The two men who had been called to the national palace, instead of being arrested or executed, were asked to calm the people. Although all meetings had been banned, they were allowed to consult with other so-called leaders of the movement in order to seek an end to the crisis.

In the afternoon, in response to the beatings and arrests of the previous night, women went to the Church of San Francisco in the center of the city to hold a religious service, and then, dressed in mourning, they left the church, forming an impressive silent procession. The cavalry charged, firing into the crowd of women. Several were wounded, and Maria Chincilla Recinos was killed.

The public response was a silent paralysis. Talks between the opposition and the government were broken off by the opposition. Workers stayed home. Places of recreation closed. Civil servants and workers stayed home. Businessmen shut their stores and offices. The streets were deserted.

Ubico had to engage the foreign diplomatic corps to get another meeting with the opposition. When the delegates of the opposition came into the national palace they were more brazen than ever. They told Ubico to his face that during his rule their country had known nothing but dictatorship and oppression. Ubico insisted that as long as he was President there would be no nonsense of freedom of expression or the press or elections because they, the people, were not ready for it. The question of his resigning was then discussed, and the question of a succession. The delegates left, and later reported to Ubico that it was the unanimous desire of the population that he should resign.

Petitions and messages from important people began pouring into the national palace demanding that Ubico resign. The silent economic shutdown and paralysis of Guatemala City continued. And finally on the first of July, Ubico withdrew initially in favor of a triumvirate of generals. The government later became civilian. The rights of labor organizations to begin work, of opposition parties to carry on activities, freedom of the press—all of these things came. Ultimately, the victory was not well used, as various political groups and parties jockeyed for power. Involvement of the CIA in bringing down the government nearly ten years later is well known. *But the 1944 revolution had been a victory which showed that nonviolent struggle was capable of dealing even with a Latin American dictator.* There are other cases in Latin America of a similar type.

Norway, 1940

Norway was invaded by the Nazis on the 9th of April, 1940. Norway had tried to remain neutral. Independent from Sweden since 1905, the people loved their freedom and didn't want it taken away by being involved in a war. They also had a strong anti-military socialist movement. If the Germans had only waited for two or three days, the Norwegians could have had the fortune of being invaded by both sides in the war on exactly the same day. Already by the 7th of April British troops were being loaded on board ships in Scotland for a possible invasion and occupation of Norway—which shows the glorious effectiveness of neutrality!

Before the war, a native Norwegian fascist party existed, headed by a man named Vidkun Quisling, who had had a significant political career before he became a fascist. After he became a fascist, his party—the Nasjonal Samling—never polled more than five percent of the votes. Under the occupation, Quisling became the Minister-President of Norway. He sought to create a fascist system in Norway, patterned after Mussolini's Italy, or, more properly, the Nazi system of Gleichschaltung. He sought to organize the various occupational and professional groups into "corporations"—compulsory organizations rigidly controlled by the government. Thus, everyone—farmers, fishermen, teachers, doctors, etc.—would be enrolled in an organization controlled by a little dictator and every working person and the institutions of the whole society would come under government control. This was the plan Quisling chose to start with the teachers. It was a serious mistake.

> The conventional view of power is that it is something some people have and others don't. Power resides in soldiers, authority, ownership of wealth, and institutions. The nonviolent theory of power is essentially different: rather than seeing power as something possessed, it argues that power is a dynamic social relation. Power depends on continuing obedience. When people refuse to obey rulers, the rulers' power begins to crumble.
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> **Bob Irwin**
> ***"Why Nonviolence?"***

The underground was alert to the grave danger of putting teachers under Nazi control and having them indoctrinate the children, and the long range change in the nature of Norwegian society that would result. Calling for resistance to the program, it drafted a short statement and circulated it to all twelve thousand teachers throughout the country, in spite of censorship and transportation restrictions. Each teacher was asked to sign his or her name and address and mail that statement to the fascist Ministry of Education. Between eight and ten thousand teachers complied. The letters poured in. The statement said that the teacher could not take part in the fascist education of youth and concluded: "I cannot regard myself as a member of the new teachers' organization."

The government panicked. It threatened dismissal of all the teachers, but they would not withdraw their protests. The schools were closed. Officially, there was a fuel shortage; it was impossible to keep the schools warm, they said. So the people chopped wood and left it outside. But the schools remained closed. Teachers held classes in homes. Despite the censorship of radio and newspapers, news of the resistance spread until thousands of letters of protest poured into the Ministry of Education *signed by parents.*

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One thousand male teachers were arrested and sent to various camps and prisons. Those from Southern Norway were concentrated in a prison north of Oslo, where, in the middle of winter, a bit of black bread was all they had to eat each day, along with "vegetable soup" that was mostly water. The teachers were forced to crawl and run in deep snow. They could not dry off afterward in their unheated barracks, and they had no change of clothes. As this went on day after day, about a half dozen teachers withdrew their protest. The rest (excepting those who were very ill) were put on cattle cars and taken on a long, freezing trip up into the mountains to Trondheim. Farmers came to try to give them milk and food. Schoolchildren stood in the railroad stations singing as the cars went through.

The teachers were taken finally to Trondheim and put on a ship that was so overcrowded that the fascist doctor who was there perfunctorily to sign the certificate that everything was safe, refused to sign, and protested about conditions. The ship went off anyway. It was a dangerous passage which took twelve to fourteen days going up the jagged coast of Norway, through passages and past islands, in mined waters, blackouts with lighthouses not working. They finally, amazingly enough, reached Kirkenes, far above the Arctic Circle. Here they were used as labor to unload German ships. They were housed in temporary shelters with cardboard walls. Some of the German guards showed them how to steal straw from the haystack nearby so that the officers wouldn't know they'd got it, so they'd have some bedding.

In the meantime, the teachers who had not been arrested were ordered to return to school. They returned, and announced to their classes that they would not regard themselves as members of the new teachers' organization. But the teachers were worried by rumors. They heard that one in ten of the teachers who had been arrested would be shot, or that they would be sent out to clear mine fields by walking through them. People have different feelings about risking someone else's life than their own. And some of the teachers who heard these rumors were married to the men whose lives were threatened.

I sat one time, a few years ago, in the home of two of these teachers. The principal of their school was ready to give in, they told me, on grounds that he'd risk his own life but not theirs. "We've made our protest," he said. "We've made the point." But my friend told me that the women got together and told him not to give in. "We'll take the risk," they said.

At one point in the struggle Quisling was so furious he went out to Stabekk (where I lived for a couple of years). He brought some of his main officials with him, including his secret police, all in their fancy uniforms. He ranted and raved and screamed at the teachers in the school at Stabekk, so loud that out in the school yard people could hear every word that was said. He ended: "You teachers! You have destroyed everything for me!"

His words were heard in all the mountains and valleys and fjords of Norway.

Finally, it was announced that the teachers' organization had not come into being. The teachers were brought home where they were celebrated as great heroes. The schools were never used for Nazi indoctrination. And after Quisling unsuccessfully attempted similar antics with other professions, trying to found organizations for a new Corporate State, *finally Hitler personally intervened and ordered him to stop this nonsense.*

Have you ever heard someone argue, "We've tried war. We know that's bad. Now let's try nonviolence. It's never been tried. It's worth a try." Nonsense. There is a vast history of this type of action going back as far as we have records. But most of it was probably never written down, and what was recorded has never been gathered together and mostly lies ignored, for all kinds of reasons.

The Plebeians, 494 B.C.

Back in 494 B.C. the Plebeians were having a civil rights problem. They didn't have representation in the Senate. The Plebeians were the people who did all the work in Rome, and the Patricians were the ones who made all the decisions and rather than work had people wait on them. So the Plebeians said, "All right, fine." One day they got up and did like Moses did. They had a walkout. They went out, up onto a mountain in Crustumeria, which later became known as the "Sacred Mount," and probably said to themselves, "Fine, we'll go up here and set up camp and if things don't work out, we'll establish our own city. We know how to run a city, we're the ones who've been doing all the work." Suddenly the Senate discovered that there was really more validity in these very modest claims that these people were making than the Senators had fully been able to express earlier. Changes were promised, but the Senators broke their promises after the Plebeians came back. Things didn't go too well until much later.

It was in 258 B.C. when the Army—made up mostly of Plebeians, of course—came back from a war to find proposals for reform and civil rights bogged down in the Senate. So the Army got up and walked out, up to that same mountain, to establish a Plebeian city. The Senate took immediate action on the reforms.

American Colonial Nonviolence, Circa 1776

This type of struggle has taken place throughout most of history. We don't know even what exists in recorded scattered accounts because people have never searched them all out. We know this was a major part of the struggle in the Netherlands against Spanish rule and Catholic domination, in the 16th century. We know there are instances of tax refusal in the Norwegian mountains, in the 13th and 14th centuries; sometimes they got a little carried away, and there are a few tax collectors who didn't live through it; but basically they were conducting tax refusal as a vehicle of resistance. One Norwegian historian claims that the reason the big Viking raids against foreign countries finally stopped was that people finally decided they'd had enough of these wars and declined to provide the necessary assistance in men, money and supplies.

In the 18th century, here in this part of North America, the European settlers used a great deal of violence against indigenous Americans, and then against the Africans who were imported. Nevertheless, the European settlers conducted major campaigns of nonviolent struggle against English controls, particularly for the ten-year period from 1765 to 1775. This was on a scale and significance which may require, when it is more fully researched, a major reinterpretation of American history—which may lead to a reassessment of the relevance and importance of the war of independence.

There were three separate campaigns, each of which involved economic resistance. It is possible that this is the first major case of international economic sanctions on record.

You can make tyranny helpless by refusing cooperation with it.

Daniel Dulany, in the pamphlet he wrote on resistance to the Stamp Act in October of 1765, describes certain basic characteristics of political nonviolent struggle. (Now you'll notice I'm discussing on the political level, not on the religious or moral level.) Dulany said, "Instead of moping and whining to excite compassion, in such a situation we ought with spirit and vigor and alacrity to bid defiance to tyranny by exposing its impotence, by making it as contemptible as it would be detestable." Here is the fundamental conception that you can make tyranny helpless by refusing cooperation with it. So he advocated building up economic production within the colonies to make them self-reliant. They could then sever trade relations with England, which would hurt the English merchants, and consequently this would put leverage on the English government to repeal the Stamp Act.

George Washington, Nonviolent Strategist

Did you ever think of George Washington as a nonviolent strategist? During this Stamp Act struggle courts were required to use stamps on official documents. The colonists had decided not to use the stamps. So the question became: "Do the courts remain open without using the stamps, or do the courts close down?" This was in the context of colonists conducting a massive campaign to refuse to pay debts they owed to the English merchants from whom the colonial merchants had purchased their products on credit. Walpole regarded this as the most effective weapon which the colonists wielded. So George Washington advised that they should close down the courts, of course. Obeying the law was impossible. You close the courts, Washington reasoned, because if you close the courts, the courts cannot be used in an effort to collect the money which the colonists were refusing to pay to the English merchants. Therefore, the English merchants would put pressure on their government to repeal the Stamp act. Very sophisticated nonviolent strategy, calculating effects and counter-effects of specific types of noncooperation.

Thomas Jefferson, Faster

Did you know that Thomas Jefferson with his colleagues introduced fasting in the colonial struggle? When the spirit of the resistance was weakening at certain points and people were getting bored, he and his friends (who were known rather as playboys, always going out and dancing) got the very respected and staid chaplain of the Virginia House of Burgesses to propose as his own idea a day of fasting and prayer—for political resistance. It was passed by the House of Burgesses and all of Virginia had a day of fasting and prayer—for political resistance. It wasn't Gandhi who introduced fasting as a political weapon at all.

Later during 1765, Governor Bernard of Massachusetts Bay said: "At this time I have no real authority in this place." And Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts Bay said: "In the capital towns of several of the colonies and of this in particular, the authority is in the populace. No law can be carried into execution against their minds." There were cases—significant cases—of the burning of buildings and destruction of property during the Stamp Act resistance. Men who had accepted appointments as stamp distributors were threatened with physical attack and even death and run out of town. *But not one person was killed.*

During the Townshend resistance, in January, 1769, for example, a London newspaper reported that because of the refusal of taxes and the refusal to import British goods, only 3,500 pounds sterling of revenue had been produced in the colonies. The American nonimportation and nonconsumption campaign was estimated by the same newspaper at that point to have cost British business not a mere 3,500 pounds but 7,250,000 pounds in lost income. Those figures may not have been accurate, but they are significant of the perceptions of the time. The attempt to collect the tax against that kind of opposition was not worth the effort, and the futility of trying eventually became apparent.

As the American movement developed, a radical fringe began to talk the rhetoric of violence. The militia, which the colonies had had for many, many decades, were deliberately developed. Some people began to foresee the movement shifting over to war. But this was not universal, and not preferred by even many radicals. The Suffolk Resolves, passed by the delegates of Suffolk County of Massachusetts Bay in 1774, recognized that violence was possible and the colonists should be ready for violence if it came. However, they recommended instead a different type of struggle—like they had been using: "We would heartily recommend to all persons of this community not to engage in any routs, riots or licentious attacks upon the properties of any persons whatsoever, as being subversive of all order and government; but, by a steady, manly, uniform, and persevering opposition, to convince our enemies that in a contest so important—in a cause so solemn, our conduct shall be such as to merit the approbation of the wise, and the admiration of the brave and free of every age and of every country."

On the basis of such thought and the Virginia Association, the First Continental Congress developed a sophisticated, phased program of economic and political noncooperation. First, it began with a nonimportation campaign, to be followed, if necessary, by a nonexportation campaign. The First Continental Congress program of resistance was called the "Continental Association." It was a program of nonviolent resistance and the First Continental Congress was a nonviolent resistance organization. It was a program implemented throughout the colonies, so well developed, so sophisticated, that its equal was probably not seen until Gandhi's work in India. Going along with this was a program of enforcement of these provisions in the colonies with such complete solidarity that the very enforcement organizations in many cases gradually became instruments of local government. Development of parallel governmental institutions also occurred on a colony-wide basis, sometimes in deliberate defiance of British-appointed governors. It has been estimated that in 9 or 10 of the 13 colonies, British government power had already been effectively and illegally replaced by substitute governments *before* Lexington and Concord. The Continental Congress was known as "the Congress." Its measures of resistance were known as "laws." British power had *de facto* collapsed in most of the colonies *before a shot was fired.* In Maryland, for example, an entire substitute government had taken over.

British power had de facto collapsed in most of the [American] colonies before a shot was fired...Rather than the war having speeded up independence, it may very well have postponed it.

At the same time, there was significant support in England for the movement (though not as strong as during the Stamp Act resistance). The extent of the support, and the reasoning for it, should be researched and analyzed. Part of the Continental Association (the program of resistance of the Continental Congress) contained this phrase: "...*we are of the opinion that a nonimportation, nonconsumption and nonexportation agreement, faithfully adhered to, will prove the most speedy, effectual, and peaceable measure*..."

Considering the *de facto* independence of most of the colonies by 1775, with the emergence of an intercolonial confederation-type of government, and the experience in the Stamp Act struggles and the Townshend resistance, it is very possible that British power might have totally collapsed *de jure* short of the eight years which it took for the War of Independence. Rather than the war having speeded up independence, it may very well have postponed it.

Governor Dunmore of Virginia suggested that the "laws of Congress," as he put it, receive from Virginians *marks of reverence they never bestowed on their legal Government, or the laws preceding from it."* He added:

> *"I have discovered no instance where the interposition of Government, in the feeble state to which it is reduced, could serve any other purpose than to suffer the disgrace of a disappointment, and thereby afford matter of great exultation to its enemies and increase their influence over the minds of the people."*

And in Massachusetts, already in early 1774, the Governor—Governor Gage—wrote that *"All legislative, as well as all executive power, is gone..."* Governor Gage made a similar report later in the year. So we must remember that, disregarded as it is in present portrayals of America's Revolution, the American colonials, too, have a highly important place in the history of nonviolent struggle.

Civilian-Based Defense, Past and Present

This type of struggle—illustrated by these various examples—has even been used for national defense purposes. There is the example of the Ruhr struggle in 1923, which Germany waged against a French and Belgian occupation, with no preparation and no training. The results were mixed—some say it was a total failure, others, a success. The actual scorecard, I think, indicates at least a draw. National defense by nonviolent resistance was also attempted in Czechoslovakia in 1968, again with no training and no preparations. They managed there to get the Dubcek group who had been kidnapped and arrested restored to their positions in the Party and government where, despite serious compromises, they managed to remain for eight months. Even after the Husak regime came in, the Russians did not have complete control. The Russians reportedly expected Czechoslovak military resistance, which they thought they could successfully crush in four days, then install a puppet government and get out. Four days with a prepared Czech military—eight months when confronted with unprepared nonviolent resistance. This suggests a power potential to nonviolent struggle, if refined and prepared, which may be greater than that of violent means.

> Victory can be achieved by various means. It can be gained with tanks and missiles, but I think that one wins better with truth, honesty and logic—in running the economy, in everything. Just take our example and note that we have not fired a single shot. And we do not know what other means would have to be employed here to win such a victory as ours, except without firing a single shot. I think that the 20th (century) and 21st century should be modeled on a struggle such as the one we have demonstrated. This is a new weapon.
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> **Lech Walesa**
> **November 1982**

Now what is the condition of the "peace movement," and how is all this relevant? Let us try to look at the "peace movement" not simply in the perspective of the period of Vietnam, but in the perspective of "peace movements" since they began to exist as organized entities, which certainly goes back at least to the 19th century.

The objective of peace organizations, originally at least, was to abolish war. It is doubtful that you will find that objective very clearly stated in the current programs as an achievable objective, within the foreseeable future, of any present American or foreign peace organization.

This is very instructive. Peace groups have been willing to settle for things far short of abolishing war: witnessing to one's piety and purity—and the stupidity of everybody else; witnessing to being a "holy remnant" or the only sane people around; struggling for the rights of conscientious objectors to war. There is nothing intrinsically wrong with any of these things. The point is not that. But they serve as substitutes for serious efforts to abolish war as such. Peace groups oppose a particular war and try to speed up its end with no confidence whatsoever that, even if successful, the military systems will thereby be weaker. Peace groups oppose the development of a particular weapon or a particular piece of technology—without that necessarily being a vehicle for reversing the whole dependence upon military hardware and military weapons. Or advocates of peace support giving all of the world's weapons to one government—a world government—or support the army of the other side—and call that anti-war activity! Or peace workers support universal negotiated disarmament when there is no historical evidence that that has ever worked or ever will. Or peace workers settle for some measures of arms control and arms regulation which—although they may help and may prevent a particular outbreak, or destruction, or attack under certain circumstances—can easily be broken and leave the military system more or less as it is.

Where is there a peace organization which really expects that, in something less than a few hundred or a few thousand years, war is going to be removed from human society? There is no chance of a major popular uprising against war—as even I (with all of my cynicism) thought might be thinkable in the

1950s. At that point there were still people for whom nuclear weapons and intercontinental rocketry were new and therefore shocking. There was still moral indignation about it. But now whole generations have grown up in which nuclear weaponry is just part of the world, like mountains and rivers, cities and poverty. There is no fresh thinking among peace groups. There is no effective challenging of the political assumptions which underline the war system itself. One hears that the war system is all wicked. Peace groups imply that to get rid of war, one has to change whole generations and the way people are brought up. These may be wonderful things to do, but it implies that it is not possible to get rid of war until then. Others argue we must first have social revolution—ignoring the fact that wars existed for centuries before capitalism, and ignoring the fact that so-called socialist countries attack and invade each other, and that following most "revolutions," the military system is often more powerful than under the old regime.

Human Nature, No Less than Animal

Yet human nature may provide other clues. You all have done various things in your lives you don't tell everybody about. When you were a little screaming brat, you got mad at mommy and daddy. "I'm not going to eat!" You engaged in a "hunger strike." Or, if mommy or daddy were going to wallop you on the bottom and they hadn't touched you yet and whoever was your defender in the family was in the other room, you started screaming like mad, lying on the floor as if you had been slaughtered. And they hadn't even touched you! You were appealing to "martyrdom" and sympathy against the persecution of a poor, nonviolent, helpless person! Or you wouldn't take out the garbage, at least not on time. This was a refuse worker's strike. Or you wouldn't clean up your room until someone was standing there: "Now take that and put that in that drawer…" That is "nonobedience without direct supervision" or "slow and reluctant compliance." Or you wouldn't study when you went to school. You'd look out the window, daydream or even sleep in class.

Many animals and pets do all these things. Haven't you had dogs or cats act this way? They want to go with you in the car somewhere—when they know they are not supposed to—they go and jump right in. It's a "sit-in." Or, they know very well what you're saying to them and pretend they don't, just like you've done yourself. Or you say "move," and they lie down, whimpering, and look up at you with the saddest possible look—like some demonstrators do to police. Sometimes, they're being ignored, particularly if there's company coming and there's a big fuss in the house and nobody's paying attention to them when they're trying to say, "Come and play with me." The dog then goes into the middle of the living room rug and does a "nonviolent intervention"—not biting anybody, not growling at anybody—but getting attention! So we don't have to change human nature—or even animal nature—in order to be nonviolent. We can be the same stubborn, obnoxious people we've always been, under the guise of our halos and piety, while accomplishing things collectively that have a political objective. We can draw upon the experiences of other people in other situations. We don't have to convert people to a new religious revelation, or worry about the sensitivity of our souls. That's all nonsense on the political and social level.

The focus here is on a very simple question. It isn't even: how do we change all of society? It isn't: how do we create the perfect nonviolent society of the future? It is simply: *how do we get rid of major political violence, including war?*

Nobody who has tried to get rid of war has succeeded. What we do is go on repeating the same things year after year, decade after decade. You read this and that report, change a few words, and it's the same story and the same methods that were used way back—with no evidence that they had the kind of effects that are sought this time. People try to choose between one of the bankrupt political ideologies and another one. It's ludicrous. If we've not been able to solve a problem, maybe the humility that we talk about so often and so smugly should be rooted in the awareness of our ignorance and our failure. Nehru was one of the people who said that to solve a problem, you must first understand it. Maybe we have wars because we're wicked. Maybe we have wars because of a particular economic system developed 200 years or so ago. Maybe we have wars because there's not a world government. Maybe we have wars because we (or somebody), in certain situations, feel that there are certain things for which we need to conduct a struggle—sometimes for good purposes, sometimes for bad purposes. And if someone is conducting a struggle for bad purposes, if you're not going to surrender to them, you have to be able to struggle against them for a good purpose.

Most people have been totally unaware of the history of struggle without violence. Thus, every time they have engaged in nonviolent struggle, people have had to improvise anew. *Suppose that had been the case with war.* Suppose no armies had been organized. Nobody had studied military strategy and tactics. Nobody had tried to invent new weapons or even develop training in the use of existing weapons. There were no West Points. Then the Martians and the Eskimos formed an alliance to conquer all the terrible Southerners who had destroyed their way of life. President Ford would go on television and declare:

> *"We're going to be invaded from the North. Now you all remember we have experience in fighting with violence. You remember all those times in the kitchen when you threw things at each other, all those barroom brawls that you've had, and all the feuds you've heard about beginning with the Hatfields and the McCoys. Now, with true spontaneity and creativity and with that freshness without regimentation that makes it effective, get out there and fight the invasion from the North."*

Ludicrous!

That's the situation nonviolent struggle has always been in—even against the Nazis. It's amazing it hasn't been wiped off the earth. The explanation must be that there is something very powerful in this technique, so that even when improvised, even when facing an organized terroristic Nazi system, even when confronting one powerful government or another, it has somehow, in many situations, prevailed. But peace workers have often talked nonsense: "Nonviolent means should be used, even if they don't succeed, because it's right to be nonviolent." But if nonviolent struggle has been able to prevail despite highly unfavorable circumstances, it's possible that nonviolent struggle has a power potential many times greater than violence and war. This is possible because it is based—among other things—upon a more accurate perception of the nature of power as deriving from people and ultimately dependent on people.

After all, war isn't that effective. In every case, at least one side loses, which is only 50% effective, if you're lucky. The winner pays a very large price, as well.

Former General Gerd Bastion, 60 year old Green Party member of the West German Parliament, spoke in San Francisco; "When I was a very young man, I was lied to and manipulated by the fascist government into believing I had to defend my country in the army. Then I learned that Germany was the aggressor. But later, I again joined the West Germany army, believing that under a democracy such manipulation was not possible.

"I was wrong. I was a two-star general in 1979 when NATO announced its decision to deploy Pershing II and Cruise in 1983. I could not stick it out any longer, and I resigned my commission. I sought out the peace movement and joined the Greens.

"I believe we must have total nuclear disarmament, and total so-called conventional disarmament as well. We have a movement of some 75 retired NATO generals and high military officers.

"The only effective defense at this point in history is social defense—the organized nonviolent resistance of a whole population to an invader."

Peace & Justice,
Oct./Nov. 1983)
San Joaquin Peace/Life Coalition

If we take all this past human experience in nonviolent forms of struggle that have been improvised, and we study and research them and try to learn how to refine and develop them to make them more effective than they have ever been, we won't have to argue *against* violence and war. If *nonviolent* struggle can be shown to be so much more *effective*, then people will *want* to use it. After all, war isn't that effective. In every case, at least one side loses, which is only 50% effective, if you're lucky. The winner pays a very large price, as well. Nonviolent struggle has the potential for building a solution to the problem. We have primitive prototypes of nonviolent defense policy, or civilian-based defense policy, as it is preferably called. We have the experience in the use of this technique in revolution against dictatorships. Civilian struggle has been used in struggles for reform, and in land redistribution instead of guerilla warfare.

Remember 1939 and planning work for creating an atomic bomb? Realistic? Who would have believed that you could take these tiny things that you couldn't even see called atoms and somehow put them together to make a more powerful explosive than had ever existed? An insane idea? And yet research money was put into that, although nobody has made a miniature atom bomb in a chemistry set in the basement and gone out and blown up the neighbor's garage with it. Yet we have, in actual human experience, clear examples of nonviolent struggle by ordinary people. This is what destroyed the Czarist system in Russia in the February 1917 Revolution; it wasn't the Bolsheviks. It was the workers demonstrating in the streets, the soldiers getting sick of shooting them down, throwing down their guns and walking out to join them.

Throughout history, we have overlooked or deprecated the crucial role of nonviolent struggle. It is hardly ever presented in terms to evoke a response in people who read about it. But there is a vast, long history of this undeveloped, crude political technique that has used a myriad of nonviolent weapons: economic boycotts, sit-ins, civil disobedience, protest marches, mutiny, parallel government—about 200 different methods, capable not only of converting opponents, but, more importantly, of destroying the power of a dictator.

The question isn't—as some pacifists have asked—whether one is able to love a Hitler. The question is, are we capable of *destroying* a Nazi system by nonviolent struggle. If one argues that we have to wait until every last human being is capable of loving a Hitler before we can get rid of war, it's either spiritual arrogance or political bankruptcy. The problem is how on earth do you fight tyranny? How do you prevent and defeat genocide, whoever attempts to commit it? Unless we answer that question, in the worst racist situations, people are not going to give up war.

With this view of the nature of the problem of war, and the existence of nonviolent alternatives, we need a variety of things. First and foremost is research, so we know what we are talking about, and so other people will respect what we have to say, and respect the product of that research. That involves people participating in the research who hold widely diverse beliefs, and are skeptical of nonviolent alternatives. We need to establish a research institute under the most prestigious possible auspices, with proper funding, to investigate nonviolent struggle, substitute national defense policies, genocide, political violence, and a variety of such things that relate to political structure, from dictatorship to the weaknesses of dictatorship to the nature and structure of participatory democracy. That type of a research program should be accompanied by efforts to inform the general public of the potentials of nonviolent alternatives in the most severe political conflicts. Television plays could be built around actual historical cases. There would also be more serious public education, including courses in colleges and universities. Such material on nonviolent alternatives would be included in regular history books.

> *The abolition of war does not require anti-war, anti-military lobbies or demonstrations and protest, but the development of effective nonviolent alternatives to military struggle.*

> What makes the neglect of this particular idea [that worldwide knowledge of nonviolent tactics could avert bloodshed] so odd is that most people, if they are asked, say that they don't much believe in killing. It's not bloodlust that perpetuates violence so much as a lack of imagination, an unwillingness to reconsider. As a result, most of us specialize in rebutting new ideas so that we can quickly forget about them.
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> **The New Yorker**
> **Dec 12, 1983**

We should look forward to the time when we can establish a new national priority: a ten-year crash program of research and evaluation of whether we can develop an effective nonviolent substitute for war that would provide real defense. This could be undertaken for a mere one percent of the Pentagon budget for a year, every dollar of which could be very usefully spent. Either the nonviolent stuff that peace advocates have believed in is utter nonsense (which most pacifists will go on believing anyhow, irrespective of all the evidence against it, so the research won't harm it), or, as I suspect, the research will substantiate many of the claims about the potential of nonviolent means. Even the most informed advocates of nonviolent alternatives may repeatedly have their minds blown at the continuing revelations of the potential that nonviolent struggle has already demonstrated—and the discovery of what it is capable of becoming. The abolition of war does not require anti-war, anti-military lobbies or demonstrations and protest, *but the development of effective nonviolent alternatives to military struggle.*

Even now, with our limited knowledge and before the kind of research we need has been undertaken, it has been possible to involve military officers and strategists in serious discussions of nonviolent strategies as a substitute for military defense in several countries, including the United States. That monster book of mine—*The Politics of Nonviolence*—has had several of its most perceptive and favorable reviews in American and foreign military journals. That's one or two more than I can say for peace journals. The book has been discussed seriously in Austria, where the Austrian military journal carried a long, two-part article by the editor-in-chief on the nature of nonviolent resistance as national defense. In Sweden, it is official policy of the government and the Defense Ministry to research and investigate civilian-based defense, with a view to *adding* it to the predominantly military defense policy they have now.

The view that there is only limited constituency from the peace movement that would take nonviolent alternatives seriously is idiocy. That view is a reflection of the incapacity of the peace organizations' perceptions, dreams, and programs. Why can't we, in an age in which military people know how little military means can really accomplish, convince them of alternatives? What about the conservatives, who distrust big power in Washington, much of which is military—why can't we convince them? Why can't we develop substitutes for violence which can be used in the most dangerous and extreme situations? And we can do that out of more than loyalty to Dr. King or Gandhi. Gandhi drew much of his insights from African resistance in South Africa, from the Chinese use of economic boycotts, from the Russian 1905 revolution, from ecclesiastical disobedience in England, from peasant resistance in Ireland—all this long before he was regarded as a great Mahatma.

In dozens and hundreds of significant conflicts, including international ones...nonviolent struggle has already taken the place of military violence.

The point is, this nonviolent struggle is harmonious with what we crudely call "human nature." Civilian struggles have occurred throughout history. We don't have to carry out vast sweeping changes that take decades or generations before we can eliminate major political violence. In dozens and hundreds of significant conflicts, including international ones, in ignorance and with improvisation, nonviolent struggle has already taken the place of military violence. The only question is, can we improve it and make it more effective? Can we provide the necessary vehicles and stimuli and resources to speed up the changeover? *Can civilian struggle be made a realistic choice for ordinary people (who don't really like war, anyhow) and for professional soldiers (many of whom hate war because they have seen it first-hand) and for politicians (who often want these kinds of things too)?* Pacifists and other peace workers are so used to being a minority that they have no idea how many people are ready to join in a search for a substitute form of defense and struggle. But when we see that the basis of an alternative and the readiness of people to explore it are there, then the potential of what is possible to accomplish has been changed. It becomes possible once again to dream the dream of the abolition of war—but this time on the basis of realism and substance.

One day we must come to see that peace is not merely a distant goal that we seek but a means by which we arrive at that goal. We must pursue peaceful ends through peaceful means.
—Martin Luther King, Jr.

For more information, see "Where to Go from Here."

Bishops at the End of the Line

The Pantex plant in Amarillo, Texas, is the end of the line for the assembly of all U.S. nuclear weapons. Parts of nuclear warheads are shipped from all over the United States to Pantex, where they undergo final assembly.

The Trident submarine base at Bangor, Washington, is the end of the line for the deployment of a number of those weapons. Every three to five months, the heavily armored White Train winds its way north from Pantex to Bangor to deliver approximately 200 more nuclear warheads to the Trident base.

The Catholic bishops of the two dioceses in which Pantex and Bangor are located, Amarillo Bishop Leroy Matthiesen and Seattle Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen, help provide a nonviolent counterforce to the Pantex-Bangor connection.

On June 12, 1981, Hunthausen announced his support for widespread tax resistance, an action he has personally taken, as a nonviolent way to halt the arms race. The most widely quoted statement in his speech was: "I say with a deep consciousness of these words that Trident is the Auschwitz of Puget Sound."

Matthiesen made his statement against the neutron bomb on August 21, 1981, using words that shocked Catholics working at Pantex: "We urge individuals involved in the production and stockpiling of nuclear bombs to consider what they are doing, to resign from such activities, and to seek employment in peaceful pursuits."

Members of the Ground Zero community in Bangor, Washington, conducted the following interview with Matthiesen and Hunthausen.

Ground Zero: Perhaps we could look back a moment at the statements you made against nuclear weapons that brought each of you into the consciousness of the church and nation. Bishop Matthiesen, were you surprised at the strong reaction to your appeal to workers in nuclear industries that they reconsider their activities and resign from such jobs?

Bishop Leroy Matthiesen: At the time I made the statement, I thought it was the logical conclusion of the generalizations I had made and have heard others make condemning the arms race. I did not, in the wildest moments, imagine that it would have the kind of impact that it had. The response seemed to me almost like a very personal reaction to someone preaching a sermon, in which I was accused of deserting the realm of religion and meddling in personal lives.

But that also told me that underneath the denials, a very definite feeling persists among many of us that we are involved personally in producing these weapons. We don't care to admit it, but we are. And we are concerned about our actions. The denials, I think, take many forms: "It's none of my affairs," "It's too complicated for me," "I don't make the decisions," "I can't influence the future."

I think we suspect and know at heart that we can act, and that we must—that we have a responsibility to do so.

Ground Zero: Archbishop Hunthausen, many people, including the secretary of the navy, took issue with your statement that Trident is the Auschwitz of Puget Sound. How do you feel now about that statement and the impact it has had?

Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen: I think it was misunderstood by some who took it primarily as a criticism of Seattle and its surroundings. It wasn't meant to be that personal. It was meant to point out that wherever there is an instrument of destruction comparable to the Trident base, we have to reckon with the fact that this is tantamount to Auschwitz and all the evil that entailed. I hope more people came to an awareness that truly the magnitude of the evil is there, and that my comment is not an overstatement.

We in the Seattle area were aware of the presence of the Trident base, yet not really taking responsibil-

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ity for it, just as so many people who lived in the presence of Auschwitz did not choose to become involved. I've come to believe that probably the people who lived in and around Auschwitz were less aware of what was happening there than we are aware of what's happening here. The statement was an attempt to point out that we in this area have a very heavy, heavy responsibility to speak out about what we see in our own neighborhood.

Ground Zero: The Pantex plant in your diocese, Bishop Matthiesen, and the Bangor base in yours, Archbishop Hunthausen, are connected by railroad tracks on which the White Train delivers nuclear warheads from one to the other. The Agape Community, an extended nonviolent network, has come together along these tracks. How do you think people can best respond to the White Train going through their towns and cities?

Matthiesen: I see the value of raising our awareness about the reality of the nuclear weapons being concretely here in the train. At Pantex you really don't have the ability to see this because, of course, the plant is highly secure. It has only been recently, as a result of the work of Ground Zero, that I personally have become aware of how these nuclear warheads are actually transported.

It seems to me that this is an important way in which the consciousness of people can be raised: this train actually goes through their towns, goes through their counties, goes through where they live. They become part of it as it passes through their area on its way to the Trident submarines.

Two things can happen in this process. The first is that we can become aware of the magnitude of the nuclear arms race. The second is that we have a way of responding to it: in prayer. If the arms race is ever going to be reversed, if it's ever going to be stopped, it's going to be done, I think, out of a response of faith—an awareness that in our time we are finally going to be forced to decide between the kingdom of God and the kingdom of Satan. It's going to come to one or the other. We cannot continue what we're doing, and we've got to make the choice.

The tracks campaign is one way, and a very important way, of simply presenting that question to us: there goes the train. There goes the load of destruction. I'm part of it. And I'm going to have to decide either that I approve of it or that I'm going to stand in front of that train.

Hunthausen: I would certainly agree with that. The Agape Community provides many of us with a sense of oneness, a sense of unity of purpose, a sense of solidarity. All of that generates hope in a time when hope is a rather scarce commodity.

> *" 'Good Germans' is the phrase historians use to describe a people who silently go along with their government's grand plans for military adventures. If the madness of World War III really is upon us, perhaps this is the era of Good Americans."*
> *—Colman McCarthy, 1980*

I'm extremely grateful that there has arisen this network of people all intent on trying to bring to the fore what their name really says—the strength and the power of love and truth. They are saying by their lives and by their prayerful attitude, directed toward the train that carries these hideous weapons, that there is another way.

They are challenging people to shift their sense of security, now so totally given over to these weapons of destruction, to what ought to be more our calling and our response, love for the God who made us and for one another as brothers and sisters. In resisting the train and all it signifies, they are trying to bring that love into the lives of other people.

Ground Zero: The Department of Energy is now trying to obtain a law on "Unclassified Controlled Nuclear Information" that would make it a felony for people to share information about the transportation of nuclear weapons. Even train-watching activities that people in the Agape Community are doing could become illegal by interpretation of this regulation. How do you see people responding to such a law?

Matthiesen: I would say that it could only merit the strongest condemnation. It would allow the Soviets to have more information about what goes on in our own country than we ourselves would have access to. The Soviets through their satellite systems obviously can track those trains.

I see no purpose in such a law other than possibly to veil a determination on the part of our government to escalate the arms race in the face of citizens' demands to de-escalate it. It seems to me that this is an effort to practice deceit on our own citizens. That strikes at the very heart of the democratic process in our country. It is a much more dangerous thing than any threat you could possibly imagine from the outside.

Ground Zero: Gandhi said that noncooperation with evil is as much a duty as cooperation with good. Archbishop Hunthausen, now that the bishops are identifying nuclear warmaking as a profound evil, what form do you see non-cooperation with that evil taking in the Catholic Church in the United States?

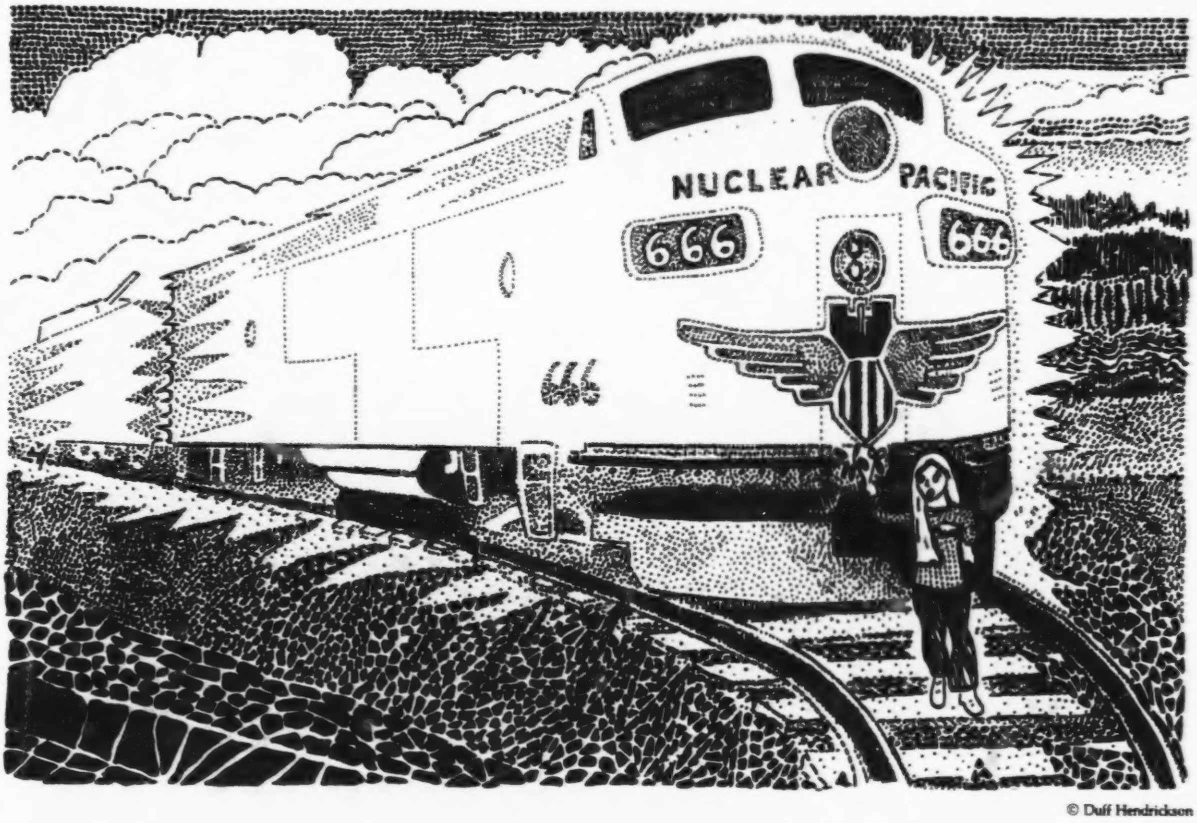
Hunthausen: I think, first of all, it demands a further strong statement on the part of the American bishops. And that statement will not be easily reached, nor will it be easily transmitted, because it will tend to divide not only the bishops but our people.

We have to continue to bring ourselves back to an awareness that we are talking here about ultimates. Somehow we have to admit it to ourselves and make a statement to bring that reality to our people and to the world. People are still not hearing. People are still not accepting the fact that we are dealing with ultimates.

I don't know exactly what we as bishops would say about noncooperation, except that the whole area of civil disobedience would seem to be much more an acceptable tactic. With reluctance and sadness, I suppose, we may accept that personally and maybe even propose it to our people. But I can't see, quite frankly, anything short of that step which will accomplish the end, because we seem to have exhausted all other possibilities.

Ground Zero: Bishop Matthiesen, what are your thoughts on noncooperation with evil taking the form of increasing civil disobedience?

Matthiesen: I think that individuals are doing civil disobedience now, not waiting for the bishops to make any further statement. I think it is something that needs to be supported whenever it happens.



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Tracking the White Train

Jim Douglass

When did we first see the White Train? Some of us feel we saw it first in Franz Jagerstatter's dream.

Jagerstatter was an Austrian peasant who refused to fight in Hitler's wars because he believed that the Nazi movement was anti-Christian. He was beheaded by the Nazis in 1943, and is now being considered for sainthood by the Catholic church.

The train Jagerstatter saw in a dream five years before his martyrdom (and which he wrote about shortly before his death) corresponded to the White Train that now passes our homes and explodes in our dreams:

> *At first I lay awake in my bed until almost midnight, unable to sleep, although I was not sick; I must have fallen asleep anyway. All of a sudden I saw a beautiful shining railroad train that circled around a mountain. Streams of children—and adults as well—rushed toward the train and could not be held back... Then I heard a voice say to me: "The train is going to hell."*

The train to hell in Jagerstatter's dream was a symbol of cooperation in the Nazi movement. Our White Train to hell is both symbol and reality: it contains the annihilation it symbolizes.

For the sake of his soul, Jagerstatter had to refuse to board his train to hell. For the sake of our souls and of life itself, we have to stop the White Train.

We began tracking the White Train, although we did not know it existed then, when we moved into our house alongside the railroad tracks entering the Trident submarine base at Bangor, Washington.

We saw the house by the tracks for the first time in 1977, while seeking a piece of land that could become Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action. The house we discovered by the tracks was too remote to serve as such a center, but it brought another possibility to mind. It stood on a hill overlooking the gate where railroad shipments enter the Trident base. By living in such a house one could, simply by being there, begin to break through the invisibility and silence of one critical means toward nuclear holocaust: the missile shipments that travel the United States by rail, analogous to the boxcars that moved unchallenged through Europe in the 1940s on the way to an earlier holocaust.

Through a series of miracles, Shelley, our son Thomas, and I moved into the house by the tracks four years later. The intervening time had been marked by my knocking on the door of the house every six months or so to ask if the couple living there ever planned to sell it, a friendly "no" always being the answer. Then one day I knocked on the door to no answer at all, and saw through its window a house empty of both people and furniture. From that moment on, the miracles took over. Through the grace of God and the gifts of many wonderful friends, we were able to buy the house by the tracks and move into it in July, 1981. At the same time the Agape Community was born.

We held a workshop at Ground Zero that month on "Christian Roots of Nonviolence" that included a pilgrimage around the fence of the base. It ended at the railroad tracks with a meditation on the trains entering Bangor and their parallel meaning to the trains entering Auschwitz and Buchenwald. As a part of the meditation we named some of the cities and towns along the tracks, as they wound their way up from Salt Lake City, near the Hercules Corporation, source of Trident's missile motor shipments. (At the time we knew nothing of the White Train's journeys to Bangor from the Texas Panhandle.) When we finished our litany of the tracks, we realized that most of the workshop participants lived along those same tracks.

We all recognized that this was one workshop whose community could truly be deepened in mean-

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ing by our going home and becoming an extended nonviolent community in our various towns along the Trident tracks. We decided to become the Agape Community and adopted a community statement which said in part: "We believe the spiritual force capable of both changing us and stopping the arms race is that of *agape:* the love of God operating in the human heart."

As we tracked and opposed Trident missile motor shipments through Utah, Idaho, Oregon, and Washington in 1981 and 1982, two truths found a special life in the Agape Community. The first is that evil, especially the systemic evil of a nuclear holocaust, does not like the light. The government and the railroads did their best to keep us from seeing the missile shipments. The second truth we experienced is that once evil is brought into the light, it can be overcome by God's love operating fearlessly in our lives.

Evil's power lies in darkness, our own darkness. Evil's power to destroy life itself comes from our denial of its presence and our refusal to take responsibility for it. The essence of our life-destroying evil lies in our unseen, unacknowledged cooperation with it. As we began to claim personal responsibility for the missile motor shipments and sought to express our love for the train employees, we experienced the faith to overcome the evil which was in us and on the trains: faith in the redeeming power of nonviolent love, faith in the cross. Our growing community of faith and nonviolent action made the tracks linking us a double symbol—not only of holocaust but of hope.

But we were about to experience a still deeper sense of both holocaust and hope along the tracks.

On December 8, 1982, I received a phone call from a reporter asking if we knew anything about a special train probably carrying nuclear warheads that was on its way to the Trident base. It had been spotted in Everett, Washington, two days before: an all-white, armored train, escorted by a security car traveling along the highways.

I said we knew nothing of such a train. It bore no resemblance to the missile motor shipments that we witnessed going into the base every week. After the phone call, I walked down our front steps to the tracks. I could see signs of unusual activity across the tracks at the base gate. More security cars than I had ever seen for an arriving train were parked inside and outside the gate, waiting for something. I went back in the house, loaded our camera with slide film, and came down the steps just in time to see the train approaching.

Our growing community of faith and non-violent action made the tracks linking us a double symbol—not only of holocaust but of hope.

Perched outside the first Burlington Northern engine was a man, like a film director scanning his set. After the second engine came a string of all-white, heavily armored cars. Each of the two rail security cars had a high turret, like a tank's. Sandwiched between the security cars were eight middle cars, lower in height, white, and armored. The letters "ATMX" stood out on them. When the final security car came opposite me, the armored flaps on the side of the turret clanked open, and an object was extended in my direction.

The White Train passed by, a train to holocaust, and I remembered the train in Jagerstatter's dream: "This train is going to hell."

The White Train's December 8, 1982 arrival at Bangor moved us to two kinds of research. We went first to documents on hazardous rail shipments obtained from the Washington Utilities and Transportation Commission. They included correspondence from the Trident base which spoke of nuclear warheads that would be shipped to Bangor in specially designed "ATMX" rail cars. The warhead shipments would be in Department of Energy (DOE) trains (the letters "ATM" on the car stand for DOE's predecessor, the Atomic Energy Commission, and "X" simply means that the cars are not owned by a railroad) moving at a speed limit of 35 miles per hour, arriving at Bangor at a rate of two to three trains per year from an unspecified location in Texas. Given this rate of shipments and the rate of deployment of Trident submarines, we estimated that each White Train would carry between 100 and 200 hydrogen bombs, depending on its number of cars. We guessed the Texas source of the warhead shipments must be Amarillo, site of the Pantex plant, final assembly point for all U.S. nuclear warheads.

The second stage of our research was into railroad routes from Pantex to Bangor. A friend and railroad buff, Tom Rawson, drew up a likely rail route between Pantex and Bangor. We then sought old and new friends along this theoretical White Train route, sharing with them the Agape Community's vision of love toward the people on the trains, and nonviolent resistance to their nuclear cargoes. The community along the tracks grew, as we waited for the White

Train to come out of its Bangor lair—and, we hoped, follow our route.

It did so on January 5, 1983, rolling past our house in the opposite direction. The fact that the White Train now had less security around it and was soon incorporated into a larger, faster freight train indicated it was probably empty on this return journey. As friends along the tracks monitored the train, we confirmed that it was traveling the route Tom Rawson had drawn up, returning to Amarillo via Spokane, Denver, and Pueblo, until it was seen entering the Pantex plant the night of January 12 by Les Breeding of Northwest Texas Clergy and Laity Concerned.

"It was a haunting sight," said Les, "this white train moving slowly into the distance where amber lights were glowing with a light fog all around. It brought to mind a phantom train bound for Hades."

The White Train passed by, a train to holocaust, and I remembered the train in Jagerstatter's dream: "This train is going to hell."

The White Train is the most concentrated symbol we have of the hell of nuclear war. It carries a world-destructive power within it, guarded by Department of Energy "couriers" who, according to a DOE spokesperson, are armed with machine guns, rifles, and hand grenades, and are trained to shoot anyone who threatens the train. Yet there is another side to all this, as indicated by an experience Les Breeding had with the "phantom train bound for Hades."

On the night of January 12, Les had a unique, 45-minute conversation in the middle of the Amarillo switchyards with the head security guard of the White Train, prior to the train's final movement to Pantex. After this conversation Les lost the White Train when it moved out of the switchyards into darkness. He pursued it by car, discovering it again just outside Pantex. There was a tense moment when he drove up to the train, and a searchlight suddenly glared at his car. He got out of the car and heard the security guard say, "Hey, Les, is that you?"

At the heart of the greatest outward symbol we have of nuclear war, this train bearing instruments of hell, there is a human voice asking if we are there. The question destroys our sense of the train as absolute evil. There are people inside the train. We have to stop this White Train to hell, but we can stop it only through a truthful, loving process which affirms the sacredness of that life within it. The security guard and his question to us are at the center of the tracks campaign.

From January through March, 1983, Agape Community contacts multiplied along the White Train route: in Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, and Washington. In Missoula, Montana, Linda and George Greenwald and several friends held a weekly vigil by the tracks with a banner saying, "Silence is betrayal…the nuclear train passes thru this valley," which became a wire service photo and story in newspapers across the country. It helped inspire vigils in other places by the tracks. We shared information on the White Train in every town that we could reach along its tracks.

Then on the afternoon of March 18, 1983, we received an unexpected phone call from one of our new friends along the tracks, a woman in a town in Colorado. She said a friend of hers married to a railroad employee was told by her husband that he thought "your train" was just getting under way. We checked this report with friends in Amarillo, who confirmed the White Train's departure from there at 2:30 p.m. It was on its way to Bangor. The White Train odyssey of March 18 to 22, 1983, had begun.

The first group of vigilers to see the train was in La Junta, Colorado, at 11 p.m., March 18, in the middle of a snowstorm. They were confronted by several carloads of local police, who then lined the tracks as the train stopped there briefly. The La Junta group phoned up the line, and vigilers in other Colorado towns began to wait by the tracks in the darkness and snow.

During the next four days as the White Train made its way toward Bangor, vigils sprang up along its changing route like instant flowers by the tracks, seeded by the Agape Community's phone network. Vigils were held in 35 different towns and cities along its tracks. A number of these vigils were held along alternate routes to Bangor even after the White Train had been re-routed to avoid them, while about an equal number were created quickly on the new routes taken by the train.

Two people were arrested for approaching the train too closely in Denver, eight for kneeling on the tracks in front of it in Fort Collins, and six for attempting to sit in front of it at the Bangor gate. Thanks to the witness of these people and the hundreds who vigiled and prayed along the tracks, the White Train may have become the most closely watched train in the world by the time it entered the Trident base on March 22, 1983.

We experienced profoundly . . . the capacity of "ordinary" people of faith to respond with non-violent action to the nuclear threat, once they see a way.

In our house at the end of the line and in two other Ground Zero homes, our experience March 18 to 22, 1983, of extended community via telephone was overwhelming. We were on the phone continuously during the 94 hours of the train's journey: monitoring the train, updating vigilers up the line, sharing information with media, and meeting a series of people in the heartland of the United States whom I have never seen and will never forget. We experienced profoundly during those four days the capacity of "ordinary" people of faith to respond with nonviolent action to the nuclear threat, once they see a way.

We suggested three ways: to monitor the White Train by telling us and others up the line exactly when it went through their town, to hold a vigil by the tracks with their neighbors, and to tell their local newspaper what they were doing so that other neighbors would know. Their response in these ways to the White Train's passage through their communities broke open the silence and invisibility of this train to hell.

We have since learned from a Department of Energy statement that the White Train has been on the rails in this country for more than 20 years. The DOE and its two predecessor organizations, the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) and the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA), have all used a special railcar fleet to transport nuclear weapons across the United States. Some of the original railcars have been modified and upgraded into the present White Train.

A question immediately presents itself: how did this train carrying holocaust weapons across the United States remain virtually invisible for more than 20 years until its March, 1983 trip to the Trident base?

It is a question that brings other questions to mind: how did boxcars carrying millions of Jewish people across Europe in the 1940s remain invisible until after the victims had gone to their deaths? How did radiation victims of our nuclear testing remain invisible to us until recent years? Have we always known silently that the stark evil we open our eyes to opens an abyss in ourselves unless and until we open our hearts to faith?

When we monitored the White Train's return trip to Pantex April 11 to 15, 1983, we were startled by its traveling all the way east to Topeka, Kansas, before cutting back southwest to the Pantex plant. The government was willing to send the train far out of its way to avoid those places where it had met the most opposition going north. This pattern of governmental avoidance has continued to be true in the tracks campaign. The DOE now regularly avoids one entire troublesome state, Colorado, at the expense of re-routing the train through Kansas and Nebraska. The DOE command center for the White Train, located in a bunker at Kirtland Air Force Base in Albuquerque, New Mexico, regularly re-routes the train in progress onto whatever is perceived to be the track of least resistance.

The new route through Topeka prompted the Agape Community to invite friends in Kansas and Nebraska to join in the tracks campaign. Research into alternate routes has led to an expansion of the tracks campaign into every Western state. The Agape Community and friends are now working along every possible railroad route from Pantex to Bangor to alert our neighbors to the possibility that the White Train might come their way.

On June 23, 1983, our knowledge of the White Train grew as the result of a subpoena issued by Denver Judge Larry Lopez-Alexander ordering the Burlington Northern Railroad to turn over documents on the train to Bill Sulzman and Marshall Gourley, the two men arrested for approaching the train in Denver on March 19. Bill and Marshall had argued successfully before Judge Lopez-Alexander that such documents were necessary to their trial defense that the White Train was in violation of international law and that it was the train's criminal cargo, not they as people protesting it, that had no right to be there. The government, alarmed at the direction the case was taking, dropped the charges, but not before several revealing documents had been turned over by Burlington Northern.

The first of these documents includes the minutes of a meeting held in Denver on June 4, 1982, at which Peter Armstrong of the Department of Energy's Transportation Safeguards Division did a two-hour briefing for Burlington Northern personnel on the Bangor shipments. Concerning the contents of these shipments, Armstrong said their "uranium" was "not dangerous unless eaten or breathed." His comment on the shipments' "plutonium" was: "More potent than uranium, however considerable exposure required to be hazardous, keep up-wind, stay away."

The "high explosives" contained in the shipments he acknowledged as "very hazardous, especially if involved in a fire because they can become unstable (like crystal dynamite)."

DOE policy on demonstrations by the tracks, set forth in an April 7, 1983 "Personal and Confidential" letter from Burlington Northern executive T.C. Whitacre, is to keep the White Train "moving at all times including rerouting as necessary to avoid demonstrations or demonstrators." A public relations officer, J.D. Martin, adds more specifically in a memorandum to Burlington Northern Vice President W.L. Arntzen, "I would heartily endorse your thoughts on routing the next train differently; going through downtown Fort Collins is like crossing a stage for demonstrators."

According to the Whitacre letter, Burlington Northern is instructed by DOE to have railroad personnel on board the train "advise demonstrators that armed couriers are present and that these couriers will take appropriate action if the shipment itself is threatened."

The Whitacre letter also identifies state agencies as unwanted outsiders to DOE: "Would again mention that they do not want outsiders, including state agencies, etc., notified of the tentative operation of these trains or their location, etc., while in route."

During the next Pantex-to-Bangor shipment, August 13 to 17, 1983, DOE succeeded in its secrecy measures to such an extent that it managed to get a 22-car White Train all the way to Elma, Washington (70 miles short of Bangor), before it was seen by a member of the Agape Community. Because there had been no one in Amarillo watching Pantex on August 13, the train had departed in darkness and silence, and the Agape phone network had remained silent as the death train moved through its midst.

After the train's arrival August 17, a call went out from the Agape Community for a full-time White Train watcher in Amarillo. Word of this need was passed across the country by friends and on August 20 reached Hedy Sawadsky, who was then serving in the Pittsburgh Mennonite Church. After a period of discernment and preparation with friends in Colorado, she moved to Amarillo in September, 1983, to follow the active contemplative vocation of watching a train depart periodically with shipments of hydrogen bombs.

On October 11, 1983, Ground Zero was alerted by Hedy (and by Bill Sulzman, then visiting Hedy from Denver and watching the tracks with her) that the White Train had just departed on Santa Fe tracks headed northeast toward Oklahoma and Kansas. It was then that several other documents obtained in the Sulzman-Fourley court case became critically important. We knew from Burlington Northern memorandums that the White Train also went east, delivering nuclear warheads on a route we had traced to the Charleston Naval Weapons Station in South Carolina. We had alerted people in seven more states to that possibility.

> *The crossroads which we may be approaching as a people is the incompatibility between a free society and the possession of nuclear weapons.*

As Hedy and Bill drove with the train up through Oklahoma and Kansas, and as others joined in the vigils and tracking, it soon became apparent that this White Train was in fact turning southeast and would go through Missouri, Arkansas, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina. Another chapter in tracking the White Train was beginning.

The government has shown signs of responding to the tracks campaign by means other than re-routing the White Train. The Department of Energy is now proposing regulations that would ban the publicizing of "Unclassified Controlled Nuclear Information" (UCNI), including the sharing of any information on the transportation of nuclear weapons. These proposed regulations bear a civil penalty of a $100,000 fine imposed by the secretary of energy and a criminal penalty of 20 years in prison. The crossroads which we may be approaching as a people is the incompatibility between a free society and the possession of nuclear weapons.

But the train to hell means more than the end of a free society. It carries within it the extinction of all life on earth. The White Train's very whiteness brings home the white night of its contents. The Department of Energy has said publicly that it painted the train white to reduce temperatures inside the cars, unaware of the power of whiteness on this train to speak to us both consciously and subconsciously.

In our self-revealing consciousness, to those of us whose skin is white, white speaks to us of purity. Our conscious mind is startled by the White Train's revelation of what is being prepared by our white culture and politics: annihilation and nothingness. But to other cultures and races white is not purity.

The Orient recognizes white as the symbol of death. Others have seen further dimensions. Herman Melville in *Moby Dick* takes us into the whiteness of an annihilation which today summons up thoughts of the White Train:

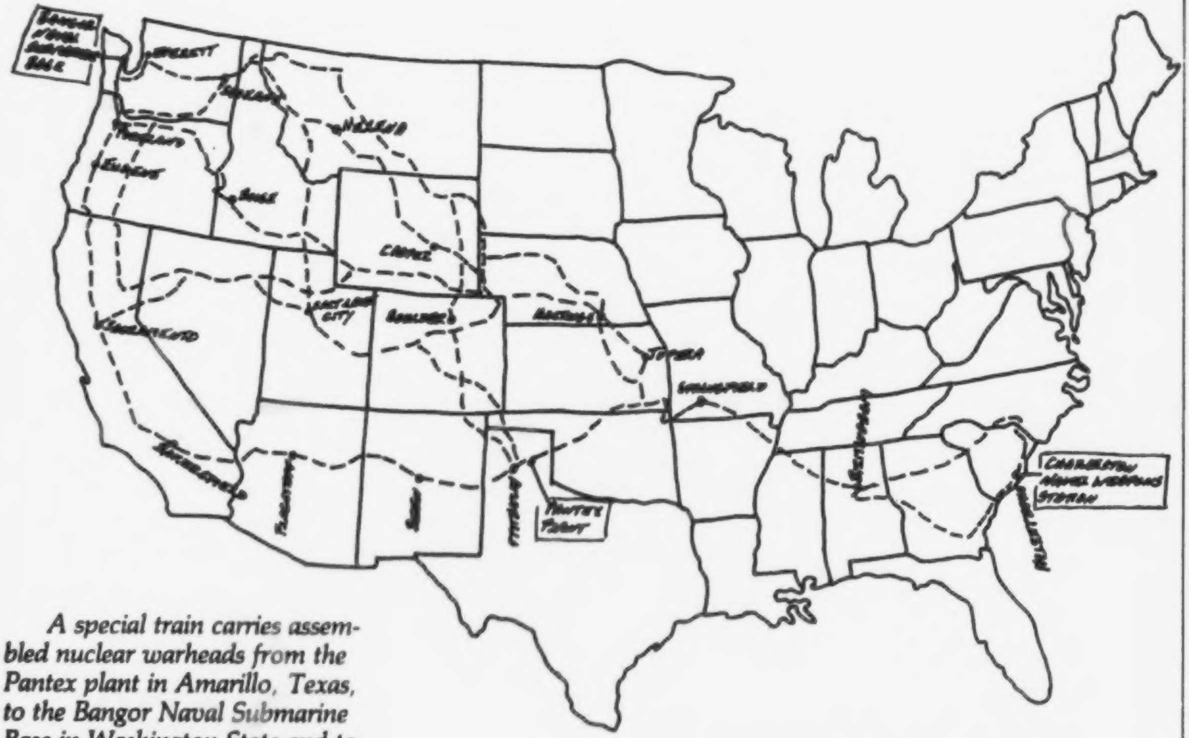
> *A nameless horror which overpowered all the rest. Yet so mystical and will nigh ineffable, it was the whiteness above all things that appalled me. Is it, that by its indefiniteness, it shadows forth the heartless voids and immensities of the universe, and thus stabs us from behind with the thought of annihilation?*

A white light of annihilation is carried in the cars of the White Train. It is an evil so profound, so inconceivable in its annihilation of every living thing, that it calls forth an opposite kind of power.

We remember again Franz Jagerstatter's train to hell, and more importantly, his refusal to board that train. His resistance to it was a choice of the kingdom of God. It is said that Jagerstatter's eyes shone with such joy and confidence in the hour before his death that the chaplain who visited him in prison was never able to forget that look.

Jagerstatter had to refuse to board his train to hell at the cost of his life, for the sake of life. Resisting that train to hell was identical with choosing the cross, and in it, the kingdom of God.

The Tracks Campaign



Main routes of the White Train

A special train carries assembled nuclear warheads from the Pantex plant in Amarillo, Texas, to the Bangor Naval Submarine Base in Washington State and to the Charleston Naval Weapons Station in South Carolina.

A campaign of vigils, prayer, and nonviolent resistance—the Tracks Campaign—began in July, 1981 at Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action, next to the Trident base at Bangor. This campaign now includes many people along every possible route the White Train could take to its destinations.

For us to reject hell, we have to stop the White Train, which not only symbolizes our cooperation with an ultimate evil but bears within its cars the annihilation of life itself. In being called to stop the White Train, we, like Jagerstatter, are being called to the cross and the kingdom.

The White Train can be stopped through education, reflection, and prayerful, nonviolent direct action: prayer vigils by the tracks, loving disobedience on the tracks, until there are more people on the tracks prepared to go to jail for peace than there are people to remove them or jails to contain them. Critical to this vision of stopping the White Train is a transforming love, *agape*, realized through prayer. Out of the White Train's trips toward total destruction has come the presence of people praying along the tracks; more and more people praying as the train passes, more and more considering that prayer of standing in front of the train. What we seek through *agape* is the conversion of ourselves, through the love of God transforming our hearts, so that we might realize a vision of active, contemplative peacemaking.

We remember the kingdom of God that shone from Jagerstatter's eyes in the hour before his death when he chose life. Out of the nightmare of a White Train to hell can come a realization of the kingdom of God. Now we are to choose.

Following the White Train

Here is what you can do if you would like to participate in this dynamic, nonviolent action.

- If you live on or within traveling distance of one of the routes on the map, contact Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action, 16159 Clear Creek Road NW, Poulsbo, WA 98370; phone (206) 692-7053. If you live in the eastern part of the U.S., contact Jubilee Partners, Box 68, Comer, GA 30629; phone (404) 783-5000 or 783-5244. You will be sent detailed information on the tracks campaign.
- If you do not live near the tracks on the map but do live in the U.S., you are still "on the tracks" in terms of past, current, or future nuclear weapons and missile shipments by rail. In the more than 20 years of such rail shipments, nuclear warheads and missile parts have probably gone on tracks close to every person living in the U.S. Send your name, address, and phone number to Ground Zero or Jubilee Partners for tracks campaign information and quick notification of future weapons shipments into your area, which may be discovered only as they are happening.
- Make a list of your friends who live near the currently known tracks who might be interested in the tracks campaign. Send their names, addresses, and phone numbers to Ground Zero or Jubilee Partners. Copy this page of the Peace Catalog and send it to your friends, urging them to contact Ground Zero or Jubilee Partners directly.
- Get together with one or two friends to explore beginning a prayerful presence by the tracks on which nuclear weapons travel through your community. Consider a weekly or monthly vigil, in addition to vigils in response to actual weapons shipments.
- Make a special effort to enlist the participation and support of churches, temples, and religious communities of every faith in vigils along the tracks.
- Tell your local railroad employees and police what you are doing and why. The tracks campaign is an open, loving appeal to us all to cease our complicity in this terrible crime.
- Share the information of the tracks campaign with your local news media.
- Become a railroad buff. Order a copy of Rand McNally's *Handy Railroad Atlas of the United States.*
- Work to have your town declared a Nuclear Free Zone. The Department of Energy has re-routed the Nuclear Train around Nuclear Free Zones declared by local governments. If there are Nuclear Free Zones on each of the Nuclear Train's possible tracks, the DOE faces the dilemma of either stopping the train or going through heavy local opposition. (See "Nuclear Free Zones," chapter 3.)
- Hold a retreat for those who wish to explore the possibility of loving disobedience to these shipments by sitting on the tracks. Do *not* assume that the Nuclear Train will stop for the safety of people on the tracks. Such people risk not only jail but serious injury or death. An agenda for a retreat exploring the acceptance of such risks is available from Ground Zero.
- Be prepared to meet these trains at any hour of the day or night with faith, hope, and love—to make these trains visible in your community, and to stop them and nuclear holocaust through the power of nonviolence.

Women's Peace Camps

Rachel Lederman

A new chapter in the long history of women's peace work began in 1981, when the first women's peace camp was started at the Greenham Common U.S. Air Force Base in England. The camp about after a peace march from Cardiff, Wales to Greenham Common. Women, men, and children who walked the 120 miles sought to draw attention to NATO's decision to deploy 96 U.S. cruise missiles at the base—the implications of which had engendered little public discussion.

Cruise missiles are small, pilotless aircraft each capable of carrying a nuclear bomb 15 times more powerful than the one that destroyed Hiroshima. They are guided by a computer "brain," which allows them to fly very low, evading radar detection, and are very accurate. These features make them, along with the Pershing II missiles, the first weapons system to be deployed that is capable of being used in a pre-emptive "first strike." They are also virtually unverifiable, and so would render a "Freeze" impossible to enforce.

When the march failed to attract the publicity they sought, women in desperation finally set up a permanent camp outside the base. They demanded a televised debate with the Minister of Defense concerning the dangers of having U.S.-controlled, first-strike nuclear weapons on British soil. The U.S. has 101 military installations in Britain, and cruise missiles were also to go to Molesworth Air Force Base as well as to Italy, West Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands. The women were outraged at the idea of Europeans being the expendable first victims in a "limited nuclear war" between the two "superpowers."

At first mixed, the Greenham protest became a women-only encampment after a couple of months. The Women's Peace Camp has been a testament to women's leadership in the peace movement and to women taking action in new, creative ways in contraposition to a system that cuts health care, education, and housing to build bombs capable of destroying the world many times over; a vison of a life-nurturing and egalitarian world. The Camp has persisted for three years through hard winters, violence, harassment, and evictions, and has inspired thousands and thousands of women to nonviolent direct action throughout Britain. Women's peace groups have begun in virtually every town, and both women's and mixed peace camps have sprung up throughout Europe and in the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The Camp has received widespread public support and has been at the forefront of massive European opposition to missile deployment. In December 1982, 30,000 women "embraced the base" at Greenham; more than 40,000 returned the following year; and five million people demonstrated throughout Western Europe in October and November 1983.

In June of 1982, in conjunction with demonstrations in response to the Second UN Special Session on Disarmament, women from around the world held the First Global Feminist Disarmament Meeting in New York City. The impetus for the first women's peace camps in this country was born in a strategy session on Stopping the Cruise and Pershing II, when women involved in national and international organizing against the missiles met women working against the presence of first-strike weapons systems in their local community in upstate New York. A coalition of women across New York state, the Upstate Feminist Peace Alliance, had formed to focus action on Seneca Army Depot, the east coast transshipment point for Europe-bound nuclear weapons. The women at the conference decided that this would be a powerful site for a women's peace camp calling attention to the nuclear presence here in this country, in an area of historic significance in the struggle for women's rights. Soon, women were organizing for the Seneca Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice all over the Northeastern United States. Imaginations were captured by the idea of a long-term women's community being created alongside such a powerful symbol of war, violence, and domination. Instead of coming to the

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RACHEL LEDERMAN was instrumental in initiating organizing of the Seneca Women's Encampment for Peace and Justice and the Puget Sound Women's Peace Camp. She is an anarchist feminist currently taking a 3-year vacation by attending law school.

base for a day of protest, the camp would become a visible representation of alternatives as a permanent part of the community and a tangible disruption of "business as usual" at the base.

A couple of feminist peace activists from New York state, and later a woman from Greenham, found themselves in Seattle, Washington, shortly after the Seneca Encampment organizing had gotten under way. Local women were excited by the idea of women's peace camps, and began planning a "sister camp" to Seneca. The Puget Sound Women's Peace Camp opened simultaneously in June 1983 outside Boeing's Air-Launched Cruise Missile plant in Kent, Washington.

Rather than being simply disruptive, actions coming out of the peace camps have been undertaken in a positive spirit of affirming life. They have sought to "shock" military workers and the public into a realization of new possibilities. Women have repeatedly breached security at Greenham. On New Year's Day, 1983, women danced on top of a cruise missile silo, and more recently they were able to get into the control tower. In September 1983, five women of the Puget Sound Women's Peace Camp visited cruise missile workers on the job inside the "high security" ALCM facility. Missile production ceased for an hour or so as workers gathered around to listen to the women talk about the weapons they were building and the obligation of all people to stop preparations for nuclear holocaust. The action was part of an ongoing campaign by the Peace Camp to educate Boeing workers and local residents about the cruise missiles and Boeing's role as the nation's number one producer of nuclear weapons systems—and to make individuals aware of their power to take action. The Puget Sound Peace Camp has not emphasized trying to *stop workers from getting into* the plant, but rather has used a wide variety of means to communicate respectfully with them.

The Puget Sound camp's Unity Statement states in part:

> *We are at Boeing because we believe that giant corporations, as well as the Pentagon, the President, and Congress, must be held accountable for their leading role in the arms race. Nuclear weapons could not be built without the enthusiastic support of contractors like Boeing, Rockwell and General Dynamics. These companies, and others like them, are making billions of dollars from the production of nuclear weapons.*
>
> *These billions in taxpayers' money are coming directly out of the budget for human services, hurting most those who can afford it least. Military spending also increases unemployment and forces many of our workers to produce weapons if they want jobs at all. We believe that the workers at Boeing have a right to work and also to have a voice in what their work produces. We recognize that the Boeing Cruise workers are in an especially powerful position to stop production of the missiles, and we support the workers to take the lead in converting from military to civilian production.*
>
> *We see a relationship between the rise of U.S. militarism and the violence women experience on the street, on our jobs, and in our homes. Both are part of a system that is based on some people having power over others and that legitimizes the use of violence to resolve conflicts. It is no coincidence that the military buildup is occurring at the same time that attacks are increasing on all oppressed groups.*
>
> *While everyone on earth is equally threatened by the possibility of nuclear holocaust, women did not engineer the policies that now hold our planet hostage. We are organizing as women because we feel it is time for women to act together as a powerful force for world peace and justice. We feel as Virginia Woolf felt: "As a woman I have no country. As a woman, I want no country. As a woman, my country is the whole world."*

Puget Sound activities have sought to bring out the connections between local and global militarization, economic inequity, and all forms of violence and domination, particularly as they impact women. An organizer states, "In the long run, we don't think we can stop cruise missiles without changing a whole lot of other things too." Boeing's cruise missile contract runs out in 1985, but the peace camp plans to remain, developing a feminist nonviolence learning center, working in coalitions against violence against women and against U.S. support of repressive regimes in the Third World, and being a thorn in the side for Boeing and other local military contractors. The learning center arises out of the women's continuous endeavor to create new feminist social change process, theory, and strategy.

Peace camps have sprung up all over this country as women have inspired each other. As well as Seneca and Puget Sound, there is now a camp in Wisconsin at the site of Project ELF, radio transmitter to the Tridents; at the Savannah River Plant in Georgia; in Philadelphia; in Tucson; at Sperry Univac, a cruise missile contractor, in Minneapolis; and in the Silicon Valley. Current actions include Greenham women's lawsuit against the Reagan administration and community organizing at Seneca.

For more information, see "Where to Go from Here."

Paying Taxes for Peace Not War

Ed Pearson

More and more people throughout the world are coming to the conviction that it makes no sense to work and pray for peace while continuing to pay taxes to support war and a threatened nuclear holocaust. Many are taking the first steps toward acting on that conviction.

The invariable question asked by people seriously considering war tax resistance, or as I prefer to call it, military tax refusal, is: "Will I have to go to jail if I don't pay my taxes?" Hardly likely. Since World War II, less than two dozen "war tax resisters" have gone to jail, not for refusing to pay tax but for reasons related to their refusal such as contempt of court. The facts are that the IRS is only a collection agency for the government, the IRS does not have the power to put anyone into jail (only to recommend prosecution to the Justice Department after three levels of internal review), and the taxpayer (or nonpayer) can be in charge of her or his military tax refusal at every stage of the process. If the witness becomes too burdensome, the military tax refuser can stop the process by paying the tax and starting again the following year.

It is important to recognize at the outset that military tax refusal should not be considered a form of tax evasion. Military tax refusers base their actions on high ethical or religious principles and generally do not hide their beliefs from others—including the IRS. Most do not object to paying tax. They object to paying taxes to take human life.

There are almost as many forms of military tax refusal as there are military tax refusers. No two situations are exactly identical, and each person's outlook, needs, and emphasis are slightly different. There is no right way or wrong way to refuse taxes. In our complex society, we all contribute to the preparation for war in some way. The goal is to minimize that participation and prove that each individual can live in accordance with her or his own conscience. The unifying force is that if we expect to have peace, we must be prepared to pay for it.

Refusing to pay money to support war is one of the most powerful witnesses possible for peace activists of all ages and both sexes. Most other peace actions call upon others to make a change. When we march, rally, lobby, leaflet, sing, vigil, or demonstrate for peace, we are asking others to hear our message and change their ways. When we consider military tax refusal, we acknowledge our participation in war and preparations for war. We are asking ourselves what we can do to change ourselves. We begin to understand and examine the very real connection between our purse and the Pentagon.

The logic is clear. If everybody refused to fight or to pay for war, there would be no war. Regrettably, humans are not guided by logic alone. We are creatures of habit influenced by emotion and often behave inconsistently. It is one thing to intellectually understand the cause-effect relationship, quite another to do something about it. There are patterns built over a lifetime to change. We are afraid of what our "enemies" will do. We do not want to be different. We do not wish to break the "law." We do not want to suffer the consequences of an action which may cost us more money, money that would otherwise be spent to pay rent, put food on the table, pay for our children's education or medical care. How would our friends, neighbors, relatives, employers perceive our decision to refuse to pay military taxes?

There are no quick and easy answers. Each person must proceed at a pace that makes sense and feels good to her or him. Reading about others' experiences, talking with individuals who are military tax refusers, starting a study or discussion group about military tax refusal are all useful ways in which you can begin to develop your own answers. A military tax refuser does not come into being instantly. There is often a growing recognition within an individual that something is not quite right or doesn't make sense. This process of self-realization and understanding can take years, but, once undertaken, is seldom reversed.

The following information is intended only as an introduction, and anyone contemplating military tax refusal is urged to contact one or more of the organizations mentioned (in "Where to Go from

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ED PEARSON is a conscientious objector to military taxes and a founding associate of the Con$cience & Military Tax Campaign-U.S.

Here") for more information. Military tax refusal is a serious matter and should not be undertaken lightly. Competent counseling will provide additional support. Writing from the vantage point of 15 years of personal military tax refusal and organizational work on the issue of conscientious objection to military taxation, I can report that it can be complex, challenging, energizing, educational, growth producing, liberating, and empowering. I have often described our decision (my wife and I share this conviction) to refuse to pay military taxes as an "ongoing religious experience."

The practical effect of tax laws passed by Congress and enforced by the IRS requires individuals whose religious/ethical beliefs prohibit taking human life to pay taxes used for war and preparations for war.

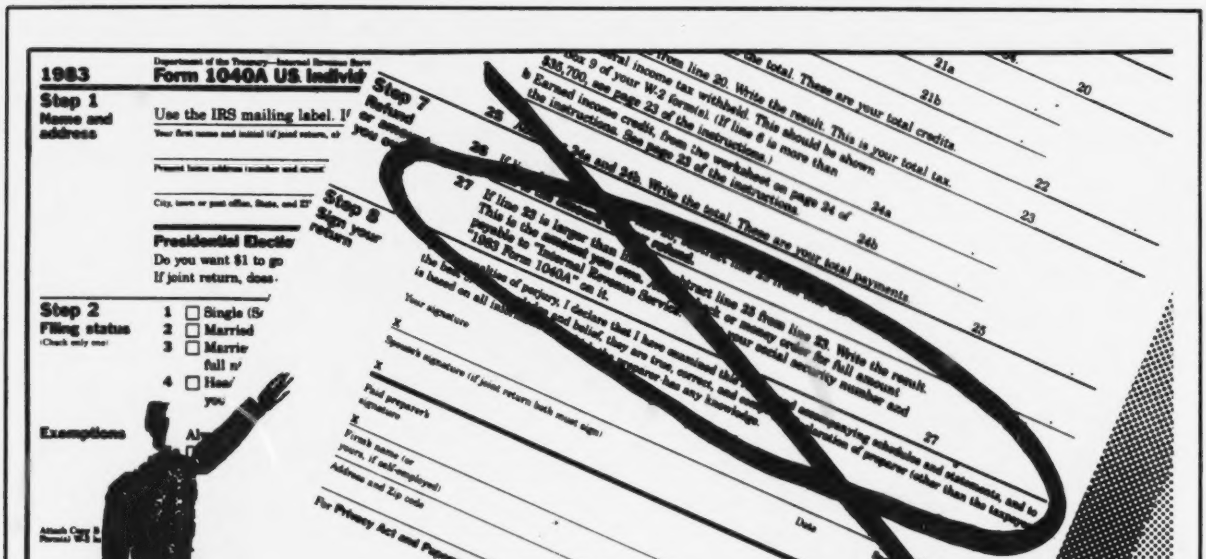
One reason people hesitate to refuse military taxes to help end war is that they feel they are committing an act of civil disobedience in defiance of tax laws passed by Congress. There is, however, another view taken by a small number of conscientious objectors who refuse military taxes. According to the U.S. Constitution, the highest law of our land, Congress has the power "to lay and collect taxes...[to] provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States." Members of Congress also take an oath of office and solemnly swear to "preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States." The First Amendment of the Constitution says, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." And yet, the practical effect of tax laws passed by Congress and enforced by the IRS requires individuals whose religious/ethical beliefs prohibit taking human life to pay taxes used for war and preparations for war. Certainly we should acknowledge that the IRS Code is neither God's law nor the highest law of the land. In legal practice, lower laws which violate higher laws are considered illegal. All this comes down to the fact that the members of Congress have violated the U.S. Constitution and their oaths of office. They have passed tax laws in which there are no alternative service provisions for conscientious objectors. The conscientious objector who wishes to pay his or her full share of taxes for nonmilitary, nonviolent purposes is obeying the highest law. Congress is violating that law. Why should it be legal to pay taxes to take human life and illegal to pay taxes to preserve human life?

Another point in this age of threatened nuclear holocaust is providing for the "common defense." There is nothing in the Constitution to suggest that "common defense" must be a military defense. It is generally understood and agreed that life on this planet would virtually cease to exist if the weapons we have built were used. And yet the military establishments around the world continue to press for more, bigger, and "better" weapon systems in order to defend a particular nation. They seem to ignore the fact that using the weapons designed to defend us would end us. Few people in any nation feel secure or protected by a nuclear military defense. They may choose to support it because they feel there are no alternatives. They may believe that a violent defense is the best and only defense. There is, however, another form of national defense that seems more valid in the nuclear age: nonviolent, nonmilitary defense. This form is not generally understood, nor has it been fully researched, developed, or implemented. (Ed. note: see "Disregarded History," this chapter.)

Fortunately, we have a possible first step toward a solution to all the problems outlined above. We can solve the problem of the conscientious objector who wishes to pay all his or her tax money toward nonviolent, nonmilitary government programs, correct the Congress's oversight of passing unconstitutional tax laws, save the IRS money spent seeking taxes from conscientious objectors to military taxation, and fund government programs which would explore, research, study, and help develop viable alternatives to war, programs such as the National Peace Academy. The World Peace Tax Fund (WPTF) bill, S 2105, HR 3224, was first introduced in Congress in 1972 by Democratic Congressman Ron Dellums from California and later in the Senate by Republican Mark Hatfield from Oregon. It would provide a mechanism on the tax form whereby conscientious objectors could simply check off their status and have the current military percentage of their federal income, estate, or gift taxes earmarked for nonmilitary, nonviolent government programs. Congress has moved very slowly on this bill. Many Congresspersons feel they would lose their control of the purse if this bill were passed. Others feel that such legislation would open the "floodgates" for other legislation geared to special interests. Still others say it would be too complicated to administer. Not one of these objections is valid. Under the proposed law, Congress would still maintain its power to appropriate funds. There is no "floodgate" effect, for it is Congress's job to decide on the merits of each piece of legislation, and tax laws already have thousands and thousands of special cases. As for the difficulty of administering a conscientious objector check-off system, we know that the IRS can do that since a Presidential election check-off contribution already exists.

A large percentage of military tax refusers support the World Peace Tax Fund bill. Some feel that it does not go far enough and prefer to take more direct action by bypassing the political system. Others who are not pacifists, but feel threatened by the excessive military budget and the prospect of a nuclear holocaust, refuse military taxes for that reason. Still others object to this nation's support of oppressive regimes throughout the world and our interference with the self-determination of smaller nations. Some seek to uphold the Nuremberg principles. Some taxpayers are refusing the percentage of their income tax associated with the nuclear arms race (1% for nuclear bombs; 7.5% for nuclear weapons systems) as a way of expressing their dissatisfaction with Congressional response to the expressed will of the people of the United States in opposition to continuing the nuclear arms race.

There are many, many ways in which individual taxpayers can powerfully express their feelings about supporting the military establishment and continued escalation of the nuclear arms race. Some of the choices are to pay your federal tax under protest; to file your tax returns through your Representative's office telling her or him why you are doing this; to pay your tax in pennies, small currency, or other legal tender which is visually symbolic, such as making your check in the form of a mock missile; to file late and pay slowly and explain why you are doing this; to file multiple copies of tax forms at different times at different offices of the IRS with explanations and copies to the media. More explicit forms of military tax refusal include refusing to pay the telephone tax, refusing to pay one dollar (or more) of federal income tax and including a letter of explanation to the IRS and to your Representative in Congress, refusing to pay a percentage of income tax equal to the current military budget (44% FY 1984) or total military budget (60% FY 1984), refusing to



Laurie Greischez
Nuclear Exchange

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pay the percentage used for nuclear bombs and/or nuclear weapons delivery systems, refusing to pay the total amount of federal income tax due, or refusing to file a 1040 tax form. Many military tax refusers under the burden of conscience and a sense of overusing their share of planetary resources avoid supporting the military by living on less than a taxable income. Others use legal loopholes and shelters to avoid taxes; invest in tax-free securities and bonds; form family corporations to take advantage of tax benefits; or reduce their level of income by donating up to 50% of their income to tax-deductible organizations and by making interest-free loans to peace, environmental, religious, humanitarian, or other organizations.

The logic is clear. If everybody refused to fight or to pay for war, there would be no war.

In the context of this article, it is not possible to adequately develop all the possibilities and responses. As just one example, I will share information about an easy and popular form of military tax refusal, not paying the federal excise tax on telephone service. Some people choose this form of military tax refusal because throughout its history telephone taxes have been associated with military expenditures. When more money was needed for World War II, the tax was 25% on long distance and 15% on local calls; 10% during the Korean War and Vietnam War. Each time the tax was being phased out, it was retained or increased to help pay military costs. Currently the tax is 3%, producing over $3 billion in tax revenue.

To refuse the federal excise tax on telephone service, simply deduct the amount from your total bill each month. Include a note explaining that you are paying the full bill less this tax because of your opposition to military spending. (The Con$cience & Military Tax Campaign-U.S. has Telephone Tax Cards for this purpose and to express your support for passage of the World Peace Tax Fund bill. See "Where to Go from Here.") What will the telephone company do? They will notify the IRS of your nonpayment of the federal tax and credit that amount to your bill. This may happen on a monthly or quarterly basis. Occasionally a telephone company has misunderstood the action of military tax refusal and threatened to discontinue phone service based on unpaid phone tax. Federal Communications Commission regulations make it clear that this is not a legal action. You may receive a notice of taxes due from the IRS, but this seems to be happening less and less frequently. As a telephone tax refuser, you will be joining with thousands of others who are using this method to voice their desire to redirect taxes away from military spending.

As mentioned earlier, military tax refusers most often do not object to paying their fair share of taxes. In evidence of their good faith, many redirect their refused taxes to a socially useful purpose. For example, the Con$cience & Military Tax Campaign-U.S. maintains a national Escrow Account for a World Peace Tax Fund. This escrow account was begun in 1979 to hold refused military taxes pending passage of the World Peace Tax fund bill. Over $350,000 has been deposited into this account by nearly 1,000 individuals so far. When Congress passes the WPTF bill, the escrow funds will be turned over to the IRS for deposit into the World Peace Tax Fund and to satisfy any outstanding tax liability of the depositor. Should the depositor need her or his money back prior to the passage of the WPTF bill, it is promptly returned on request. Money in the CMTC Escrow Account for a WPTF is placed in federally insured, socially useful investments that avoid military involvement. The interest is used to work for passage of the WPTF bill and pay the cost of maintaining the escrow account.

There are also many local and regional alternative funds that lend or grant refused military tax money to worthy individuals or groups working toward peace and social justice. The decision about allocating these funds is generally made by the depositors. Other alternative funds attempt to share the cost of IRS penalties imposed on military tax refusers by including support from individuals who may not themselves be refusing military taxes. Information about local and regional military tax refusal groups can be obtained by contacting Kathy Levine at the National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee, P.O.Box 2236, East Patchogue, NY 11772; phone (516) 654-8227.

"To refuse active payment of a tax which our society generally paid, was exceedingly disagreeable; but to do a thing contrary to my conscience appeared yet more dreadful."

—Quaker, 1757

This is what happened when Dinah Bachrach of Sebastopol, CA decided that she *would* pay the military tax amount she had withheld from the IRS:

I was…intrigued by the possibility of having more impact and publicity by *paying* [my taxes] in a dramatic fashion. So, after consulting sympathetic lawyers and an unsuspecting bank officer, and with much help and support from friends, I staged my payment: my 'check' to the IRS was in the form of an 8 foot replica of a Pershing II missile. With friends, some of whom were dressed as death figures, we marched my check through downtown Santa Rosa (in the rain!) to the Federal Building where I held a press conference. Then we marched into the IRS office where I presented my payment in a polite, friendly fashion.

This action has been more gratifying and successful than I could have imagined:

Press

- Front page of the biggest county newspaper the next day
- Local TV news that night
- Three local radio stations and one statewide station interviewed me and played it on their hourly news for a day

Personal responses

- Four people sent me money: $200, $100, $50, and $25!
- Calls: a retired Army colonel, a 90-year-old Congregational reverend who was a C.O. in World War I, and a 60-year-old grandmother, among others, called and wrote to appreciate and support my action.

Funny stories

- An entire coffee shop downtown was engulfed in laughter at a waitress who mistook my missile for an 8-foot Crayola.
- An IRS man congratulated me on the "classiest" demonstration he'd seen yet in that office, and said the workers wished they could have kept the missile as a memento but took photos instead.
- By the next morning, the word had spread to several branches of my bank.

Recent publicity

- I was interviewed for inclusion in the War Tax Project, a slideshow on war tax resistance that will be distributed nationally.
- A successful photojournalist with national and international connections photographed me with the now cancelled missile. (Hmmm, if we could just cancel more missiles!)
- A Sebastopol paper did an extended story on myself and a local grandmother who blockaded Livermore Weapons Lab. It was titled *The Cost of Conscience*.

Where to Go From Here

Disregarded History

Books by Gene Sharp:

Ghandi Wields the Weapon of Moral Power: Three Case Histories: 316 pp. Foreword by Albert Einstein.Ahmedabad: Navajivan Publishing House (founded by Ghandi), 1960. $5.00 + .75 postage from Greenleaf Books, Weare, NH.

The Politics of Nonviolent Action (1973). In three volumes: *Power and Struggle*, 114 pp., $2.95; *The Methods of Nonviolent Action*, 348 pp., $4.95; *The Dynamics of Nonviolent Action*, 466 pp., $5.95. Porter Sargent, Publishers, 11 Beacon St., Boston, Ma 02108.

Gandhi as a Political Strategist, with Essays on Ethics and Politics. 356 pp. Introduction by Coretta Scott King. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1979. $7.95.

Social Power and Political Freedom. 456 pp. Introduction by Senator Mark O. Hatfield. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1980. $8.95.

National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense. Forthcoming 1984 from Association for Transarmament Studies, 3636 Lafayette St., Omaha, NE 68131. About 96 pp.

Making Europe Unconquerable: The Potential of Civilian-Based Deterrence and Defense. Forthcoming from World Policy Institute, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017.

Alternatives to Violence Video Forum. WTL, Box 351(D), Primos, PA 19018. Dr. Gene Sharp, Featured Consultant. 5 videos, 4 hours total, with a 147 pp. Learner's Guide. Lease (60 days, $150) or purchase ($295).

Association for Transarmament Studies
3636 Lafayette Ave.
Omaha, NE 68131
(402) 558-2085

"Disarmament means to become defenseless. We should try transarmament instead. That is, build up a substitute system while the old military system remains in place." (Gene Sharp) Literature, resources, speakers, newsletter. $5 basic dues includes newsletter.

Gene Sharp
Program on Nonviolent Sanctions
Center for International Affairs
Harvard University
1737 Cambridge St.
Cambridge, MA 02138

Women's Peace Camps

Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp
Outside Main Gate
Newbury, Berkshire
England

La Ragnatela, Camp di Donne per la Pace
Casella Postale 151
Comiso, Sicily

Minnesota Women's Camp for Peace and Justice
2344 Aldrich Ave. S.
Minneapolis, MN 55409

Puget Sound Women's Peace Camp
P.O. Box 22756
Seattle, WA 98122
(206) 324-6491

Seneca Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice
339 Lafayette St.
New York, NY 10012
(212) 505-8493

Silicon Valley Peace Encampment
c/o Mary Kline
160 Lincoln St.
Palo Alto, CA 94301

Women's Peace Encampment
Savannah River Plant
Athens WILPF
Georgia University Station, Box 2358
Athens, GA 30601

Women's Peace Presence to Stop Project ELF
731 State St.
Madison, WI 53703
(608) 257-7562

Military Tax Refusal

Listed below are a number of national organizations working on this issue. In addition, there is growing support among many religious organizations for military tax refusers. They can be contacted directly for information.

Center on War and Pacifism
P.O. Box 308, Cokedale, CO 81032
(303) 846-4545

Publishes newsletter, *People Pay for Peace* by Attorney William Durland—a military tax refusal guide for radical religious pacifists and people of conscience. Provides legal information and services.

Con$cience & Military Tax Campaign-U.S.
44 Bellhaven Road
Bellport, NY 11713
(516) 286-8825

Publishes quarterly 40-page newsletter, maintains CMTC Escrow Account for a World Peace Tax Fund, seeks 100,000 signatures on a resolution pledging military tax refusal, and collects statements of support.

Peacemakers P.O. Box 627
Garberville, CA 95440

Publishes newsletter, *Handbook on Nonpayment of War Taxes*—experiences of those who have been nonpayers.

War Resisters League
339 Lafayette Street
New York, NY 11713
(212) 228-0450

Publishes newsletter, war tax resistance material, telephone tax cards, and *WRL Guide to War Tax Resistance*, edited by Ed Hedemann.

100,000 signers of this form will help focus the attention of Congress on the World Peace Tax Fund Bill, an alternative for people who wish to pay the full amount of their taxes without supporting the military establishment.

For more information on this project, contact the Con$cience & Military Tax Campaign-U.S., 44 Bellhaven Road, Bellport, NY 11713, (516) 286-8825.

AS A CONSCIENTIOUS MILITARY TAX OBJECTOR, I AM RESOLVED:

☐ To prepare myself to refuse military taxes by the time I am officially notified by the Con$cience & Military Tax Campaign that there are 100,000 signed resolutions on file; or

☐ To refuse military taxes now; or

☐ To refuse military taxation by living on a non-taxable income.

Signature ______________________ Date

Type or print name ______________________ Telephone #

Address ______________________ Congressional District

City/State/Zip ______________________ County

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Toward a Positive Future

A Senator approached Abraham Lincoln and said, "Mr. President, I believe that enemies should be destroyed." President Lincoln replied, "I agree with you sir, and the best way to destroy an enemy is to make him a friend."

Introduction

Futurists are people who believe that what happens tomorrow or 10 years from now is influenced by what we do today, and who deliberately act on that idea to try to "manage" the future, or at least anticipate it.

Futurists also have the idea that things happen in patterns, and they often try to pick out what the patterns are and project them into the future to see where the patterns are taking us, or could take us. So this chapter is about patterns, and it's also about how change happens, and how change is happening in our culture today.

Finally, it's about ways our culture could cope with the changes going on. These cannot be stopped, but they might be steerable if enough people try.

How Systems Shift

Barbara Marx Hubbard

I think one of the most fascinating studies is the study of radical discontinuities, the study of how systems shift. The most interesting man involved in this right now is Ilya Prigogine. I found him in the *New York Times* with the headline: "Physicist discovers flaw in fatal law." The "fatal law" is the second law of thermodynamics, which states that in a closed system, material goes to an ever increased disorder and all of us are forever and ever doomed. Modern pessimism is based on the idea of what matter does in a closed system. Well, of course, we're not in a closed system, which is a big thing, and there is no "matter," so that's one way of overcoming the second law of thermodynamics. It does work in some systems, but not in the whole system. Prigogine has discovered, in modeling on the physical and chemical level, how systems flip from the simple to the more complex. In *The Aquarian Conspiracy*, Marilyn Ferguson says that Prigogine says that in any dissipative structure, a system in change, at a certain point perturbations and dysfunctionalities build. The first response is that the system uses more and more energy to dampen down those perturbations and instabilities, which we see now happening in all large bureaucracies. Most of the energy in New York City is put into trying to help New York City not collapse, much less do anything new: the garbage, the traffic, the streets. You see the same thing on the nation and state levels, at the United Nations, in any large system; it's spending more and more energy dampening down its own dysfunctionalities. As that becomes increasingly impossible, what's happening is the innovative elements within the system are given more and more space, because the system's busy maintaining itself ineffectively. Therefore, underneath the perturbations and dysfunctionalities, the famous phenomenon of networking is indeed occurring: little clusters of individuals connecting with other clusters of individuals on just about every single problem we've got. If any one of us could in one instant of time experience the power of the networks of self-selecting, free, voluntary people getting together by shared motivation to do something better about something, you would see, right under the surface, the new order of the ages.

It's so close to the surface, but most people don't know it because the mass media doesn't know it. The mass media is our collective nervous system, and the mass media has a disease which I call "disempathitis." It's a disease of the planetary nervous system in which that mass media is insensitive to love, creativity, innovation and growth; and it's supersensitive to dissension, violence, breakdown and death. It's as though your personal nervous system only told you when you felt badly and never reported any joy to you. You would be psychotic. We're on the verge of a psychotic body-politic, not because we're not good, not because we're not capable, not because we're not doing it; but because our nervous system doesn't know we're doing it. If we're going to go through this quantum instant with grace rather than disgrace, the key to the entire thing is that the planetary nervous system report to its members what is good that is already happening. We know the power of positive thinking for the individual. As individuals we're capable of doing it for ourselves, but societally we have the image of doom, disaster, illness, and no social image of wellness, which is false because the wellness is there everywhere.

So Prigogine says that at some point the perturbations are sufficiently absorbing the energy of the old system, and the networks are sufficiently maturing that they begin to interconnect. You can feel it happening now: environmental consciousness, feminist movement, productivity, decentralization, the space colony movement; all these are maturing. As they interconnect, at some point the interconnection becomes self-aware and all these separate little groups know that they're not separate and that the pattern all of them are picking up has a similarity: it's holistic, it's interdependent, it's synergistic, it's cooperative, it's spiritual. The system, to use Marilyn Ferguson's phrase, cooperates in its own self-transcendence, and a new thing is in place rapidly.

BARBARA MARX HUBBARD is an author, speaker, networker, futurist, change agent, and the inspiration behind the creation of 84 Centers for a Positive Future around the U.S. This article is part of a talk Barbara Marx Hubbard gave at Omega Institute in Rhinebeck, NY in August, 1981.

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The Meta Project

An exclusive update
from Barbara Marx Hubbard

We are facing a new human condition. Humankind now has the power to destroy civilization as we know it or to create a world of opportunity for everyone. It is now technically possible to overcome hunger, to eradicate most disease, to reduce pollution, to restore the environment, to explore and develop the resources of outer space, and most importantly, to emancipate the vast untapped creativity of the individual. We are potentially at the threshold of the greatest age in human history.

A constituency for the future is emerging. Millions of people throughout the world are already involved in positive social action to improve the quality of their personal and community lives. Groups, activities, networks and organizations of all kinds are now at work, pioneering breakthroughs in every field.

The idea of uniting people of similar minds across the country and globe is one that fills our hearts with passion. It is the human imperative for survival and growth that impels us.

In the past generation, we have developed remarkable skills in holistic health, personal growth, and inner development. The time has come to evolve from the personal to the social by initiating a social potential movement to realize our collective capabilities. As each individual has untapped potentials, so obviously does society as a whole. It is the actualization of our full spectrum of potentials that forms the basis of a quantum leap in our lifetime.

A comprehensive, catalytic, Meta-Project is now being designed in the following areas:

- *Communication.* Communicate through a variety of media the reality of our potentials to create a positive future.
- *Convergence.* Converge in small groups at the community and organizational levels to practice social synergy: cooperative action based on love to achieve potentials greater than the sum of our separate parts.
- *Involvement.* Involve whole communities in seeking common vision, goals, resource sharing and project collaboration on an ongoing basis.
- *Synthesis.* Synthesize innovators and information about what works in each field, such as peace-building, health, education, energy, and productivity, to support individuals and groups to fulfill their function in the context of the whole. This is the central missing social function to align, bond and discover together the design for a positive future based on full use of all our capacities—personal, social and technological.

To meet these needs, a process of merging main streams of activity is required, for these purposes are "meta"—beyond the scope of any single organization or group. A key question is *how do we merge as individuals and groups to fulfill our part in the evolution of the whole?*

To experiment with this question, the Mandala Society, Transformation 2000 and Town Meeting Centers, the Campaign for a Positive Future, and the World Synergy Institute have decided to synergize their activities and invite others to do the same to fulfill the meta project, which is beyond each of us alone.

We are at the time of exponential connecting of networks, innovations, breakthroughs. We need "convergence zones" to discover the emerging design for a positive future and how to cooperate to achieve it. We need a Peace Room comparable to the War Room. As the War Room maps the forces of destruction, the Peace Room maps the networks of creativity. It identifies the real enemies of hunger, disease, and war and encourages the real victories. It will bring together the latest technologies of peace-making and information-gathering to model and catalyze the emerging civilization. It will:

- Gather information in every field on what works.
- Synthesize that information into Meta models, such as Bucky Fuller's World Game.
- Bring innovators together to discuss how to support each other, also connecting them with leaders in established areas of business, government and media.
- Broadcast "Live from the Peace Room" the new news of our growth and success, with an 800 toll-free number for participation.
- Link up with citizens' groups including Centers for a Positive Future and Town meetings to connect and disseminate information and projects.

The purpose of the Peace Room is the victory of the human race.

In 1986, there is planned a planetary congress growing out of the planetary initiative to link up the six continents by telecommunication satellite on the basic theme of projects that work at the local level. This Congress could be the next milestone for planetary convergence.

"As human beings, our greatness lies not so much in being able to remake the world—that is the myth of the 'atomic age'—as in being able to remake ourselves."
—Gandhi

The Basis for Hope

The possibility of moving beyond war is inherent in the fact that we humans are creatures of change. During the four billion years of life on this planet, not one of our direct ancestors made a fatal mistake before reproducing. To survive for that length of time in a constantly changing environment, our ancestors had to be masters of change.

With the advent of human consciousness, the ability to change extended to the mental dimension as well. Using our minds, we accumulated knowledge and experience which we passed down through generations. Civilizations flowered. We developed cultural and religious traditions, and created magnificent beauty—architecture, music and dance. We explored the outermost and innermost reaches of existence and gained sophisticated understanding of the laws that govern the universe.

We applied these laws to develop ever more advanced and powerful tools—communications, transportation, medicine. We moved mountains, changed river beds, harnessed the power of water, wind, oil, and sun. We explored ocean depths and outer space. We eradicated diseases. We orbited the earth. We put a man on the moon, and brought him safely back to earth. We explored the far reaches of the solar system. With our technological genius, we have become the dominant source of change on planet earth.

The ability of our ancestors to adapt successfully to constant changes in the environment lives on in our genes today, creating tremendous possibility. The capability of humankind to destroy virtually all life on this planet constitutes an unprecedented environmental change. If we are to survive, the response demanded by this environmental change is that we move beyond war. Never before have we been handed an ultimatum of this magnitude.

On the positive side, never before have we been handed an *opportunity* of this magnitude. At almost the same time that science and technology gave us the nuclear ultimatum, they also provided us with the opportunity to eliminate hunger, over-population, and other root causes of war; they gave us inexpensive mass communications to reach into every corner of the globe with the required message; they gave us satellites and seismic detectors that can verify compliance with test-ban treaties; they gave us insight into the mischievous workings of our own psyches; and they gave us the ability to travel around the world to meet one another on a person-to-person basis.

There is potential for this to be the best of times or the end of time, depending on which direction we take at this unavoidable fork in our evolutionary journey. To avoid extinction, to take the fork which leads to life, we must decide to act on the new knowledge that war is obsolete and that we are one.

Can this Marriage be Saved?

Healing Separation in the Planetary Family

Catherine Burton

A group of psychologists and psychiatrists was once brought together and asked "What would you do if you were called in to consult with the President of the United States and the Premier of the Soviet Union to get at some of the more psychological aspects of the difficulties between the two countries?" An intriguing question. Imagine, if you will, what a therapy session with the heads of the two most powerful nations in the world might be like. For indeed the two heads of state represent a situation filled with distrust, anger, hurt, and fear, which, like any such situation, covers up ideals, hopes, and the struggle to survive and grow.

In many ways, the relationship is like a marriage—albeit a bad marriage—and one in which there is no apparent option for divorce or separation. For better or worse, these leaders are part of the same planetary household. In this household, there seems to be a running feud over the rules of the household (economy) and over who makes the rules (governance). Each side feels righteous and justified in condemning the other while turning buried fears into the other's aggressive intentions. These northern hemisphere countries continue their cold and deadly feud in the upstairs bedroom, spending more and more of the household budget on new ways to kill each other. Meanwhile, downstairs in the southern hemisphere, there are many who are starving, searching the kitchen for enough food to survive. Often these countries become infantilized and dragged into the silent feud raging upstairs. Ironically, the very weapons each is using to defend itself have the capacity to destroy the house and the family with it. The more each country tries to defend itself in this fashion, the greater the threat to its own survival. One ends up, unwittingly, creating what one fears by the very means used to defend against those fears. A crazy, vicious cycle. Trying at this point to determine who's wrong and who's right, who started it or who's to blame, is hopeless and nonproductive. This dance can go on forever (maybe not) and is a deadly one.

As we seek to understand the current planetary situation, it is useful to invoke therapists' rule number one for tackling any problem: When you get stuck on a problem, look at the situation from a larger perspective, and new insights and new options will become available. From a broader perspective, we see that the nuclear weapons situation is just the tip of the iceberg, a symptom of some more basic dis-ease, some more fundamental dysfunction in the planetary family. The current addiction to nuclear weapons might be considered a kind of planetary neurosis. Underneath the arms race and the other crises are institutions whose structures maintain national decisions to devote increasing attention and resources to warmaking and "defense." Underneath the institutional systems maintaining this dance toward destruction are the individual and collective choices which represent the will of people. And underneath these choices are assumptions about the world which are based largely on the Newtonian/materialist world view and which are shaped by the forces of the industrial revolution. It is at this level—the level of how we perceive ourselves and our world—that we find the root causes of war. These fundamental perceptions about ourselves and our world are going through a major change—call it an evolutionary identity crisis—which not only exposes the root causes of warmaking, but also opens up real possibilities to achieve peace.

CATHERINE BURTON, PhD, is a Clinical Psychologist in Seattle, Washington. Parts of this article were excerpted from her forthcoming book (1985 publication date), which applies a systems perspective and psychological principles to our current world situation. This approach also provides the basis for articulating new approaches to conflict resolution and for her lectures and workshops on Healing Ourselves/Healing Our Planet. As a co-founder of the EarthBank Association and co-editor of ***EarthBank News,*** *she is also involved with fostering socially and ecologically responsible alternatives to our current economic system and is in the process of publishing a resource directory on sustainable economics.*

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To understand this better, we'll open our lenses a little wider and take an evolutionary look at the human drama. In doing this, we find that humans have gone through other major identity crises as a species during their history on earth. Each crisis has signalled the shift from one era to the next—first hunting and gathering, then agriculture, then industry, with another era currently emerging. Each era has been accompanied by a shift in world view, in commonly held values, in the technology used to meet basic needs, in how people relate to each other, and in cultural patterns of governance, economics, education, communication, and so on.

In the first era, we find that for millions of years Homo sapiens lived as hunters and gatherers, foraging for food in nomadic bands. The human population was small (maybe ten million), technology consisted of simple hand-honed tools, and food procuring practices fit well within the natural order. Conflicts were largely settled by one band moving on to a new foraging region or through undertaking cooperative arrangements, particularly around the sharing of food.

Between 10,000 and 8,000 BC, Homo sapiens left foraging in the bush to procure food through the planting and harvesting of stored seed. The agricultural revolution had begun and with it came the first human settlements. Excess seed provided surplus food, which was bartered in markets. Markets became towns and towns became cultural centers where newly created wealth and leisure led to the development of the arts, religion, and philosophy. These centers of culture in turn became civilizations with complex social structures. As humans moved out of a state of symbiosis with the natural order, the deeply felt connections to the earth expressed in early religions were gradually replaced by religious cosmologies which, like the technology, extended human dominion over the earth. As the size of human groups grew larger *and* as material resources extended human exploration and impact, history witnessed the beginnings of large-scale warfare over territories, resources, and ideologies.

The next identity crisis occurred as new modes of exploration, transportation, and communication in the 15th century resulted in a drastic shift in world view. Copernicus' revolutionary explanation of the Earth's relationship to the sun, Galileo's astronomy, Bacon's scientific method, Descartes' separation of mind and matter, and Newton's clockwork universe overthrew the prevailing authority of the church in favor of the material world view, paving the way for the Industrial Revolution.

Soon machines replaced domesticated animals, rural farms were left for city factories, and smokestacks replaced steeples. The earth was viewed as inert matter to be dominated and exploited for economic profit, growth, and material consumption, giving rise to both capitalist (private ownership) and socialist (public ownership) systems. In his book, *The Third Wave,* Alvin Toffler describes the code which characterized the industrial age as including standardization, specialization, concentration, centralization, maximization, institutionalization, competition, and stimulated consumption. Each facet of life—education, law, family, health, church, business, banking, and government—was shaped by these forces. People became separated from each other and placed in economic boxes—owning class and working class, breadwinners and housewives, producers and consumers, urban industrialists and rural farmers.

Rule No. 1: When you get stuck on a problem, look at the situation from a larger perspective, and new insights and new options will become available.

The rise of industrialism was accompanied by the rise of large and densely populated nation-states, the acceleration of technological innovation and impact and capital-infused power to extend human influence, and consequently the rise of large-scale, deadlier wars.

The atomic destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki signaled the rise of a new era and our most current evolutionary identity crisis. Newtonian physics has been replaced by the physics of Einstein and quantum theory. The world view that is beginning to emerge from all disciplines—physical, natural, and social sciences, philosophy and religion—reveals that mind and matter are not separate and that the universe is less like a well-behaved clock than it is like an organic web of flowing interconnections, a whole living and sacred unity of which humanity is an integral part.

Expanded communication and transportation technologies make us intimately aware of the neighbors who share our planetary house. National boundaries disappear as we view ourselves from space and know ourselves as planetary citizens in a global village. National boundaries intertwine with the rise of multinational corporations and the United Nations, which developed in recognition of our connections and mutual interdependence.

As the fallacies of the mechanistic world view are exposed and as the cracks in the industrial order widen, human beings are moving into a forced-choice situation. We are being forced to recognize our connections to the web of life and our connections to each other for survival and security (destroying another nation is now suicide). We are being forced to recognize that we have responsibility for our own lives. The persistent and problematic perception of separation is slowly releasing its deathgrip as we enter the planetary age; our identities are stretched as they have been in the past to include individual, family, friends, community, and nation, moving now to embrace the planet as a whole.

These fundamental perceptions about ourselves and our world are going through. . . an evolutionary identity crisis—which not only exposes the root causes of warmaking but also opens up real possibilities to achieve peace.

The identity crisis we now face is not only about our perceptions of the world, but even more importantly about our fundamental perceptions of ourselves. From this perception of interconnectedness, a sense of ourselves emerges which goes beyond identification with our egos, our separate selves. We become aware of that deep, essential part of our being which longs for the expression of its potentials, longs to feel connected with and to contribute to life in a meaningful way, which is driven to discover its wholeness. The former sense of our selves as separate egos is based on fear and past conditioning. The sense of ourselves as whole and interconnected is based not on taking mindlessly from life but on giving, sharing, and caring, with reverence for life. Fear is transformed into vision.

I'd like to relate an experience I had which brought home the difference between fear and vision. I had occasion to speak to a number of groups on conflict resolution. Invariably the question "What about the Russians?" would come up. Each time the question came up, people divided themselves into the camps of peace through weapon strength and peace through weapon disarmament. What was actually being fought over was *not* strategies for peace, but rather whose fear was more important. The first group identified themselves with a fear of being dominated by the Russians and so were moved to arm themselves. The second rallied around a fear of the weapons themselves and so were moved to push for disarmament. The idea of disarmament never seemed to satisfy the other side's fears about Soviet intentions. Nor did peace through strength solve the disarmament side's fears of planetary holocaust.

Rational debate was of little avail. At stake here were people's fears for their lives.

In group after group, people argued about who or what was really to be feared. The most amazing thing happened in each one of these groups when the question was turned from what they didn't *want to what they* did *want. Everybody seemed to want the same thing in terms of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Both sides wanted a stable and secure relationship with the Soviet Union which would enhance the survival of both. Even more amazing, when I asked how such a relationship could be achieved, the suggestions came from both sides for communication, communication, communication! Suggestions included regular meetings of the heads of states, crisis communication agreements, negotiated and verifiable settlements, cultural exchanges, and teleconferencing over TV. The group members did* not *go back to weapons as solutions.*

What was also enlightening was that very often groups had a difficult time at first imagining what better relations with the Soviets might look like or how we might create them. Or they felt their suggestions were unrealistic or unlikely to happen, even though some of them were already occurring. It became clear that the problem here was one of permission—to have a vision and to have it happen. *The conditioning in our culture was focusing attention on what we don't want and not on what we do want. We were finding our sense of identity by uniting* against *what we feared, not uniting* for *what we loved. It might just come down to a choice between fighting our fears or creating our visions.*

As we enter this era of new perceptions, which allow us to consider the planet as a whole, we are being forced to ask ourselves about the purpose of life. Is our purpose on earth only physical survival and material well-being, or could it be more than that—a responsibility to and a celebration of life? Could it be that we could actually participate, quite consciously, in the evolution of humankind—becoming responsible now not just for ourselves but for the human family and the planet as a whole? *Is the bottom line simply the growth of Gross National Products which decline with better made products and better health care services and which increase with wars and accidents? Or could it be that life has an accounting system all its own—one more con-*

cerned with the health and well-being of individuals, eco-systems, the planet, and the universe as a whole?

We might also ask ourselves at this moment if there are any clues to help us move into the next era in a more peaceful fashion. Are there ways to create societies which are humane and sustainable? Ruth Benedict, an anthropologist, offered one set of clues. She introduced the idea of synergy (that the whole is more than the sum of its parts) into the social sciences. She found that the idea of synergy discriminated "good cultures" from cultures where there was much aggression and economic hardship. Specifically, she found little aggression in societies which "provide areas of mutual advantage and eliminate acts and goals that are at the expense of others in the group." Societies which were high in nonaggression occurred when "the individual by the same act and at the same time serves his own advantage and that of the group. *Nonaggression occurs not because people are unselfish and put social obligations above personal desires, but when social arrangements make these two identical.*"

High-synergy cultures were not only defined as peace-abiding or nonaggressive, but also had a "syphon system" as Benedict calls it. This syphon system kept wealth circulating through the culture and away from any single point of accumulation or concentration. In such a high-synergy culture, "If a man has meat or garden produce or horses or cattle, these give him no standing except as they pass through his hands to the tribe at large." (Ruth Benedict, "Patterns of Good Culture," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 72, 1970.)

The interconnectedness of the current problems and the intricate systems of incentives toward warmaking indicate that no piecemeal or bandaid approach will work in creating a more secure and healthy world.

These clues give us something to think about in envisioning a society of peace. The interconnectedness of the current problems and the intricate systems of incentives toward warmaking indicate that no piecemeal or bandaid approach will work in creating a more secure and healthy world. No matter how well meaning, short-term solutions based on the Industrial paradigm are doomed to failure. Only a whole systems, ecological approach based on our clearer perceptions of reality will bring us towards long-lasting sustainable peace.

Through the growing cracks of the industrial order, the pieces of an emergent, more synergistic culture are visible. A culture organized around the purpose of maintaining the integrity of life by fostering self-responsibility for meeting needs and self-fulfillment in expressing potentials within cooperative relationships with others. A culture which honors the principles of sustainability and the value of a sacred reverence for life, which fosters local differentiation and autonomy as well as effective integration and communication with the whole, and which, like all living systems, keep energy (information, capital, resources) flowing through the system.

A picture comes into clearer focus. What emerges might be described by James Lovelock's hypothesis. In studying the Earth's systems, he recognized that the Earth displayed self-maintaining and self-renewing properties, inherent in any living organism. He gave the name Gaia, after the Greek Goddess of the Earth, to the idea that the Earth itself is a living system. What is humanity's place within this larger system? Given our self-reflective consciousness and capacity for symbolic language, human beings might function as a kind of nervous system of the planet, a "global brain" of sorts as suggested by Peter Russell in his book of the same name. We seem to be just becoming conscious of ourselves as a planetary organism, screaming out messages of our growing pains through the nervous system of the media. Life on Earth is just now becoming conscious of itself in its evolutionary thrust toward wholeness.

Where is the focal point of human activity in this emerging planetary awareness? It would appear that person and planet find each other in the planetary cells, or ecosystems. Indeed, humans might be the nuclei or intelligent protein within these planetary cells. These ecosystems or bioregions are distinguished by various aspects of flora, fauna, topography, climate, and water systems, along with local customs. Knowing the places in which we live—these life territories—keeps us connected to and in balance with the whole. When we destroy the connection between ourselves and the Earth ecosystem of which we are a part, we become a planetary cancer growing out of control and gradually consuming and destroying the host organism.

The cultural patterns that emerge from this vision find their blueprints in nature itself. These new patterns support mindful policies of preservation, conservation, and sustenance of water, air, and soil; forest, land, and wildlife systems. They support restoration of power to individuals and local communities through creating human-scaled regional production and distribution systems, which would channel capital and resources through small businesses and through worker- and community-owned and managed enterprises. The new patterns support assistance to other cultures in growing toward self-reliance rather than toward economic dependency.

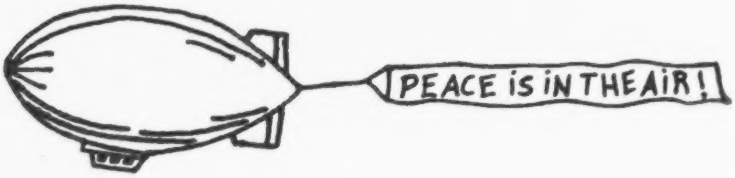
Local regions are made stronger through decentralized, ecologically conscious organic food production systems and renewable energy production systems using resources indigenous to the region, and through integrated community designs which reduce unnecessary transportation relying on mass transit systems. Individuals and communities both are made stronger through preventive whole system health care and creative educational systems to integrate mind, body, and spirit; developing self-reliance, cooperation, and responsibility; and through use of our technology to create planetwide communication networks to foster global responsibility for securement of basic human needs and planetary health.

To return for a moment to our starting point, with the President and the Soviet Premier in the therapist's office, we might now understand a bit more of the problem. The two powerful national egos are opposite sides of the same industrial coin, minted from the same mechanistic, materialistic world view. One side favors the individual and freedom of opportunity; the other side favors the collective and security. Each side has a piece of the truth, however distorted. From the perspectives with which they are operating, their range of options is limited. Were either system to open up to a larger perspective, new options for finding common ground would also open up. The coin of the next era will be minted out of the concern for both the individual and the whole, for both freedom and equality, opportunity and security, traditions of the past and visions of the future, looking different from anything we've seen.

So here is the choice that faces us—each of us: We can desperately cling to the old material world view and industrial order, suicidally fouling our nest, watching the rest of the human family starve while we consume a large part of the world's resources, numbly waiting for the day when national leaders with the turn of a key destroy each other, us, and their host planet with them.

Or we can recognize our responsibility to the life which flows through us and connects us each with each other and with the planet. Recognize that our very survival rests on stretching our identities the next step beyond individual, family, community, cultural, and national boundaries to embrace the whole planet and all of life within it. Action within this context becomes centered on the whole system, which includes each part, rather than centered on the part (ego-centric) to the exclusion of the whole.

We are at a time when, in Thomas Kuhn's words, the old paradigm and new paradigm meet, where the necessity for change can no longer be ignored, discounted, or resisted. This phase is usually characterized by the best and worst possibilities as the system, in Arthur Koestler's words, regresses before it leaps to a new phase and resolution at a higher order. How we face this transition is perhaps the central underlying challenge we individually and collectively face at this moment in history.


PEACE iS iN THE AiR!

The Nature of Institutional Order and World Peace

Richard J. Spady

*"We must not perish by the distance between people and government, between people and power," (Dr. J. Bronowski, **The Ascent of Man**). "How can humanity's capacity for spontaneous co-operation be restored?. . . How (can we) substitute human responsibility for futile strife and hatreds?" (Professor Elton Mayo, **Management and the Worker**).*

George Gallup wrote in *The Reader's Digest,* August 1978: "In conducting thousands of surveys on almost every conceivable issue for nearly half a century, I have learned three significant things about our fellow citizens. One is the judgment of the American people is extraordinarily sound. Another is that the public is almost always ahead of its leaders. The third is that the electorate has become better educated and more sophisticated politically than ever before." On the other hand, in a bicentennial survey commissioned by Congress, Louis Harris, national pollster, reported that the American people were highly alienated and felt that they were not adequately involved in the decisions that affected their lives. It was also reported that a national survey of public officials disclosed that they felt (1) We are doing a good job, (2) In our opinion the average American citizen is uninformed and not capable of making a positive contribution to the solution of our problems. Here is a bottleneck in the successful functioning of our private and public institutions. If leaders feel their constituencies are "not able," then they will not challenge or "let" people participate in a context or arena in which people can be responsible. Why should they do so if they believe that people can not be responsible nor make a positive contribution? This and other barriers to participation debilitate and devitalize our organizations and institutions and are a direct threat to the survival of civilization itself.

As a result of our life experiences in leadership positions in small and big organizations over the past 34 years (military, fraternal, community, business, and church) and our studies in administrative theory, my colleagues and I have reached the following conclusion. *No human organization*—from a husband and wife, the smallest, up to civilization itself, the largest—*will function properly,* the way one hopes it will function, *unless it has a viable feedback communication system.* I have chosen "Zeitgeist" (site gist) as the name for this fundamental principle of human relationships. The Zeitgeist, "spirit of the time," is the intellectual and moral beliefs of an individual, group, organization, community, state, nation, or civilization at a point in time. It is of German origin: Zeit (time), geist (ghost). The closest words in the English language might be our "consciousness" or "consensus" at a point in time.

Zeitgeist Communication is that field concerned primarily with communicating ideas and opinions about those ideas *across* and *upward* in organizations and institutions. This is in contradistinction to most other communication media. For example newspapers, television, radio, magazines, books, reports, lectures, speeches, sermons and so forth have different purposes. These are all very impor-

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If you would like a copy of this paper together with a copy of the referenced NDON Viewspaper® or PLAN Forum Viewspaper® and background sheet on the "People Speak" Citizen Assessment and Public Information bill, send a self-addressed, business envelope with stamped postage for two ounces with your request to: Church Council of Greater Seattle, 4759 15th Ave. NE, Seattle, WA 98105.

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No human organization—from a husband and wife, the smallest, up to civilization itself, the largest—will function properly, the way one hopes it will function, unless it has a viable feedback communication system.

tant, but they are all one-way, *downward,* communication processes. The most highly developed art form of this new field is random sampling based on statistical theory. But it is only the tip of the iceberg.

The Zeitgeist Principle states that organizations don't develop to their full potential unless ideas flow down, across, and upward. When ideas do flow freely, the Zeitgeist begins to become visible. These prevailing ideas are also the "Supreme Governor" and a kind of "touchstone" for the individual, group, or society involved. They play a leadership role at all levels, and influence decision-making spontaneously and naturally. When ideas flow freely and the Zeitgeist becomes visible, people begin to collaborate and to substitute human responsibility for futile strife and hatreds. We need to develop new collaborative social systems, where possible, based on newly existing participation theory to enhance the best aspects of our present representative form of government.

John Naisbitt, author of the recent best-seller *Megatrends,* documents ten national trends now under way in America. Five of the trends included are: We are moving toward an Information Society, toward Decentralization, toward Long-term Solutions, toward Networking, and toward Participatory Democracy. These trends, in our view, taken as a whole, are further evidence of our global movement toward a planetary consciousness.

The United States is the leading democracy in the world. We have a responsibility to demonstrate our leadership by being the best possible example of a fully-functioning, participative democracy and free enterprise system. The free enterprise system, as we know it, exists only within the larger context of a healthy democratic society. It does not exist under totalitarianism whether fascist or communist. So we must devote some of our time, as citizens, to improving the democratic processes of society itself.

To accomplish this we need to develop new participative processes. Historical clues pointing the way abound for those who search. For example, "I would urge all of us as futurists . . . to devote some of our energies to finding new ways to destandardize, deconcentrate, descale, delimit, and 'democratize' planning" (Alvin Toffler, 1975, 2nd general assembly, World Future Society). "The answer to the Nuclear Age just may be the Information Age" (Mason Rumney, 1984, 5th general assembly, World Future Society). The question today is *how?*

First, we must *trust the people!* Even more fundamentally, we must recognize where "authority" really lies. It lies *in the people* and not in an office, title, or task. Authority for leaders to govern flows upward from people to leaders, not downward from leaders to followers. "Authority always lies with him to whom it applies. . . . Authority is just another way of talking about the willingness of the people to submit to collaborative systems" (Chester Barnard, 1938). It is not just rhetoric that the Constitution of the United States and the Charter of the United Nations both begin, *"We the people . . ."* It is history's clue to the ultimate source of power and authority in *all* organizations.

Organized in Washington State in 1970 as a nonprofit, educational research organization, the Forum Foundation has developed ways to increase organizational feedback communication and to strengthen citizen participation in the democratic process. One of the practical tools that has emerged from this research in the Seattle area religious community where it was spawned is the "Fast Forum"® technique. (It was originally called the "Christian" Forum in 1969. See Matthew 5:37.) This looks like a typical questionnaire, but it isn't. It is a new social process that is based on Participation Theory (arising out of administrative theory) instead of Statistical Theory (arising out of mathematical theory) and different rules apply.

In the Fast Forum technique there is a balanced sharing of information but no Robert's Rules of Order, no motions, no amendments, no win-lose situations, no controversy, no arguments, no talking (all talking precedes decision-making), no heat. There is just light, that is, swift, silent, rational, synaptic responses to ideas presented in writing for *objective* responses of Yes, No, Multiple-choice, or "value scale" ranging from Strongly Agree through Neutral to Strongly Disagree. Every question also includes the options of "Abstain" or "Objection." Not only does the Fast Forum technique convey the majority points of view and the degree of consensus, it simultaneously conveys the minority and extreme points of view as well on questions posed. When established, the process provides a clearer sense of

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the "Zeitgeist" of the group. And it uses mass means of communication to do it—printed materials, cassette tapes, U.S. mail, small groups, optical scanners, and computers.

Results are "disclaimed" and not purported to be anything but the opinions of the participants—a part of their "right to be heard." Their opinions are then compiled, summarized, and published in a "Viewspaper" available to all. Recent examples are the National Debate Opinionnaire® Network (NDON) program made available annually to high school debaters and social studies students nationwide without cost as a new citizenship education program (co-sponsored by the Overlake and Bellevue, Washington Rotary Clubs). The National Association of Secondary School Principals has placed this program on the Advisory List of National Contests and Activities for 1984-85. The program was favorably reported also on pp. S8141-2 of the June 25, 1984, Congressional Record. Another example is the Planning Long-range Assessment Network (PLAN Forum) "Viewspaper" of the Church Council of Greater Seattle. This research program allows people to participate in small discussion groups and then "vote" their opinions individually in detail on issues raised. This process does not depend on people attending big meetings at remote distances—the Achilles' heel of democracy. Neither does it force people to choose between alternatives, none of which may be even close to their true opinions.

This well-tested communication technique is applicable on a large scale and has been incorporated into the "People Speak" Citizen Assessment and Public Information bill. This bill was introduced into the 1983 Washington State legislature as (SB 4030/HB672) and in the 1985 House as (H-95/85). Its purpose is to foster citizen participation in the public planning processes of governments through small "Citizen Councilor" volunteer groups with 8 to 12 persons in each and open to all interested citizens. It is the first bill of its kind in the nation.

Sometimes leaders ask—are the results valid? The answer is yes! They are 100% valid for the people participating. They are as valid as the views of people and groups who speak to issues at public hearings—and the process is more convenient. They are as valid as the views of citizens who respond to questionnaires mailed by their representatives—and probably more informed. They are as valid as the views of citizens who write letters or phone their organizational or public officials—and convey more easily understood and useable data including demographics such as age, sex, geographic, and legislative district responses. All such communication is advisory only to organizational and societal leaders who have the *legal* responsibility for decisions in our representative democracy. However, organizational and societal members have the *moral* responsibility to participate with their views and opinions—even simple yes or no responses to complex issues (again, see Matthew 5:37).

This "People Speak" bill is self-funded by nominal fees from participants and will require no taxes to operate. The bill or its concept has been endorsed by representatives from nearly every mainline religious denomination in the state. It is hoped that the process will be in place and working by 1989 as a celebration of the 100th anniversary of Washington as a state and as a gift of the state and its citizens to democracy—the noblest of all experiments in governance. The success of these efforts will depend in large part on overcoming the natural "turf protection instincts" of leaders—political, business, educational, religious, and social (including the media) in Washington State. We are hopeful that leaders in all fields will recognize the fundamental importance of citizen participation to vitalize our societal institutions at this critically dangerous time of our history, and that they will provide the statesmanship needed throughout society to achieve it.

There is much more going on with citizen participation than just getting opinions to help make better decisions and to help people, organizations, and society itself learn. Those dynamics are a part of it, and both are important—but they are not most important. There are indications that such participation leads to institutional order and *peace*. It leads first to peace of mind in those individuals participating, then to organizational and institutional peace, and finally to the peace of civilization itself. People are happier, more satisfied with themselves and their relationships with their leaders, and "authority" begins to flow from people to their leaders and undergirds the essential process of gover-

What we are trying to achieve in our democratic culture is the spontaneous collaboration of people toward their organizational and societal objectives.

nance. *People tend to accept decisions arrived at through participative processes.* On the other hand, decisions arrived at through an authoritarian administrative style that allows little real participation have a way of cropping up as problems again and again—unless force or coercion is present. But if the force is removed, there is no more semblance of peace. Remember, what we are trying to achieve in our democratic culture *is the spontaneous collaboration of people toward their organizational and societal objectives.*

Lawrence Hayworth wrote: "It may be fairly said that the discovery of techniques by which the institutional ground of urban life can be ordered is the outstanding problem of the twentieth century, comparable in gravity to the problem of world peace." Mr. Hayworth could have gone further. We need to find techniques to help us order our organizations and institutions in society and better resolve organizational and institutional conflicts. If successful, we will have taken a giant step toward world peace, for *world peace and institutional order require the same kinds of solutions* even though they are at different scales. *World peace and institutional order are of the same dimension!*

The free interaction of ideas and opinions about those ideas *is the mortar* which binds a creative society or organization, that is, one that is actively searching for solutions to its problems. Any group, organization, institution, community, society, state, nation, world ideology, or civilization that *inhibits* (innocently or not) the free flow of ideas among its people—*down, across,* and *upward* through communication and networking structures—is depriving itself of its greatest resource, *human thought,* and is in grave danger of being buried in history by the avalanche of the creativity of others.

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GREEN POLITICS: The Global Promise

By Charlene Spretnak and Fritjof Capra

Reviewed by Ernest Callenbach

The Green Party in Germany is an altogether new development on the world political scene. In American terms, it's as if the freeze and anti-nuke movements, the women's movement, the environmentalists, the left wing of the labor movement, and people interested in "appropriate" technology (as opposed to mindless high-tech) had joined together into a dynamic new electoral party.

They would have sent 27 people to Congress, plus taking between five and eight percent of the seats in state legislatures—enough to be within shouting distance of holding the balance of power between the two old parties and thus exerting a critical influence on major national decisions.

If you haven't picked up on the Greens as yet, Capra and Spretnak's solid, impressively researched book will fill you in on this important shift in the European political scene—which may soon inspire a parallel evolution in American politics. Americans can be forgiven for not knowing much about the Greens heretofore, since our press coverage of the new party has been erratic and condescending.

Capra and Spretnak quote a *New York Times* story of September 20, 1982, about which the term "hysterical" would not be amiss. The situation improved after a visit to the United States by Green nationalist leaders Rudolf Bahro, Gerd Bastian, and Petra Kelly. Kelly, who has lived in the U.S. and comes across with passionate reasonableness on television, was particularly effective. But most coverage has remained too little, too late, and too dumb.

Here's *Time* magazine, for instance (March 19), gleefully reporting that "(their) chaotic caucus proceedings could only tarnish the Greens' reputation with moderate voters." However, a week later, headlines were proclaiming "Germany's Greens Make Gains in a State Election" in reference to the prosperous middle-class state of Baden-Wuerttemberg, where the Greens' votes rose from five percent to eight percent.

What is going on here? Can the Greens be falling apart and gaining support simultaneously? Such a process would not be unprecedented; after all, it's normal for our own Democratic Party. Who are these Greens and what are they up to?

Capra and Spretnak provide a comprehensive answer by looking at the past, present, and future prospects not only of the German Greens but of related Green parties in New Zealand, Belgium, Holland, and Canada. The authors are sympathetic to Green positions but appropriately critical of some aspects of party developments. Their account is based on a careful analysis of Green publications and documents together with extensive travel, during which they interviewed both leaders and rank-and-file Greens in several countries.

Capra and Spretnak are not merely journalists interested in a quick survey. Capra, author of *The Tao of Physics* and *The Turning Point*, is a leading figure in recent American new-paradigm thinking and German is his native tongue. Spretnak, editor of *The Politics of Women's Spirituality*, is an established feminist writer. Together they confront the ideologically sophisticated and articulate Greens on an equal footing and the resulting book is fascinating, as much for the record of serious political engagement as for its value as political reportage.

The Greens proved "much more frank and self-critical than we had expected," Capra and Spretnak

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say, and leave no doubt that the Green Party is indeed wracked with dissension at present—from which they draw cautionary lessons for our own political future. On the other hand, as some Greens told them, "If you think this is bad, you should have been around when we were getting started!"

When something powerfully new is happening in politics, the strains are bound to be horrendous. The Greens have achieved prominence largely because the organized German left has ceased to comprise the "cutting edge" of intellectual and political life. Since 1979 the Social Democrats have backed more nuclear deployment, centralization of schools and local government, and growth-at-any-cost policies. It is only the Greens who have addressed, for example, the destruction of the beloved Black Forest by acid rain, an energy policy, and nuclear and peace issues.

The new vitality of the Greens attracted young people who had become disillusioned with traditional left parties. Many considered themselves Marxists and were impatient with political proposals that didn't offer much promise of improving the lot of ordinary working Germans. They have offered a tough challenge to the established and more middle-class Greens who were interested originally only in saving the environment, working for peace, fostering women's rights, and similar issues. But, as Capra and Spretnak imply, both factions are essential if the Greens are to remain a strong and permanent party. The Greens are already the only party that is realistic about the future; the question is whether they can be equally realistic about their own organization.

If they manage it they may, as Capra and Spretnak explain with great clarity, win enough Bundestag seats in 1987 to achieve a "Hesse situation" nationally. (In the state of Hesse the Social Democrats are obliged to depend on Green votes to hold a governing majority.) The Greens are already very active in proposing new ideas in the legislatures where they are represented; sometimes their ideas pass and increasingly they are coopted by the other parties. Green presence in a national coalition government would have far-reaching effects on every aspect of German political life.

Capra and Spretnak provide a compact capsule account of Green politics, which is basically a response to the general degradation of the earth and a lack of response from established institutions. As they put it, "35 percent of humanity lacks safe drinking water, while nearly half of its scientists and engineers are engaged in the technology of making weapons. Economists are obsessed with building economies based on unlimited growth, while our finite resources are rapidly dwindling." Technological "fixes" usually create problems worse than those they were meant to solve. Politicans flail about with atavistic "new solutions."

In short, as Capra and Spretnak cogently argue, our traditional vision of reality is not working any more, and Green politics represent the emergence of a new paradigm—ecological, feminist, holistic—that "transcends the old framework." Hence, the Green slogan: "We are neither left nor right; we are in front."

Nonetheless, Capra and Spretnak tax the Greens with having a surprisingly underdeveloped immediate economic program and, even more surprisingly, an insufficiently clear vision of how we will actually live in an ecologically sane and democratic future. They also conclude that the internal Green political process is not working well.

Party internal tensions led to the resignation in February of former general Gerd Bastian, but with typical originality, plans are afoot for a relaxation center near Bonn where Green Bundestag members would "learn group dynamics, stress reduction, and effective communication"; the Hesse legislative Greens have hired a therapist skilled in group dynamics—something John Vasconcellos might try in Sacramento.

I find the morals these authors draw from their analysis to be impeccable, though some will not be easy and some will be unwelcome: Solid issue preparation before entrance into electoral politics; keeping away from traditional radicals; a much stronger feminist practice; the necessity of better interpersonal-political "process." They also offer a useful sketch of the political possibilities that will emerge in America—network, movement, caucus, new party. For anybody who wants to be ready for the next wave of political activism already visibly gathering strength on the horizon, *Green Politics* is essential reading.

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Where to Go From Here

Groups

Centers for a Positive Future
Cathy Gibbert (213) 455-3011

The Mandala Society
P.O. Box 1233
Del Mar, CA 92014

Transformation 2000
P.O. Box 1233
Del Mar, CA 92014

Town Meeting Center
P.O. Box 1233
Del Mar, CA 92014

The World Synergy Institute
2716 Marquette
Topanga, CA 90290
(213) 455-3011

The Visions Project
P.O. Box 5575, Dept. 1
Santa Monica, CA 90405

Action Linkage
Box 2240
Wickenburg, AZ 85358
(602) 684-7861

Action Linkage aims to encourage fundamental change so we can move from the industrial era to the communications era, in which we will be able to create a higher quality of life for all as we take advantage of new personal and technological understandings.

Bioregional Project
Box 129
Drury, MO 65638

Planet Drum Foundation
P.O. Box 31251
San Francisco, CA 94131

Publishes *Raise the Stakes*, a review of bioregional issues, interviews, stories, art, and letters from bioregions around the planet—$15/yr, 3 issues/yr.

Green Movement Committee of Correspondence
P.O. Box 14748
Minneapolis, MN 55414

Information about Green Politics in the U.S.

Books

An Incomplete Guide to the Future. Willis Harmon.
The Third Wave. Alvin Toffler.
Human Scale. Kirkpatrick Sale.
Small is Beautiful. E.F. Shumacher.
The Global Brain. Peter Russell.

If possible, please enclose a contribution to at least cover the cost of a reply to your inquiry, when you contact these or other groups.

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what I can do for peace

This is what I am going to do to help prevent nuclear war:

(You can use this form to record your own personal commitment to peace.)

Draw your Vision of a Peaceful World

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Your feedback will help us do a better job with the next edition of *The Peace Catalog* and forthcoming issues of the quarterly *Peacemaker's Journal.*

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2. What did you like least?

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A project that deserves to be widely known? (Any size—local, national or global)

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Contact person
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Phone
Brief description:

An article, essay, poem, artwork or brief quote?
(original contributions are welcome and will be fully credited)

Please attach a copy or give the source, and a brief description.

(over, please)

Resources (books, tapes, films, kits) that should be included in the Resource Directory?

Name
Contact person
Title
Author
Publisher
Price
Address for ordering

Organizations that should be included in the Directory of Peace Groups?

Name of organization
Contact person
Address
Phone

4. **What do you think is the single most important thing that can be done to end the threat of nuclear war?**

Mail to:
Press for Peace
5621 Seaview Ave. N.W.
Seattle, WA 98107

RECOMMENDED READING (An Advertisement)

A. **GREEN POLITICS** by Charlene Spretnack and Fritjof Capra $11.95 HB, 224 pp. A totally new direction in politics, now established in the U.S. The basic source on a political phenomenon you will be hearing about.

B. **DISPAIR AND PERSONAL POWER IN THE NUCLEAR AGE** by Joanna Rogers Macy $8.95 PB, 200 pp. Beyond numbness to awakening and reality. A wise and powerful book.

C. **PREVENTING WAR IN THE NUCLEAR AGE** by Dietrich Fischer $18.95 HB, 236 pp. Intelligent synthesis of practical unilateral steps, including transarmament, to prevent international conflict. Works with limited, attainable goals.

D. **THE NUCLEAR CRISIS READER** $6.95 PB. Essays by McGeorge Bundy, Adm. Noel Gayler, George Kennan, and others. People of great experience break the national security consensus and lay the groundwork for a new, non-nuclear, more effective strategy. A basic text on the new debate.

E. **FROM THE YAROSLAVSKY STATION: RUSSIA PERCEIVED** by Elizabeth Pond $8.95 PB, 304 pp. "Offers the most lyrical writing and the richest historical perspective in the most concise package". Des Moines Register. Get to know Russia and its people.

F. **The TRIMTAB FACTOR: How Business Executives can Help Solve the Nuclear Weapons Crisis** by Harold Willens $10.95 HB.

G. **MISSILE ENVY** by Dr. Helen Caldicott $15.95 HB, 365 pp. Depth, detail, personal encounters with Soviet & American leaders (including Reagan), perspective and solutions. Hard to put down.

H. **IN A DARK TIME: IMAGES FOR SURVIVAL** ed. by Robert Jay Lifton and Nicholas Humphrey $5.95 PB, 153 pp. A beautiful book. Statements of wisdom from more than 2000 years arranged to reflect and comment on each other, and ultimately to inspire.

I. **WATERMELONS NOT WAR! A SUPPORT BOOK FOR PARENTING IN THE NUCLEAR AGE** by Kate Cloud et al. $9.95 PB, 176 pp., large format, illus., with resources and bibliography. Five mothers demystify nuclear technology into terms children can understand, and offer hope.

J. **The WIZARDS of ARMAGEDDON** by Fred Kaplan $9.95PB, 452 pp. "For thirty years a small group inside the U.S. strategic community has devised the plans and shaped the policies on how to use the bomb. This is their untold story".

K. **PEDDLERS OF CRISIS** by Jerry W. Sanders $8.50 PB, 371 pp. History, influence and strategy of the group of people that largely shapes U.S. nuclear strategy. "The best analysis of current U.S. foreign policy that has been written in recent years."

L. **THE REAL TERROR NETWORK** by Edward S. Herman $7.50 PB. Discloses and documents U.S. involvement in and support of repression in authoritarian Third World countries.

M. **WINDING DOWN: THE PRICE OF DEFENSE** by The Boston Study Group $7.95 PB, 359 pp. A 40% reduction in military spending and a new strategy could improve U.S. security. Can serve as a primer of modern warfare. Includes a guide to further study.

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THE TRIMTAB FACTOR

How Business Executives Can Help Solve the Nuclear Weapons Crisis

Harold Willens

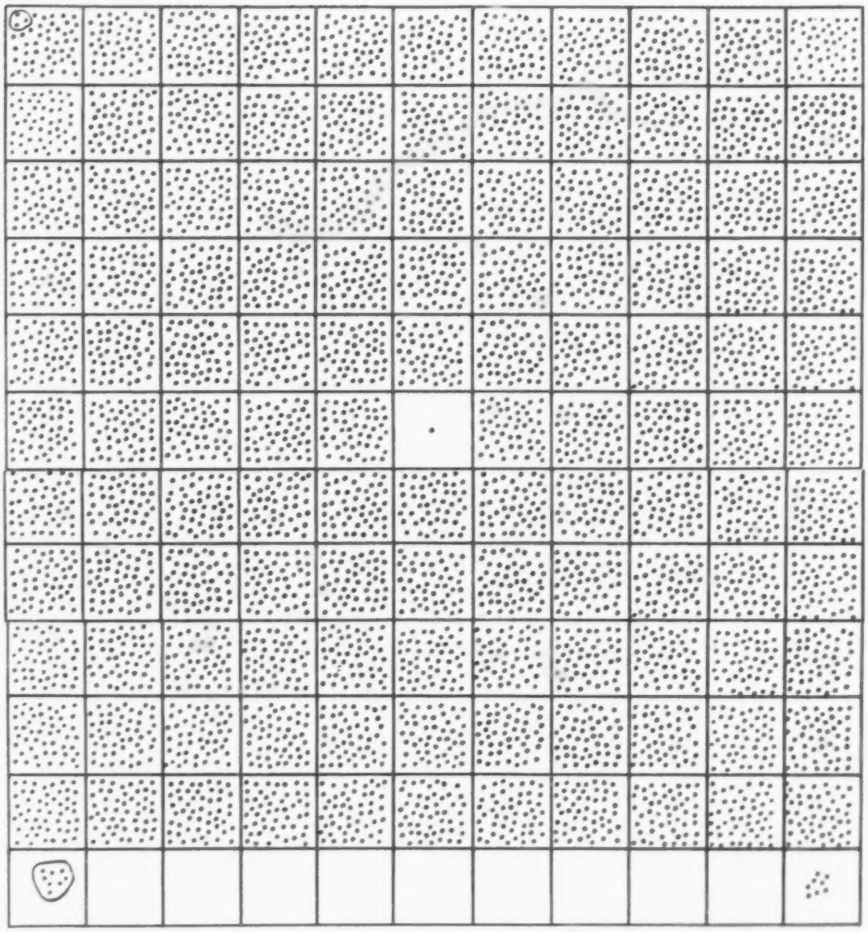
WILLIAM MORROW AND COMPANY, INC.
New York 1984

"Peace is not only better than war, but infinitely more arduous."
—George Bernard Shaw

"The possibility of a short and decisive war appears to be one of the most ancient and dangerous of human illusions."
—Robert Lynd

"Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all."
—George Washington

The end of further experiments with atom bombs would be like the early sunrays of hope which suffering humanity is longing for.
—Albert Schweitzer



World War II took place over six years and killed over 50 million people. The combined firepower of World War II, including the two atomic bombs dropped on Japan, equalled three million tons of TNT. The single dot in the center of this figure represents the destructive power of all of World War II.

The 6,000 dots of this chart represent the current firepower in the nuclear arsenals of the United States and the Soviet Union—the equivalent of 6,000 World War II's. The circle in the upper left-hand square represents one American Poseidon submarine—about three World War II's, enough to destroy over 200 Soviet cities. The circle in the lower left-hand corner represents one new Trident II submarine—about eight World War II's, enough to destroy every major city in the Northern Hemisphere. Plans call for twenty-four new Trident II's. The Soviet weapons are equally destructive.

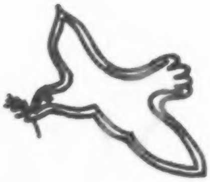
"If the human race wishes to have a prolonged and indefinite period of material propserity, they have only got to behave in a peaceful and helpful way toward one another."
—Winston Churchill

"It's a chump's game. You can spend additional billions and the best you can hope for is that you won't be much worse off in national security... That's why arms control is in the interest of both sides."
—Paul Warnke, Former Asst.
Sec. of Defense

"The arms race can kill, though the weapons themselves may never be used... by their cost alone, armaments kill the poor by causing them to starve."
—Vatican statement to
the U.N., 1976

"Five enemies of peace inhabit with us—avarice, ambition, envy, anger, and pride; if these were to be banished, we should infallibly enjoy perpetual peace."
—Petrarch

"A peace above all earthly dignities, a still and quiet conscience."
—William Shakespeare



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Directory of Peace Groups

About Peace Groups and this Directory

There may be more than 5,000 peace groups in the U.S. No one knows exactly how many there are, who they all are, or what they're doing. Some appear and others dissolve every day. Some have many thousands of members and hundreds of affiliated groups or branches, while others consist of a few people. Some concentrate on research and providing information, others on community education and involvement, and still others on political action. The range of activities is nearly as broad as the range in membership size and composition.

The 1,000+ listings in this Directory are compiled from replies to over 3,000 interview forms mailed out in the summer of 1984. Obviously there are many omissions. For these we apologize, and also for any errors that may have crept in.

Using this Directory

National groups appear first, listed alphabetically. Local groups follow, broken down alphabetically by state and by city within each state. Local groups within the same city are listed alphabetically.

Reading the Directory can be educational in itself. The variety reflects the diversity of American culture.

If you are looking for a group to get involved in, the best way to use this Directory is as a doorway into the network. You may find just the right group for your interests listed here, or you may not. If not, just start looking into the groups that seem like the closest possibilities, telling people what you want and asking if they know a group already active in that way. The chances are good that one exists, and that with some persistence on your part the network will lead you to it.

If not, you can start a group yourself. The "Nuclear War Prevention Kit," $1.00 from the Center for Defense Information (see Directory) can save you a lot of time and trouble if you do. If you decide to start a branch of a larger organization, they will have suggestions on how to go about it.

National Peace Groups

Adventist Peace Network
11136 Yardley
Loma Linda, CA 92354
(714) 796-6281
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: members
NO. OF MEMBERS: 10
MEMBERSHIP: Seventh Day Adventists
RANGE: national
A newly formed campus study group formed to promote nonviolence and raise consciousness among the Adventist community.

AJ Muste Memorial Institute
339 Lafayette St.
New York, NY 10012
(212) 533-4335
RANGE: international
Foundation supporting projects to explore the connections between nonviolence and positive social change. Sponsors international seminars on training for nonviolent action.

Albert Einstein Peace Prize Foundation
1430 W. Wrightwood Ave.
Chicago, IL 60614
(312) 472-8832
FOUNDED: 1979
FUNDING: individuals, foundations
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: AEPPF Newsletter
Works toward bilateral verifiable nuclear arms reductions. Key members meet frequently and privately with world leaders to influence policy and opinion outside the constraints of official diplomatic channels. Awards $50,000 annually to an individual who has made an outstanding contribution to world peace and international security, such as Joseph Cardinal Bernadin in 1983. The Arid Lands Agricultural Development Project will establish an agriculturally and socially self-sustaining farming community in Egypt as a model for similar efforts elsewhere.

American Academic Association for Peace in the Middle East
69 Bank St.
New York, NY 10014
(212) 532-5005
RANGE: national
Publishes "Middle East Information Series." Supports research and debate on the origins of conflict in the Middle East and the prospects for peace.

American Civil Liberties Union
132 W. 43rd St.
New York, NY 10036
(212) 944-9800
FOUNDED: 1920
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 250,000; 63 branches
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Civil Liberties, to membership
Defends the Constitutional rights of all Americans to freedom of expression, due process of law, equal treatment before the law, and privacy, through litigation, lobbying, and public education. Sponsors special projects including the Capital Punishment Project, Children's Rights Project, National Prison Project, Center for National Security Studies, Reproductive Freedom Project, and Women's Rights Project. Fifty independent branches and eight national chapters are affiliated with national, but autonomous.

American Friends Service Committee
1501 Cherry St.
Philadelphia, PA 19102
(215) 241-7000
FOUNDED: 1917
FUNDING: contributions
RANGE: international, 10 regional offices
NEWSLETTER: Quaker Service Bulletin (to donors)
Contributions are tax deductible. AFSC is a Quaker organization whose work is based on belief in the dignity and worth of every person and faith in the power of love and nonviolence to bring about change. AFSC workers conduct projects of social and technical assistance to help people in developing areas discover and use their own power and resources. At home, AFSC shares organizing skills with minorities and low-income groups to end racism, sexism, and poverty. AFSC staff work to build informed public resistance to war, militarism, and the nuclear arms race, and advocate nonviolent action.

Americans for Democratic Action (ADA)
1411 K St. NW, Suite 850
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 638-6447
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: ADA World (monthly, $15/yr)
Lobby group supporting arms control and disarmament, nonintervention, civil rights, economic regulation, and education.

American Society of International Law
2223 Massachusetts Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20008
(202) 265-4313
MEMBERSHIP: lawyers
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: American Journal of International Law (quarterly, $42/yr)
Studies international law and promotes international relations based on law and justice.

American Veterans Committee
1346 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 930
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 293-4800
Membership: Veterans
Range: National
Supports multilateral arms reduction. Concerned with limited warfare & veteran rehabilitation.

Architects for Social Responsibility
225 Lafayette St.
New York, NY 10012
(212) 260-6131
MEMBERSHIP: architects
RANGE: national
Works to reverse the arms race.

Athletes United for Peace
P.O. Box 1776
Lawrence, KS 66044
(913) 843-6435
MEMBERSHIP: athletes
RANGE: national
Advocates international athletic competitions and supports a bilateral freeze.

Atlantic Council of the United States
1616 H St. NW
Washington, DC 20006
(202) 345-9353
NEWSLETTER: Atlantic Community Newsletter (monthly, $25/yr)
An information center that aims to promote security of the U.S. and NATO through studies of NATO military, economic, and political concerns.

Bread for the World
802 Rhode Island Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20018
(202) 269-0200
FOUNDED: 1974
FUNDING: dues ($15/yr), contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 45,000
MEMBERSHIP: Christians concerned about hunger
RANGE: national
Christian citizens' movement focusing on hunger. Lobbies for hunger-reducing governmental measures such as grain reserve program, Hunger and Global Security Bill, legislation addressing African food crisis. Organized by state and congressional district, several hundred active local groups.

Business Executives for National Security (BENS)
21 Dupont Circle, 4th Fl.
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 429-0600
MEMBERSHIP: businesspeople
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Trendline (quarterly, $35/yr)
Educates and lobbies to decrease military spending and increase support for economic and social programs.

Campaign Against Nuclear War
122 Maryland Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 543-5556
HOTLINE: 800-528-6050 ext. 47
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: foundations, private donations
RANGE: national

Supports a toll-free number used by many peace groups to disseminate Nuclear War Prevention Manual and individual group resources.

Campaign for Political Rights
201 Massachusetts Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 547-4705
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Alert (monthly, $25/yr), Organizing Notes (bimonthly)
Works to end intelligence agency abuse at home and abroad. Defends the freedom to speak and organize and provides educational materials, films, and resources to national organizations.

Campaign for UN Reform
600 Valley Rd.
Wayne, NJ 07470
(201) 694-6333
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: UN Reform Campaigner (quarterly, $25/yr)
Proposes to strengthen UN activities such as peacekeeping; mediation and arbitration; disarmament; management of the oceans, environment, and scarce resources; monetary policy, tariffs, and trade; aid to development.

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, NY 10112
(212) 572-8200
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Foreign Policy (quarterly, $15/yr)
Promotes research, education, and discussion on foreign policy issues including arms control.

Catholic Peace Fellowship
339 Lafayette
New York, NY 10012
(212) 673-8990
FOUNDED: 1964
FUNDING: membership donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 5,600; 15 branches
MEMBERSHIP: Catholic pacifists
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: CPF Bulletin (3 times per year, donation)
Contributions are tax deductible. A national Catholic pacifist association that supports the principles of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Purpose is to "educate and intiate action programs toward peace and in the spirit of Christian nonviolence." Provides draft counseling for conscientious objectors and promotes disarmament and war tax resistance as well as anti-nuclear resistance.

Center for Defense Information (CDI)
600 Maryland Ave. SW, Suite 303W
Washington, DC 20024
(202) 547-6406
HOTLINE: (202)-DEFENSE
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Defense Monitor (monthly, $15/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. Information center on U.S. and major powers' military technology, weapons development, and military policy.

Center for Development Policy
418 10th St. SE
Washington, DC 20003
(202) 547-6406
FOUNDED: 1977
FUNDING: foundations, major donors
NO. OF MEMBERS: 4,000 donors
MEMBERSHIP: press, public groups, officials
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Center Summaries ($15/yr, free if requested)
Contributions are tax deductible. Works to reorient U.S. foreign and military policy toward developing countries. Investigates U.S. support of private interests, authoritarian regimes, and transfer of nuclear technology overseas. Commissions on Central America, Asia, and Africa.

Center for Development Policy/ New England Office
11 Garden St.
Cambridge, MA 02138
(617) 576-2432
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: national office, foundations, individuals
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Country Reports (periodically, $25/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. New England office deals particularly with nuclear proliferation and safety risks of U.S. nuclear exports to the developing world. Conducts research on various aspects of U.S. foreign policy and publishes findings in Country Reports, circulated to the press, Congress, citizens' groups here and overseas.

Center for Innovative Diplomacy
644 Emerson, Suite 32
Palo Alto, CA 94301
(415) 328-5137
FUNDING: dues ($25/yr, $15 low-income)
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: The CID Report (quarterly)
Contributions are tax deductible. Working to create a prototypical arms control database and computer network to demonstrate the potential of such state-of-the art systems to help people and organizations worldwide to communicate and coordinate efficiently. Does research and education.

Center for National Security Studies
122 Maryland Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 544-5380
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: First Principles (monthly, $25/yr)
Monitors national security and intelligence agencies to protect civil liberties. Carries out litigation with the ACLU on issues of classified information. Maintains library and resource center.

Center for Nuclear Responsibility
7210 Red Rd. #208
South Miami, FL 33143
(305) 661-2165
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 200
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: national
Researches nuclear power issues and informs the general public, primarily through litigation. Issues include nuclear waste, safety, workers, and the nuclear connection.

Center for War/Peace Studies
218 E. 18th St.
New York, NY 10003
(212) 475-0850
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Global Report (quarterly, $20/yr)
Studies possibilities for moving toward a more peaceful and just world system.

Center on Law and Pacifism
P.O. Box 308
Cokedale, CO 81032
(303) 846-4545
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 200
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Center Peace (bimonthly, $5/yr)
A cooperative for radical religious pacifists and conscientious objectors. Provides legal services, research, support groups, courses and workshops, paralegal training, draft and registration counseling. Supports military tax refusal, conscientious civil disobedience, resistance to nuclear holocaust, and alternatives to institutional violence.

Centers for a Positive Future
P.O. Box 51627
Palo Alto, CA 94303
(415) 493-7737
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 84 branches
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: national
A grassroots organization concerned with disarmament, environmental, and justice issues. Aims to "model and demonstrate the change we wish to make in the world." Does fundraising, voter registration, special events.

Central American Information Office (CAMINO)
1151 Massachusetts Ave.
Cambridge, MA 02138
(617) 491-4461
RANGE: national
Conducts research on intervention and conflict in Latin America. Publications include "El Salvador: Background to the Crisis," "Bibliography and Research Guide," "El Salvador 1982: Elections Without Choice."

Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors (CCCO)/An Agency for Military and Draft Counseling
2208 South St.
Philadelphia, PA 19146
(215) 545-4626
FOUNDED: 1948
FUNDING: contributions
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: CCCO News Notes (quarterly, free)
Contributions are tax deductible. Provides counseling and legal help for people facing the draft and for people who need discharge from the military, either as conscientious objectors or for other reasons. It also tries to reach young people before they enlist with information about military life and conscientious objection.

Children's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
RD 1, Box 550
Plainfield, VT 05667

(802) 454-7119
MEMBERSHIP: grade school students
RANGE: national
Educates and activates young children against nuclear weapons. Initiated letter-writing campaign to the White House urging disarmament measures.

Christic Institute
1324 N. Capitol St.
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 797-8106
MEMBERSHIP: Catholic
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Convergence (donation requested)
Lobby group that conducts litigation and education to bring contemporary public policy in line with religious values. Provides legal services for social policy, civil rights, and peace issues.

Churches' Center for Theology and Public Policy
4500 Massachusetts Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20016
(202) 363-3088
FOUNDED: 1977
FUNDING: churches
RANGE: national, international
NEWSLETTER: Center Circles ($5/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. An ecumenical study center of disarmament, health care, international political economy, minority and women's rights, and urban issues. The Center intends to "muster the intellectual resources of the churches for the sustained study of the bearing of Christian faith on political life and thought"; "develop human perspectives on policy issues and processes"; and "affirm and nourish the ministry of the laity among politicians, bureaucrats, diplomats, judges, lobbyists, and activists."

Citizens Against Nuclear War
1201 16th Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 822-7483
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 57 organizations
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Briefing (to members)
Coalition of national memebership groups supporting nuclear arms control and disarmament.

Citizens for Common Sense in National Defense
2000 P St. NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 296-6580
RANGE: national
Lobby group that monitors support for bilateral freeze and uses national media to publicize Congressional positions.

Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC)
198 Broadway
New York, NY 10038
(212) 964-6730
MEMBERSHIP: religious
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: CALC Report (monthly, $20/yr)
Disseminates information and advocates citizen action on disarmament, human rights, world hunger, and third world development.

Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy
712 G St. SE
Washington, DC 20003
(202) 546-8400
FOUNDED: 1976
FUNDING: foundations, members
NO. OF MEMBERS: 55 groups
MEMBERSHIP: national groups concerned with human rights, disarmament
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Coalition Close-Up (monthly, free to members)
Contributions to Foreign Policy Education Fund are tax deductible. A coalition of national religious, peace, professional, and social-action organizations such as the YWCA, SANE, ADA, National Council of Churches, and OXFAM America. Combines grassroots constituent education and organizing with coordinated lobbying on Capitol Hill, to develop and pass legislation to promote arms control and disarmament; stop first-strike weapons production; shift federal spending away from military into human needs; support human rights by stopping U.S. intervention in Central America and aid for repressive regimes worldwide.

Commission of the Churches on International Affairs
World Council of Churches
777 UN Plaza
New York, NY 10017
(212) 867-5890
MEMBERSHIP: religious groups
RANGE: international
Provides information and guidance to 300 member churches of World Council of Churches regarding international problems. Aids in the formation of Christian attitudes on world issues.

Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD)
201 Massachusetts Ave. NE, Rm 111
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 547-4340
NO. OF MEMBERS: 450 organizations
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Anti-Draft (bimonthly, $15/yr)
Coalition of more than 50 national groups and 400 local groups working against reestablishment of the draft.

Committee for a New Korea Policy
221 Central Ave.
Albany, NY 12206
(518) 434-4037
RANGE: national
Disseminates information on U.S. policy in South Korea and works to eliminate U.S. nuclear weapons in South Korea.

Committee for National Security
2000 P St. NW, Suite 515
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 833-3140
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: foundations, contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 100
MEMBERSHIP: by invitation
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: CNS Reports (quarterly) and various other papers and reports ($35/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. A nonprofit, nonpartisan organization dedicated to promoting debate on national security issues. Through public education programs, concentrates on involving and educating leaders and organizations who, in turn, can mobilize other constituencies to become active participants in the national security debate.

Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES)
930 F St. NW, Rm 720
Washington, DC 20004
(202) 887-5019
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Alert (monthly, $10/yr)
Works to foster public awareness of human rights violations in El Salvador. Opposes U.S. intervention in Central America. Coordinates activities of 300 local branches.

Committee to Stop Chemical Atrocities
413 E. Capitol St. SE
Washington, DC 20003
(202) 543-1286
RANGE: national
Alerts public to the dangers and uses of chemical weapons. Works for their abolition.

Common Cause
2030 M St. NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 833-1200
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Common Cause (bimonthly, $20/yr)
Lobby group against special interests and for governmental accountability. Supports a bilateral nuclear freeze.

Communicators for Nuclear Disarmament
354 Congress St.
Boston, MA 02210
(617) 423-7886
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: foundations, dues ($10/yr)
NO. OF MEMBERS: 200
MEMBERSHIP: communications professionals
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: CFND News (free to members, free to others on request)
Contributions are tax deductible. Media professionals offering free or low-cost services in graphic design, photography, writing, illustrations, and public relations to other peace groups. Undertakes national outreach projects; for example, newspaper, magazine, mass transit advertising.

Community Media
1001 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 507
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 223-6220
RANGE: national
Offers public relations and media training services to progressive organizations dedicated to social change.

Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility
P.O. Box 717
Palo Alto, CA 94301
(415) 322-3778
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: foundations, dues ($20/yr)
NO. OF MEMBERS: 600; 10 branches
MEMBERSHIP: computer professionals
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: CPSR Newsletter (quarterly, free to members)
"Dedicated to the development and public presentation of expert analysis of society's use of computer technology, particularly as it contributes to

the threat of nuclear war." Activities include preparation of articles for newspapers and journals, presentation of public lectures and interviews. Membership open only to computer professionals.

Concerned Educators Allied for a Safe Environment
c/o Schirmer
17 Gerry St.
Cambridge, MA 02138
(617) 864-0999
FOUNDED: 1979
FUNDING: dues ($5/yr)
NO. OF MEMBERS: 500
MEMBERSHIP: early childhood educators and parents
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: CEASE News (quarterly, $5/yr)
A national network of educators and parents concerned about the danger of nuclear power and nuclear war. Works to alert the community to the nuclear danger and support each other in work for a peaceful future.

Conscience and Military Tax Campaign-U.S.
44 Bellhaven Rd.
Bellport, NY 11713
(516) 286-8825
FOUNDED: 1979
FUNDING: donations, interest on escrow account
NO. OF MEMBERS: 5,000
MEMBERSHIP: conscientious objectors, pacifists
RANGE: national
Works to gain passage of U.S. Senate Bill S880, The World Peace Tax Fund Bill, which would allow conscientious objectors the right to direct income, estate, or gift tax payments to nonmilitary purposes. Has established an escrow account to handle such funds until passage of the bill. Also initiated the Conscience and Military Tax Resolution, which pledges signers to refuse payment of military taxes by the time 100,000 signatures have been gathered unless Congress provides a legal alternative.

Consider the Alternatives
1411 Walnut St., Suite 920
Philadelphia, PA 19102
(215) 848-4100
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: CTA Reports (monthly, $5/yr)
Produces a syndicated national radio program that supports disarmament and halting superpower intervention. A project of SANE Educational Fund.

Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development (COPRED)
Department of Political Science
361 Lincoln Hall
University of Illinois
Urbana, IL 61801
(271) 333-3881
FOUNDED: 1970
FUNDING: dues, contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 550
MEMBERSHIP: peace organizations, activists
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: COPRED Peace Chronicle (free to members)
Contributions are tax deductible. A nonprofit organization that links persons and institutions interested in scientific study, action-oriented research, and education on problems of peace and social justice. Involved in research, production of material resources for education and research use; sponsors workshops and special programs. Associated with the Pan-American Council for Peace Research, UNESCO, and the International Peace Research Association. Also co-sponsors the publication of "Peace and Change: A Peace Research Journal."

Council for a Livable World
11 Beacon St.
Boston, MA 02108
(617) 742-9395
HOTLINE: (202) 543-0006
FOUNDED: 1962
FUNDING: member donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 80,000
RANGE: national
Arms control advocacy/lobbying group. Monitors Senate legislation and provides information to Senators explaining weapons systems dangers. Also lobbies Executive Branch including the White House and Pentagon. Political Action Committee endorses and supports candidates.

Council on Economic Priorities
84 5th Ave.
New York, NY 10011
(212) 691-8550
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: monthly ($25/yr)
Studies the economic impact of military spending generally and of the nuclear arms race particularly.

Council on Foreign Relations
58 E. 68th St.
New York, NY 10021
(212) 734-0400
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Foreign Affairs (quarterly, $18/yr)
Promotes discussion of international issues among influential elites.

Council on Religion and International Affairs (CRIA)
179 E. 64th St.
New York, NY 10021
(212) 836-4120
MEMBERSHIP: religious
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Worldview (monthly, $7.50/yr)
Holds seminars and publishes books and pamphlets approaching international issues from a religious and ethical perspective.

Cruise and Pershing Project
119 Constitution Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 543-2482
RANGE: national
Coalition providing information on funding, testing, and deployment status of Cruise and Pershing II. Lobbies Congress to delay deployment and works with national peace groups to develop legislative strategy against the missiles.

Educators for Social Responsibility
23 Garden St.
Cambridge, MA 02138
(617) 492-1764
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: dues ($20/yr), foundations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 5,000; 85 chapters
MEMBERSHIP: educators
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Forum (quarterly, free to members)
Contributions are tax deductible. A national membership organization of teachers and administrators, with a network of chapters around the country. A national resource center for the development and implementation of balanced curricula in schools and universities. The national office and local chapters develop curricula presenting different points of view on nuclear arms issues, educate adults through speaking, conferences and in-service programs; work with schools and parents to plan and introduce curricula; and assess educational materials on the arms race.

Eighth Day Center for Justice
434 S. Wabash Ave.
Chicago, IL 60605
(312) 427-4351
FOUNDED: 1974
FUNDING: dues ($10/2 yr)
NO. OF MEMBERS: 15 Catholic religious communities
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Legislative Action System (monthly); 8th Day Report (bimonthly); free to members
Contributions are tax deductible. A Catholic religious organization whose goal is "to bring about a more just society by working to change structures that oppress." Key issues include peace and disarmament, employment and economic alternatives, and human rights. Primary strategies include educational outreach (extensive audiovisual library), advocacy, legislative action, monitoring, and direct action. Also involved in Systems Analysis and Justice Education programs.

Environmental Policy Institute
317 Pennsylvania Ave. SE
Washington, DC 20003
(202) 544-2600
RANGE: national
Conducts research, education, and lobbying on a wide spectrum of environmental hazards, including nuclear weapons production, testing, transportation, and waste disposal.

Esperanto Language Peace Movement
452 Aldine #501
Chicago, IL 60657
(312) 549-0982
HOTLINE: (312) 267-7655
FOUNDED: 1982
RANGE: international
MAGAZINE: Paco ($10/yr)
The world Esperanto language peace movement seeks to promote ONE commonly understood worldwide language and to share information about peace across ethnic language boundaries, through publications, meetings, and personal contacts in the international language, Esperanto.

Evangelicals for Social Action
712 G St. SE
Washington, DC 20003
(703) 237-7464
FOUNDED: 1978
FUNDING: dues ($15/yr)
NO. OF MEMBERS: 3,200
MEMBERSHIP: evangelical Christians
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Update (free to members); Parley ($6/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. Seeks to "foster among all Christians, but especially among evangelicals, a holistic discipleship which actively pursues peace, justice and liberty in society

according to Biblical principles." Local chapters attempt to organize Christians into community bases of social action. National develops educational resources to assist in consciousness raising, including tracts for justice, public policy reports, book and tape services, speakers' bureau. Organizes public policy task forces and issue-specific projects.

Federalist Caucus
P.O. Box 19482
Portland, OR 97219
(503) 292-4586
FOUNDED: 1976
FUNDING: enrollment fees ($15-25/yr), subscriptions
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Federalist Caucus Report (free to enrollees)
An ongoing political action registry and information service for voters seeking a more just and humane world order. Purpose is to facilitate the process of moving beyond the war system toward a system of law and world governance by annually conveying to the Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus of the U.S. Congress and the Parliamentarians for World Order the members' support, publishing annual reports on these groups and selected citizens' organizations, and suggesting ways to inject discussions of global issues into electoral campaigns at all levels.

Federation of American Scientists
307 Massachusetts Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 546-3300
FOUNDED: 1946
FUNDING: dues ($25/yr), grants
NO. OF MEMBERS: 5,000
MEMBERSHIP: scientists of all kinds, lawyers, doctors
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Public Interest Report (monthly)
Founded by the atomic scientists to prevent nuclear war. Goals are to make science serve society; let the voice of science be heard; end the U.S.-Soviet arms race and maintain world peace; carry the benefits of science to all humanity; solve the problems of environment, health, agriculture, and population; ensure the proper functioning of government; strengthen scientific capabilities; and protect freedom of expression. A public interest lobby particularly concerned with arms control and energy.

Fellowship in Prayer
134 Franklin Corner Rd.
Lawrenceville, NJ 08648
(609) 896-3636
FOUNDED: 1949
FUNDING: endowment
NO. OF MEMBERS: 2,000
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: national, international
Contributions are tax deductible. Nondenominational group formed to "promote the practice of prayer among people of all faiths whose fundamental belief is in God" and thus to "foster a deeper spirit of understanding and fellowship among humankind, thereby helping to bridge the gap caused by our differences in sex, race, creed, class, and culture." Provides books, pamphlets, and study kits for use by groups. Also provides a referral service.

Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR)
P.O. Box 271
Nyack, NY 10960
(914) 358-4601
FOUNDED: 1914
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 32,000; 92 branches
MEMBERSHIP: pacifist
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Fellowship (8 times/yr, $10/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. An international membership organization with headquarters and national staff in Nyack, New York; local groups across the U.S.; and an international staff in Alkamaar, Holland, coordinating chapters in countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, and South America. Members work to abolish war and militarism and to create a social order in which no individual or group will be exploited or oppressed. Provides information and advocates citizen action on disarmament, the draft, nonintervention, and human rights.

Feminist Nonviolence Center
P.O. Box 22756
Seattle, WA 98122
(206) 324-6491
FOUNDED: 1984
FUNDING: contributions
MEMBERSHIP: women
RANGE: international
Women who have been involved in the Puget Sound Women's Peace Camp are in the process of developing programs for a learning center on feminist nonviolent action. Weekend and week-long learning experiences and internships will focus on theory, strategy, and skill-building in areas such as historical and modern feminism, nonviolence, the relationship between feminism and nonviolence, local and global violence, street theater, and fundraising. Participants will contribute to Peace Camp's ongoing work. In planning stage; write for more information.

Foreign Policy Association
205 Lexington Ave.
New York, NY 10016
(212) 481-8450
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Headline Series News Briefs (bimonthly, $2.50)
Works to foster better relations among nations. Organizes discussion groups on international issues.

Forum Institute
1225 15th St. NW
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 347-2931
RANGE: national
Facilitates information sharing among grant-making foundations and nonprofit organizations active in arms control, disarmament, conflict resolution, economics, and legal services. Publishes "Handbook of Arms Control and Peace Organizations" and "Organizations Involved in Soviet-American Relations."

Foundation for the Arts of Peace
1918 Bonita Ave., 3rd Fl.
Berkeley, CA 94704
(415) 486-0264
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: grants, loans
NO. OF MEMBERS: 6,000
RANGE: national
Contributions are tax deductible. Established to make effective use of mass media to bring new perspectives on peace and security to a broad national audience. Primary activity has been production and distribution of "In Our Defense," a TV special on the nuclear arms race. Contact the Foundation for information on how to get the program shown locally.

Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL)
245 2nd St. NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 547-4343
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: FCNL Newsletter (monthly, $15/yr; $5 limited income)
Attempts to translate Quaker concerns for peace and justice into national policy.

Friends of the Third World
611 W. Wayne St.
Ft. Wayne, IN 46802
(219) 422-6821
FOUNDED: 1972
FUNDING: dues ($5/yr), donations, sales
NO. OF MEMBERS: 400
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Alternative Trading News (free to members)
Contributions are tax deductible. Purpose is to "demonstrate the existence and viability of an alternate system of trade as an effective way to address problems of poverty, hunger, unemployment, and violence." Sees direct relationship between military spending and the economic instability of Third World people. Sponsors job training, marketing of handicrafts and food products, and education on hunger and justice issues. Projects include Whole World Books and printing collective.

Fund for Open Information and Accountability (FOIA)
339 Lafayette St.
New York, NY 10012
(212) 477-3188
RANGE: national
Assists inquiries for information from the U.S. government through the use of the Freedom of Information Act. Sponsors National Campaign to Save Freedom of Information.

Fund for Peace
345 E. 46th St.
New York, NY 10017
(212) 661-5900
FOUNDED: 1967
FUNDING: endowments, private donors
RANGE: national
Contributions are tax deductible. Sponsors research and education projects, including In the Public Interest, a nationwide radio program airing liberal viewpoints on national and international issues; series of documentary films; the Center for International Policy; the Center for National Security Studies; the Center for Defense Information; and the Institute for Study of World Politics. See individual listings for more information.

General Electric Boycott Committee
3960 Winding Way
Cincinnati, OH 45229
(513) 861-4353
FOUNDED: 1981

NO. OF MEMBERS: 200 branches
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: 2 times/yr
Purpose is to give people a chance to make a statement about nuclear weapons production and the eventual consequences.

Generations for Peace
1315 SW Park Ave.
Portland, OR 97201
(503) 222-2194
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 1,200
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Generations for Peace (quarterly, free)
Contributions are tax-deductible. "Urges youth volunteers to help lead the nation away from the global military-industrial complex toward civilian governments dedicated to making peace and a better way of life available for all, especially for the poor and underprivileged." Sponsors annual high school essay contest on theme of "Interdependence Day." Winner receives $3,500 scholarship to college or university of choice.

Global Educational Associates
552 Park Ave. E.
East Orange, NJ 07017
(201) 675-1409
FOUNDED: 1973
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Breakthrough (quarterly)
A unique global forum with associates in over 50 countries. GEA's analytic framework, holistic world view, and efforts to catalyze a transnational multi-issue movement for world order are relevant to current global developments and local concerns. GEA holds workshops, conferences, and institutes. Has produced a number of books, periodicals, and TV programs.

Grandmothers for Peace
2708 Curtis Way
Sacramento, CA 95818
(916) 451-4969
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: dues ($15/yr), donations, fundraisers
NO. OF MEMBERS: 75 (500 mailing list); 2 branches
MEMBERSHIP: mature women
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: yes
Organization of grandmothers, grandfathers, family, and friends involved in daily meditation and prayers for peace, vigils, education, voter registration, promotion of peace curriculum in schools, and correspondence with women in other countries.

Greenpeace USA
2007 R St. NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 462-1177
FOUNDED: 1971
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 750,000; 6 national regions, 14 countries
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: The Examiner (quarterly, free to members)
Contributions are tax deductible. A world-wide ecological organization engaged in varied and creative activities to save the world from "environmental ruin." Composed of four international campaigns: Wildlife Preservation, Ocean Ecology, Toxic Waste, and Disarmament. Disarmament campaign advocates multilateral, verifiable Comprehensive Test Ban and a more comprehensive, multilateral, equitable Non-Proliferation Treaty. Uses a combination of education, diplomacy, and nonviolent direct action.

Ground Zero
806 15th St. NW #421
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 638-7402
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: contributions, foundations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 30,000
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Report from Ground Zero (free to members)
Contributions are tax deductible. Seeks to educate the general public, schools, churches, and civic groups on the danger of nuclear war; how it might begin; and the means available to prevent it, including arms control and disarmament, improved U.S.-Soviet relations, nonproliferation, and crisis control. Has produced and distributed "Nuclear War: What's In It For You?" and a role-playing "crisis game," "Firebreaks." Ground Zero Pairing Project based in Portland pairs U.S. and Soviet communities that exchange "community portraits" to build understanding among people.

Habitat for Humanity
419 W. Church St.
Americus, GA 31709
(912) 924-6935
FOUNDED: 1976
FUNDING: individuals, churches
RANGE: national, international
NEWSLETTER: Habitat Happenings (monthly); Habitat World (quarterly)
Contributions are tax deductible. Ecumenical Christian movement that builds housing for people in need. Has 51 projects in U.S. and works in 11 countries overseas. Christians are "challenged to practice the 'Economics of Jesus' by establishing a local Fund for Humanity at each project location. This fund . . . serves as capital for building houses." Believes that "the poor need capital, not charity; co-workers, not case-workers."

Henry George School of Social Sciences
3410 19th St.
San Francisco, CA 94110
(415) 864-1014
FOUNDED: 1932
FUNDING: foundations, membership
NO. OF MEMBERS: 500
RANGE: international
Contributions are tax deductible. Teaches fundamental economics and social philosophy, in Northern California, New York, and many cities in U.S., Canada, England, Denmark, Australia, and New Zealand. Classes are free, on such themes as Economics As If People Mattered, World Trade, and Global Peace.

High Technology Professionals for Peace
639 Massachusetts Ave. #316
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 497-0605
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: dues ($25/yr, $10 low income)
NO. OF MEMBERS: 200; 6 branches
MEMBERSHIP: engineers, scientists
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Technology and Responsibility (quarterly, $10/yr)
Contributions to Educational Fund are tax deductible. Concerned with responsible career choice, work in military environment, capabilities of new and proposed weapon systems, and impact of nuclear weapons policy on national security. Does service, education, and scientific projects; lobbies Congress. Educational Fund activities include a program to help clergy in counseling members of their congregations about military employment issues; peer counseling for people presently within or outside of defense employment contemplating career change; employment referral service; speakers' bureau; and lecture series.

Human Dignity Coalition
921 3rd St.
Franklin, LA 70538
(318) 828-4170
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: dues ($5/yr), donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 5,000; 20 branches
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: yes
Works for peace, social justice, human rights, interracial harmony, and the poor. Publishes books and newsletter. Does letter writing and lobbying; has speakers' bureau.

Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies
2001 Beacon St.
Brookline, MA 02146
(617) 734-4216
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Arms Control Reporter (monthly, $120/yr, reduced rates available)
Conducts research on domestic policy, national security, international economics, and human rights. Publishes annual "American Peace Directory."

Institute for Food and Development Policy
1885 Mission St.
San Francisco, CA 94103
(415) 864-8555
FOUNDED: 1975
FUNDING: membership, grants
NO. OF MEMBERS: 19,000
MEMBERSHIP: activists
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Food First (free to members)
Provides research and public education through publications and speaking about the root causes of hunger.

Institute for Policy Studies
1901 Q St. NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 234-9382
RANGE: national
Conducts research on domestic policy, national security, international economics, and human rights.

Institute for Soviet-American Relations
2738 McKinley NW
Washington, DC 20015
(202) 244-4725
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: donations, foundations
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Surviving Together (quarterly, $15/yr)

Contributions are tax deductible. Works to improve relations between the U.S. and Soviet Union through building coalitions, providing a clearinghouse, disseminating information, and promoting exchanges. Space Bridge Communications Center to encourage satellite telecommunications between the U.S. and Soviet Union.

Institute for the Study of World Politics
345 E. 46th St.
New York, NY 10017
(212) 661-5900
RANGE: national
Foundation awards fellowships for the study of global issues including arms control, arms trade, and the impact of military spending on U.S. economy.

Interchange Resource Center
1201 16th St. NW, Rm 405
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 822-7860
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Interchange Report (monthly, $20/yr)
Clearinghouse for information on the character and funding of right-wing political groups, particularly those seeking to counter efforts toward a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze.

Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility
475 Riverside Dr., Rm 566
New York, NY 10115
(212) 870-2293
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Corporate Examiner (monthly, $25/yr)
Coalition of Protestant and Roman Catholic agencies that file corporate shareholder resolutions to raise issues such as nuclear weapons production and conversion to nonmilitary production.

Interhelp
P.O. Box 331
Northampton, MA 01061
(413) 586-6311
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: donations, grants
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Interhelp (monthly, $10/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. A nonpartisan network whose purpose is to provide people the opportunity to experience and share their deepest responses to the dangers that threaten the planet: nuclear holocaust, environmental deterioration, or human oppression. Aims to empower individuals. Provides workshops, trainings, community gatherings, publications, and other programs.

International Association of Educators for World Peace
P.O. Box 3282
Huntsville, AL 35810-0282
(205) 539-7205
HOTLINE: 800-824-7059
FOUNDED: 1969
FUNDING: dues ($35/yr, $25 student), donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 15,000; 52 branches
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Peace Progress (free to members)
Contributions are tax deductible. Promotes international understanding and world peace through education. Works to implement universal declaration of human rights and to protect the environment. Conducts seminars such as "Self Image, Life Acceptance and Future Achievement" and "Administrative Skills and the Development of the Human Potential." Holds international conferences and publishes proceedings that serve as guides to many schools developing peace education programs.

International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War
225 Longwood Ave.
Boston, MA 02115
(617) 738-9404
MEMBERSHIP: physicians
RANGE: international
Holds international forums to lessen the chances of nuclear war.

International Student Pugwash
305 Massachusetts Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 544-1784
MEMBERSHIP: college students
RANGE: national
Holds annual conferences to educate students about the moral and practical dilemmas of technology-based policy issues, particularly arms control.

In the Public Interest
600 Maryland Ave. SW, #303W
Washington, DC 20024
(202) 484-7921
RANGE: national
Syndicated national radio program that supports arms control and other controversial and liberal positions.

Jane Addams Peace Association
777 UN Plaza
New York, NY 10017
(212) 682-8830
FOUNDED: 1948
FUNDING: contributions
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Building Peace ($6/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. An affiliate of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. "Promotes understanding among the people of all nations and races so that war and strife may be avoided and a lasting peace enjoyed." Sponsors seminars, publications, films, Children's Book Award.

Jobs with Peace
77 Summer St.
Boston, MA 02110
(617) 451-3389
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Campaign News (quarterly)
Focus on military spending. Advocates halting the nuclear arms race and conventional intervention while redirecting federal funds to meet human needs. Builds grassroots support through public referenda and annual Jobs with Peace Week.

Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control
43 Charles St.
Boston, MA 02114
(617) 227-0118
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: dues ($30/yr), foundations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 6,000; 46 branches
MEMBERSHIP: legal community
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Lawyers Alliance Newsletter (quarterly)
Contributions are tax deductible. An educational association of lawyers, judges, law librarians, law students, legal secretaries, and paralegals with chapters in most states. Chapters do educational work in their communities and bar associations and work on litigation. National office has worked with lawyers and experts from the USSR to develop joint proposals on negotiations and verification, provides experts to address Congress and the media, and has developed a network of law professors teaching courses on arms-related issues.

Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy
225 Lafayette St., Suite 207
New York, NY 10012
(212) 334-8044
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: dues ($25/yr), grants, donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 600; 4 branches
MEMBERSHIP: legal professionals
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: quarterly, free to members
An organization of legal professionals whose aim is the abolition of nuclear weapons. Activities include litigation, sponsoring conferences and symposia for attorneys and the public, public speaking, legal memoranda, legal advice to Nuclear Free Zone campaigns.

Media Network/Center for the Study of Filmed History
208 W. 13th St.
New York, NY 10011
(212) 620-0877
FOUNDED: 1978
FUNDING: dues ($15-100/yr)
NO. OF MEMBERS: 564
MEMBERSHIP: organizers, educators, distributors
RANGE: national
Contributions are tax deductible. Supports the use of alternative films and videotapes for grassroots organizing and education. Programs include a clearinghouse for information on social issue films; training and consultation for activists who want to use films as tools for social change; guides to films on urgent issues like the arms race, reproductive rights, and Central America; and film/discussion programs on priority issues for poor and working community groups.

Mennonite Central Committee/ U.S. Peace Section
21 S. 12th St.
Akron, PA 17501
(717) 859-1151
FOUNDED: 1942
FUNDING: U.S. Mennonite churches
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Washington Memo, Peace Section Newsletter, Committee on Women's Concerns Report, Draft Counselors Update (all bi-Monthly, donation requested)
Contributions are tax deductible. "It is our faith that the life of love and peace is God's plan . . . therefore, discipleship means the abandonment of hatred, strife, and violence in all human relations, both individual and social." Engages in research and analysis, writes and distributes peace and justice literature, provides consultants and teachers, shares in international peace seminars, promotes peaceful conflict resolution, encourages training in peacemaking skills.

Military Law Task Force/
National Lawyers Guild
1168 Union St., Suite 202
San Diego, CA 92101
(619) 233-1701
FOUNDED: 1979
FUNDING: dues ($12/yr), subscriptions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 100
MEMBERSHIP: progressive legal community
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: On Watch (bimonthly, $10/yr individual, $15/yr organizations)
Tax deductible contributions can be arranged. A national committee of the National Lawyers Guild. Provides assistance to those affected by draft, military, and veterans' law. Develops legal resource materials, seeks to assist the progressive movement in opposing registration and the draft, U.S. intervention, and militarism.

Mobilization for Survival
853 Broadway #2109
New York, NY 10003
(212) 533-0008
FOUNDED: 1977
FUNDING: direct mail, grants, events, sales
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Mobilizer (quarterly, $10/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. A coalition of local peace, disarmament, safe energy, religious, and community organizations, with affiliates throughout the U.S. Goals include zero nuclear weapons, ban nuclear power, reverse the arms race, and meet human needs. Assists local groups in developing organizing and other skills; initiates and promotes national actions and campaigns to further its goals; provides a forum for local organizations to participate in national issues and activities; and assists local groups in organizing local components of national campaigns.

Movement for a New Society
4722 Baltimore Ave.
Philadelphia, PA 19143
(215) 724-1464
FOUNDED: 1971
FUNDING: membership pledges (1-2% of income)
NO. OF MEMBERS: 125
MEMBERSHIP: activists and potential activists
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Grapevine (monthly internal newsletter, free to members, $17/yr others); Dandelion (quarterly outreach publication, free)
Contributions to New Society Education Foundation are tax deductible. A support network of people working to create nonviolent radical social change. Synthesis of political perspectives including feminism, revolutionary nonviolence, economic and social justice, environmentalism, democracy, and decentralization. Offers training and information to assist social change work in campaign building, nonviolent action strategies, democratic organizational development, and organizing. Maintains ties with nonviolent activists in many countries. New Society Publishers produces a variety of books on feminism, nonviolence, lesbian/gay liberation, campaign and organization building, and more.

National Action/Research on the Military Industrial Complex (NARMIC)
1501 Cherry St.
Philadelphia, PA 19102
(215) 241-7175
FOUNDED: 1969
FUNDING: dues ($15/yr), grants, literature sales
NO. OF MEMBERS: 200
MEMBERSHIP: peace, community, religious groups
RANGE: North America
Contributions are tax deductible. A research and publication project of American Friends Service Committee Education Division. Maintains database on U.S. corporations and military contracts to provide social change groups with educational resources and action tools on human rights and disarmament. Publications include state-by-state guide to Cruise/Pershing contractors, catalog of U.S. foreign military sales, "A View of the U.S. Role in the Militarization of Central America," and many more; slide shows on budget, struggle for economic justice, and more; video "The Time Has Come," on massive June 12 New York City demonstration. Will send detailed information on military contracts by company, county, or state.

National Coalition on Television Violence
P.O. Box 2157
Champaign, IL 61820
(217) 384-1920
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: dues ($25/yr), donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 3,000
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: national, international
NEWSLETTER: NCTV News
Contributions are tax deductible. Disseminates research findings on aggression, monitors use of violence to entertain, protests and suggests public action.

National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors
550 Washington Bldg.
15th & New York Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 393-4868
FOUNDED: 1940
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 37 organizations
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Reporter for Conscience Sake ($10/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. Opposed to peacetime registration, draft, or compulsory national service. Sponsored by a broad coalition of national religious bodies. Denominations and national religious bodies apply for membership in writing after official action by their governing bodies. Activities include training draft counselors, help for military COs who seek discharge or transfer, draft counseling, monitoring activities of Congress and Selective Service System, resource center on peace witness of U.S. religious groups, publishing materials on conscientious objection.

National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People
2025 I St. NW, Rm 402
Washington, DC 20006
(202) 223-2328
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: La Voz de Nicaragua (biweekly, $15/yr); Nicaraguan Perspectives (bimonthly, $10/yr); Nicaragua Update (bimonthly, $7/yr)
Fosters public awareness of developments in Nicaragua and opposes U.S. intervention in Latin America.

National No Nukes Prison Support Collective/Nuclear Resister
P.O. Box 37
Tempe, AZ 85281
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: subscriptions, donations
NO. OF SUBSCRIBERS: 700
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: The Nuclear Resister ($10/10 issues)
Contributions to the Progressive Foundation are tax deductible. Provides comprehensive information about jailed and imprisoned anti-nuclear activists in the U.S. to facilitate their support and to increase awareness of prison issues among peace and anti-nuclear activists.

National Peace Academy Campaign
110 Maryland Ave. NE, Suite 409
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 546-9500
FOUNDED: 1976
FUNDING: contributions
RANGE: national
Seeks to establish a National Peace Academy through federal legislation. The Academy would be a "visible symbol of the nation's constant and historic purpose of promoting peace. It will address the twin goals of national security and international peace through research, education, training, and information services." Coordinates Congressional, organizational, and grassroots support and awareness of this legislation (S.564, HR 1249).

NETWORK, A Catholic Social Justice Lobby
806 Rhode Island Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20018
(202) 526-4070
FOUNDED: 1971
FUNDING: dues ($20/yr, $12 low income), donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 7,500
MEMBERSHIP: those interested in political ministry
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Network (bimonthly, free to members)
Contributions to Network Education Program are tax deductible. Works on national legislation that affects the poor and powerless. Links national legislation and teachings of Catholic Church and gospels. Organized by state and Congressional district, has 45 state coordinators and 200 Congressional district contact people. Issues are chosen by membership, currently lobbying and educating on peace and disarmament, human rights, and economic justice. Members receive phone and action alerts.

Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala
930 F St. NW, Rm 720
Washington, DC 20004
(202) 483-0050
RANGE: national
A network of 100 Guatemalan support groups that works to increase public awareness of human rights violations in Guatemala.

New Jewish Agenda
149 Church St. #2N
New York, NY 10007
(212) 227-5885
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: dues ($25-50/yr, $15 low income), donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 4,000; 40 branches
MEMBERSHIP: progressive American Jews

RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: The Agenda, Shalom Network Newsletter (quarterly, free to members)
Contributions are tax deductible. Committed to bringing Jews together to challenge the rise of conservatism and to place traditional values of peace and social justice at the forefront of contemporary Jewish life. Works on improving relations between Israel and Arab states, nuclear disarmament, anti-Semitism, social and economic justice, women's issues, gay and lesbian rights, Jewish life and culture.

Nuclear Age Peace Foundation
233A E. Carrillo St.
Santa Barbara, CA 93101
(805) 965-4561
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations
RANGE: national
Contributions are tax deductible. Educational organization dedicated to "in-depth inquiry, evaluation, and communication for achieving peaceful resolution of conflict and global security in the nuclear age." Activities include publication of "Waging Peace" pamphlet series, sponsorship of conferences. Also has initiated the "Parents and Grandparents Call to End the Nuclear Arms Race" petition drive. Supports implementation of a world disarmament campaign, formation of a U.S.-Soviet crisis consultation center, establishment of peace academies, and no-first-use nuclear policy.

Nuclear Arms Educational Service
Box 1102, Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: grants, contributions, income from services
RANGE: international
A research organization designed to reduce the chances of nuclear war by helping to unify and politically empower the peace movement. Polls arms control leaders and releases to the media which candidates they support; releases fact sheets on each candidate; compiles the Arms Control Telephone Directory of peace groups and a master mailing list of over 1,200 peace groups nationwide; produces peace-related greeting cards for personal use or fundraising.

Nuclear Control Institute
1000 Connecticut Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 822-8444
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: membership, foundations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 1,000
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: national
Contributions are tax deductible. Deals exclusively with the danger of nuclear weapons proliferation. Monitors nuclear programs in the U.S. and other nations and develops strategies for stopping the spread of nuclear weapons throughout the world.

Nuclear Free America
2521 Guilford Ave.
Baltimore, MD 21218
(301) 235-3575
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: foundation grants
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: New Abolitionist (monthly, $15/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. A national clearinghouse and resource center for Nuclear Free Zones. Provides a variety of resources including tactical, logistical, and legal support for local, national, and international Nuclear Free Zone campaigns. Also assists individuals and communities in starting such campaigns.

Nuclear Free Zone Registry
P.O. Box 172
Riverside, CA 92502
(714) 674-6576
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations, grants, sales
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: NewsFlash! (free)
Contributions are tax deductible. An educational information center and national registry for Nuclear Free Zones. Provides educational literature and materials on Nuclear Free Zones and assists at conferences, workshops, etc. Also produces Nuclear Free Zone fundraising T-shirts, stickers, and posters for campaigns.

Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign
National Clearinghouse
4144 Lindell Blvd., Suite 404
St. Louis, MO 63108
(314) 533-1169
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Freeze Newsletter (quarterly, $12/yr), State of Campaign News and Strategy (biweekly, $12/yr)
A large coalition of groups throughout the U.S. National clearinghouse coordinates and monitors nationwide activity supporting a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze. Assists 900 key local contacts in local organizing. Devises strategies to broaden and strengthen the national campaign.

Organizing Media Project
605 14th St. NW
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 393-4300
FOUNDED: 1979
FUNDING: membership, union contracts
MEMBERSHIP: working Americans, union and nonunion
RANGE: national
Creates and produces educational and television programs for the union and environmental movements. Many of these are used in classrooms, also distributed on cable and PBS.

Pacific Peacemaker Project
309 18th Ave. E. #204
Seattle, WA 98112
(206) 323-4800, 323-3758
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: contributions
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Pacific Peacemaker ($20 donation requested)
Contributions to Pacific Peacemaker Foundation are tax deductible. Ship, "Pacific Peacemaker," is currently on trans-Pacific voyage through Marshall Islands and Belau to Japan, to expand awareness of the consequences of the continuing nuclearization of the Pacific and its impact on Pacific peoples and to work for a Nuclear Free Pacific. Intends to sail on to Siberia, then pass on the Project and sell the ship to another international group. The Project purchased the vessel in Australia in the name of many groups and individuals around the world who hold symbolic shares.

Pacific Studies Center
222B View St.
Mountain View, CA 94041
(415) 969-1545
FOUNDED: 1969
FUNDING: writing fees, grants
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Global Electronics Information Newsletter (monthly, $5/yr); Pacific Research (quarterly, $5/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. A nonprofit, public interest information center focusing on U.S. economic and foreign relations with Asia and the Pacific, the arms race, and the electronics industry. Maintains a clipping, periodical, and book library; publishes papers and books.

Palestine Human Rights Campaign
220 S. State St. #1308
One Quincy Court
Chicago, IL 60604
(312) 987-1830
FOUNDED: 1977
FUNDING: grants, contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 3,000; 3 branches
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: PHRC Newsletter (monthly, $12/yr)
Stimulates awareness of the humanitarian and human rights violations Palestinians are subjected to, through conferences, educational forums, Middle East tours, and religious, peace, and justice forums on Palestinian issues.

Parents and Teachers for Social Responsibility
P.O. Box 517
Moretown, VT 05660
(802) 229-0137
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: dues ($10/yr), donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 500
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: yes
Contributions are tax deductible. Encourages discussion and involvement among mainstream Americans concerning protection of the next generation from the threat of nuclear war. Provides publications, educational presentations, radio and TV public service announcements; nonpartisan voter involvement.

Pax Christi USA Center on Conscience and War
P.O. Box 726, 5 Bigelow St.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 354-4354
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: John Leary Memorial Selection Fund
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: yes
Contributions are tax deductible. Provides education and counseling on draft registration, conscientious objection, and military service within the Catholic community. Does outreach to draft-age people directly and through educators, maintains its own national CO directory, and provides assistance and support to individuals within the military seeking CO status.

Pax Dei
P.O. Box 444
Damascus, MD 20872
(301) 253-3566
FOUNDED: 1981

FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 30
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Pax Dei
Religious organization that works for peace by persuasion and example. Encourages greater communication among peace groups.

Peace and Common Security (PACS)
Fort Mason Center
San Francisco, CA 94123
(415) 673-8866
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: grants
RANGE: international
Contributions are tax deductible. An institute for research and education on "the challenges of achieving real security and peace in the nuclear age." Links applied research on alternative policies to basic research on the origins and processes of human conflict. Composed of specialists in peace, arms control, and security affairs; social scientists; and community leaders. Offers public educational programs.

Peace Base
1918 Bonita St.
Berkeley, CA 94709
(415) 486-0264
FOUNDED: 1984
RANGE: national
Contributions are tax deductible. Plans to provide an extensive online data base of peace-related information, to assist peace groups with computerizing office tasks. Plans to develop a national peace computer network to share information and discuss strategy. Looking for peace-oriented groups around the country with computer expertise that would be interested in participating.

Peace Brigades International
4722 Baltimore Ave., Suite 2
Philadelphia, PA 19143
(215) 724-1464
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: donations, grants
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Peace Brigades (donation requested)
Contributions are tax deductible. Forms and supports international peace brigades to undertake nonpartisan missions that may include peacemaking initiatives, peacekeepng under a nonviolent discipline, and humanitarian service. Work may include preventing violence, establishing and monitoring a cease-fire, mediation, or reconstruction and reconciliation. Serves as a consultant to other kinds of peace brigades. Has sponsored a border team between Nicaragua and Honduras, has a team in Guatemala, and is exploring possible projects in Sri Lanka and on the Costa Rica/Honduras border.

Peace Links/Women Against Nuclear War
723-1/2 8th St. SE
Washington, DC 20003
(202) 544-0805
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: grants
NO. OF MEMBERS: 35,000; 35 branches
MEMBERSHIP: women
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Statelinks (quarterly, free)
Contributions are tax deductible. A growing network of women who are leading their families, clubs, and communities in activities that will help prevent nuclear war. Purpose is to "reach a new audience of mainstream women who have not previously been active on this issue." Encourages women to undertake everyday activities such as coffee parties and club meeting to continually bring the issue before new groups of people.

Peacemakers
P.O. Box 627
Garberville, CA 95440
FOUNDED: 1948
FUNDING: subscriptions, donations, literature
NO. OF MEMBERS: 800
MEMBERSHIP: pacifists
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: The Peacemaker
Movement dedicated to the transformation of society through the transformation of the individuals therein. "Our unity better enables us to search for truly nonviolent ways of living for peace." Believes in nonviolence as a guiding principle, simplifying lifestyles, forming community, acting as part of the earth's ecosystem, using consensus, and working for nonviolent economic and social revolution. At least one gathering is held each year. Orientation programs in nonviolence, sharing fund.

Peace Research Laboratory
6251 San Bonita
St. Louis, MO 63105
(314) 721-8219
FOUNDED: 1945
FUNDING: endowment, contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 100
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Peace Research ($18/3 issues)
Contributions are tax deductible. An educational and research center involved in scholarly examination of peace-related topics. Awards the Lentz International Peace Award (named after the founder, Dr. Theodore F. Lentz) to outstanding peace researchers. Provides grants for specific research projects and funds the Lentz Center for Peace Research in Lancashire, England.

People's Anti-War Mobilization
Wilson Center, 1470 Irving St. NW
Washington, DC 20010
(202) 332-5041
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 25 branches
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Peoples Anti-War Mobilizer
Coalition of anti-war, civil rights, labor, environmental, disabled, and religious community organizations working against intervention and the rising military budget. Works to build a united movement of working and oppressed people.

People United to Save Humanity (PUSH)
930 E. 50th St.
Chicago, IL 60615
(312) 373-3366
RANGE: national
An organization encouraging blacks to seek social and economic justice. Provides information on alternative foreign and military policies.

Performing Artists for Nuclear Disarmament (PAND)
225 Lafayette St.
New York, NY 10012
(212) 431-7921
MEMBERSHIP: performing artists
RANGE: national
PAND sponsors public performances and educational events, including a caravan that tours the U.S. informing the public about nuclear issues. Supports a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze.

Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR)
639 Massachusetts Ave.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 491-2754
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: dues ($60 MD, $40 general, $15 student), donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 35,000; 12[illegible] branches
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: National PSR Newsletter (quarterly, $30/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. A nonprofit, nonpartisan group whose focus is to educate the public on the consequences of nuclear war, nuclear war preparedness, and the buildup of nuclear weapons.

Planetary Citizens
P.O. Box 1715
New Rochelle, NY 10802
(914) 636-5948
FOUNDED: 1974
FUNDING: dues ($15/yr)
NO. OF MEMBERS: 13,000
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Planet Earth (magazine), One Family (newsletter), both free with membership
Contributions are tax deductible. Aims to "achieve universal recognition by individuals that each of us is a citizen, not only of our country, but also of the planet Earth." Serves as an international network for people working against hunger, war, overpopulation, and pollution.

Professionals' Coalition for Nuclear Arms Control
1346 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 117
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 887-6961
MEMBERSHIP: professionals
RANGE: national
A lobby for professionals concerned about arms control. Formed when Physicians for Social Responsibility, Union of Concerned Scientists, and Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control decided it was time to bring their professional knowledge to the legislative arena.

Progressive Space Forum
1724 Sacramento St. #9
San Francisco, CA 94109
(415) 456-4626
FOUNDED: 1979
FUNDING: dues ($15/yr)
NO. OF MEMBERS: 250
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Space for All People (free to members, $12/yr others)
Contributions are tax deductible. A nonprofit organization of people concerned about the role of space weapons in the nuclear arms race. Aims to educate public about the dangers of the space arms race and the benefits of international cooperation in the peaceful uses of space technology. Promotes debate about future of U.S.

and international space policy. Conducts research and provides information (publications, speakers, slide show) to disarmament movement and public.

Psychologists for Social Responsibility
1841 Columbia Rd. NW #207
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 745-7084
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: dues ($30/yr, $10/yr students/-seniors
NO. OF MEMBERS: 2,000
MEMBERSHIP: professional psychologists
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: PsySR (quarterly, free to members, $30/yr others)
Contributions are tax deductible. Provides a forum for professional psychologists to speak out on nuclear issues, network among themselves in areas of research and action, develop and distribute information on how psychological skills and expertise can be used to develop an enduring peace. Sponsors conventions.

Religious Task Force on Central America
1747 Connecticut Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20017
(202) 387-7652
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: subscriptions, donations
MEMBERSHIP: religious community
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Central America Report (bimonthly, $5/yr)
Works for peace in Central America and an end to U.S. intervention. Publishes packets of information on recent events in region. Works on legislation in Congress; puts out action alerts to network.

Resist
38 Union Square
Somerville, MA 02143
(617) 623-5110
FOUNDED: 1967
FUNDING: direct mail, donations, pledges
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Resist ($10/yr or pledge)
A foundation that provides grants to peace, disarmament, and social change groups around the country. Recent grantees include Boston CAPA, the literacy support campaign for the National Association of Salvadoran educators, San Diego CISPES to develop Spanish language leaflets, the Lesbian and Gay organizing Committee for 1984, the Militarism Resource Project, the Plutonium Players, People's Test Ban National Clearinghouse, Black and Proud Liberation elementary school. Small grants are given out monthly, usually for specific projects.

SANE
711 G St. SE
Washington, DC 20003
(202) 546-7100
FOUNDED: 1957
FUNDING: dues ($20/yr), foundations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 90,000; 50 branches
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: SANE World (monthly, free to members, $10/yr others)
Contributions to National SANE Education Fund are tax deductible. One of the nation's largest and most powerful peace groups, with over 50 chapters throughout the U.S. Heavily involved in educational and political lobbying efforts, with an extensive, multifaceted communications network. Activities include speaking tours, grassroots organizing, outreach programs, political action committees, media presentations. Key issues include nuclear disarmament, the Freeze, nonintervention in Central America.

Science for the People
897 Main St.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 547-0370
FOUNDED: 1968
FUNDING: dues ($25/yr), donations, magazine sales
NO. OF MEMBERS: 500
MEMBERSHIP: progressive scientists, activists, teachers, technical workers
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: SFTP National Newsletter
Contributions are tax deductible. A broad-based progressive organization working to build a people's science and technology. Analyzes the social impact of science and technology, providing a political context. Activities combine education, direct action, and outreach by leading forums and workshops, speaking, organizing conferences and demonstrations, and writing on topics such as occupational health and safety, food and agriculture, genetic technology and reproductive rights, nuclear power and weapons, biological determinism, and health care. Challenges racism and sexism in science and technology. Shows how capitalism develops technology for ruling class.

Sojourners
P.O. Box 29272
Washington, DC 20017
(202) 636-3637
FOUNDED: 1971
FUNDING: subscriptions, donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 40; 56,000 subscribers
MEMBERSHIP: Christians
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Sojourners Magazine (monthly, $15/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. An ecumenical Christian renewal community. Publishes Sojourners magazine. Sojourners Peace Ministry produces resources and organizes peace activities nationally and locally to build a faith-based movement to abolish nuclear weapons. Has served as national clearinghouse for several peace events, including Peace Pentecost and Peace Sabbath 1982. Not a membership organization, but has key contact organizers in every state.

Spring Green
305 Middle Brook
Greer, SC 29651
(803) 268-2635
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: contributions
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: national
Presently composed of people in the arts, social and natural sciences, education, religion, and public service. "Members usually belong to other, more active groups and feel a need to explore more deeply their ideals." Members correspond to explore ideas and experiences in loose context "centering on creative problem-solving about the world and ourselves at peace."

Stanley Foundation
420 E. 3rd St.
Muscatine, IA 52761
(319) 264-1500
FOUNDED: 1956
FUNDING: stock donated by Mr. and Mrs. C.M. Stanley
RANGE: international
Contributions are tax deductible. A private foundation that does not make grants. Programs are internally planned, funded, and administered. Strives to enhance personal awareness and commitment and to affect public policy on international issues; seeks to achieve a secure peace with freedom and justice. Sponsors conferences, produces a weekly radio series on world affairs, and publishes World Press Review, a monthly magazine that excerpts the foreign press.

Student/Teacher Organization to Prevent Nuclear War
636 Beacon St. #203
Boston, MA 02215
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: dues, donations, grants
NO. OF MEMBERS: 2,500; 95 branches
MEMBERSHIP: high school students and teachers
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: yes
Contributions are tax deductible. An educational organization of high school students and teachers committed to reducing the threat of nuclear war. National office provides logistic and educational support for local chapters. Chapters sponsor extracurricular educational activities such as media presentations, letter-writing campaigns, and educational displays. Endorsed by the National Education Association.

Tax Resisters Penalty Fund
P.O. Box 25
N. Manchester, IN 46962
(219) 982-4277
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 375
MEMBERSHIP: war tax resisters and sympathizers
RANGE: national
A loosely organized mutual aid fund for war tax resisters. Provides financial assistance to war tax resisters by helping to pay interest and penalties added by the IRS for resistance activities. Applications are accepted for persons wishing reimbursement for penalties and interest; the amount is divided by the number of members and members are requested to donate their share to help other resisters.

Union of Concerned Scientists
26 Church St.
Cambridge, MA 02238
(617) 547-5552
FOUNDED: 1969
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF SPONSORS: 100,000
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Nucleus (quarterly, free to sponsors)
Contributions are tax deductible. Organization of scientists, engineers, and other professionals concerned about the impact of advanced technology on society. Has conducted independent technical work and published books and reports on a range of issues including nuclear arms limitation, nuclear reactor safety, radioactive waste disposal, energy policy alternatives, air and water pollution. Sponsors Convocations on Nuclear War. Advocates no-first-use policy. Litigates on nuclear reactor safety.

United Campuses to Prevent Nuclear War
1346 Connecticut Ave. NE, #1019
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 223-6206
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: dues, foundations, sponsors, sales
NO. OF MEMBERS: 50 branches
MEMBERSHIP: college students, faculty, staff
RANGE: North America
NEWSLETTER: UCAM Network News ($5/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. A network of students and faculty engaged in education, lobbying, and nonpartisan electoral activities. Distributes summaries of nuclear-war courses and sponsors conferences, debates, and seminars to build support for worldwide nuclear arms control and disarmament.

United States Pacifist Party
5729 S. Dorcester
Chicago, IL 60637
(312) 324-0654
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: donations
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: U.S. Pacifist Party Report
A political party with a pacifist platform "designed to give expression within a democratic, electoral context to the belief that military power profoundly contradicts many religious and philosophic principles and is a practical mistake in our time." Major planks include zero military budget, complete disarmament, no military aid, nonviolent civil defense preparation, full employment, negative income tax, democratic world government. Supports draft resisters, the World Peace Tax Fund and war tax resisters, and the ERA. Opposes racism and the death penalty.

United States Servas Committee
11 John St.
New York, NY 10038
(212) 267-0252
FOUNDED: 1948
FUNDING: dues ($10-30/yr)
NO. OF MEMBERS: 3,500
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: national, affiliated with 90 international branches
NEWSLETTER: U.S. Servas News (members only)
Contributions are tax deductible. An international cooperative system of hosts and travelers established to build world peace, goodwill, and understanding by providing opportunities for deeper and more personal intercultural contacts. Visitors share home and community life and social concerns for short visits, usually two nights.

U.S.-USSR Bridges for Peace
Box 283, Emerson House
Norwich, VT 05055
(802) 649-1000
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 300
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Building Bridges (quarterly, $5/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. A network of over 20 churches and peace groups sponsoring Soviet-American exchange visits.

Vietnam Veterans Against the War
P.O. Box 25592
Chicago, IL 60625
(312) 327-5756
FOUNDED: 1967
FUNDING: dues ($12/yr), donations
MEMBERSHIP: Vietnam-era veterans
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: The Veteran (bimonthly, $6/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. The oldest organization of Vietnam vets and others concerned with the problems of vets and dedicated to the rights of the survivors of Vietnam and the prevention of another Vietnam. Aims to "ensure legitimate benefits and rights for the veterans of the Vietnam War—testing, treatment, and compensation for Agent Orange exposure and treatment for various forms of post-traumatic stress disorders." Activities include alternatives to "traditional flag-waving events" on veterans and patriotic holidays, such as demonstrations and marches. Does high-school speaking.

Volunteers for Peace
Tiffany Rd.
Belmont, VT 05730
(802) 259-2759
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: dues ($5/yr), foundations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 1,000
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: national, international
NEWSLETTER: to members
Contributions are tax deductible. Recruits Americans for international work camps sponsored by cooperating organizations abroad (40 associated organizations in 30 countries, including Eastern Europe); recruits foreign volunteers through these cooperating organizations to domestic work camps; provides information to potential host communities in the U.S.

War Control Planners
P.O. Box 19127
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 785-0708
FOUNDED: 1963
FUNDING: contributions
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Checkpoint (irregular, donation)
Contributions are tax deductible. An informal network of "citizens seeking to promote exploration of how technology and military power can be directed toward prevention of war between nations." Advocates global safety authority set up by all nations and supported by government, business, foundations, churches, civic groups, and the United Nations. Maintains extensive library on subjects of military, political science, theology, and arms control.

War Resisters League
339 Lafayette St.
New York, NY 10012
(212) 228-0450
FOUNDED: 1923
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 17,000; 20 branches
MEMBERSHIP: pacifist
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: WRL News (bimonthly, free)
Believes "war is a crime against humanity. We therefore are determined not to support any kind of war, international or civil, and to strive nonviolently for the removal of all causes of war." Members must agree to above statement. Principal activities include organizing demonstrations, working in coalitions for national actions, promoting draft resistance and the nonpayment of war taxes, training for civil disobedience, and developing other campaigns. Also provides a training program for organizers.

War Tax Resistance National Ad Campaign
402 S. Glendale
Ann Arbor, MI 48103
(313) 668-8084
FUNDING: donations from ad signers
RANGE: national
Collects signatures from war tax resisters and publishes their names with the tax resistance statement in newspapers in the form of an ad.

Washington Office on Africa
110 Maryland Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 546-7961
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Washington Notes on Africa (quarterly, $10/yr)
Lobby group that educates and encourages public support for majority rule in South Africa.

Washington Office on Latin America
110 Maryland Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 544-8045
FOUNDED: 1984
FUNDING: dues ($14/yr), donations, churches, foundations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 6,000
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Latin American Update ($14/yr), Washington in Focus ($20/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. A response to widespread and systematic violations of human rights in Latin America and the Caribbean. Networks in the U.S., Europe, and Latin America to permit rapid dissemination of information from religious communities, human rights and legal aid groups, indigenous organizations, democratic leaders, and victims and their families. Staff researches, monitors, documents, and inteprets data for U.S. audience. Also helps Latin Americans tell their own story in Washington. Does Congressional briefings, holds conferences and seminars.

Western Solidarity
P.O. Box 20522
Denver, CO 80220
(303) 355-5124
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations, foundations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 36 coalitions; 2 branches
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: Western U.S.
Contributions are tax deductible. A coalition encompassing eight Western states for the purpose of opposing and defeating the MX missile.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND)
New Town Station, Box 153
Boston, MA 02258
(617) 643-6740
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: dues ($5 min./yr), grants
NO. OF MEMBERS: over 100 branches in 30 states

MEMBERSHIP: women
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: WAND Bulletin (quarterly)
A grassroots organization (founded by Helen Caldicott) heavily involved in political action. Works to raise public awareness about nuclear issues, monitor legislative activities that have an impact on nuclear weapons policy, and organize grassroots lobbying campaigns around Congressional votes on nuclear weapons systems. Sponsors a political action committee, speakers' training, voter registration drives, poster outreach, and media outreach programs.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
1213 Race St.
Philadelphia, PA 19107
(215) 563-7110
MEMBERSHIP: women
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: Peace and Freedom (monthly, $4/yr), WILPF Legislative Bulletin and Alerts (monthly, $8/yr)
An international organization that works nonviolently to establish the political, social, and psychological conditions for peace, freedom, and justice.

Women Strike for Peace
145 S. 13th St.
Philadelphia, PA 19107
(215) 923-0861
FOUNDED: 1962
FUNDING: dues ($25 + /yr), contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 9,000; 9 branches
MEMBERSHIP: women
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: Peacelines (free to members), Legislative Alert ($10/yr)
Contributions to WSP Research and Education Fund are tax deductible. An activist group of women of all races, creeds, and political persuasions determined to end the arms race and military intervention and to bring about disarmament under effective controls. Lobbying, leafletting, and demonstrations are primary activities. Branches excercise autonomy in developing programs and adapting national actions to local communities.

World Federalist Association
418 7th St. SE
Washington, DC 20003
(202) 546-3950
FOUNDED: 1947
FUNDING: dues ($5-25/yr), contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 12,000; 90 branches
MEMBERSHIP: open
NEWSLETTER: yes
Contributions are tax deductible. Educational organization whose goal is the abolition of war between nations and the creation of a structured and just world community. National governments would remain free to manage their own internal affairs, while international conflicts would be resolved by judicial means rather than by violence.

World Peacemakers
2025 Massachusetts Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 265-7582
FOUNDED: 1978
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBRS: 150 groups; 2,800 mailing list
MEMBERSHIP: religious

RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: World Peacemakers Newsletter (quarterly, $5/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. A network of small groups in local churches and communities that bring their religious faith to the issues of peace and justice. Publishes study guides and conducts workshops. Part of the Central American refugee movement.

World Peace Movement
P.O. Box 2
Ojai, CA 93023
(805) 646-5210
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 100
MEMBERSHIP: peace organizations
RANGE: international
Networks with peace organizations worldwide for education, communication, and cooperation. Advocates "principles and methods of love, nonviolence, and world justice."

World Peace Through Law Center
1000 Connecticut Ave. NW, Suite 800
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 466-5428
FOUNDED: 1963
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 100,000
MEMBERSHIP: judges, lawyers, law professors, law students
RANGE: international
NEWSLETTER: The World Jurist
Contributions are tax deductible. Worldwide venture combining efforts of judges, lawyers, and others to mold a future legal order for humankind that will foster peace through international law.

World Without War Council
1730 Grove St.
Berkeley, CA 94709
(415) 845-1992
RANGE: national
NEWSLETTER: World Without War Bookstore Newsletter (quarterly)
Provides information and conducts educational programs on arm control and disarmament, war and peace, and human rights.

Regional & Local Peace Groups

ALABAMA

BAND Against Nuclear Destruction
1319 Christine Ave.
Anniston, AL 36201
(205) 236-4560
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: contribution
NO. OF MEMBERS: 85
MEMBERSHIP: largely business and professional, but open
RANGE: county
Ranges from pacifists to advocates of conventional arms buildup, agreeing that survival depends on getting rid of nuclear weapons.

Conscientious Alliance for Peace
517 Moore's Mill Road
Auburn, AL 36830
(205) 826-3378
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: grants
NO. OF MEMBERS: 10
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: yes, 200 mailing list
An action group of Clergy and Laity Concerned, core member of Alabama Nuclear Freeze coalition, and part of the Agape community. Plans community events on nuclear war, Central America and Third World, racial and economic justice, nonviolence.

Center for a Positive Future/Birmingham
c/o Sara Otto
1919 15th Ave. S.
Birmingham, AL 35205
(205) 933-6472
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/Birmingham
c/o Judy Hand
P.O. Box 811
Birmingham, AL 35201
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Birmingham
c/o Stuart Royal MD
4320 Overlook Road
Birmingham, AL 35222
(205) 595-2430
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/Birmingham
c/o Dr. Jane Christian
University of Alabama, Anthropology Dept.
Birmingham, AL 34294
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Homewood
512 Yorkshire Drive
Homewood, AL 35209
(205) 933-8101
See national listing for more information.

ALASKA

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Anchorage
c/o Anne Freitag
327 W. 6th #16
Anchorage, AK 99501
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/Juneau
c/o Patricia Raynolds
800 F St.
Juneau, AK 99801
(907) 586-9051
See national listing for more information.

Ketchikan Nuclear Disarmament Group
P.O. Box 9129
Ketchikan, AK 99901
(907) 225-3357
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: dues ($25)
NO. OF MEMBERS: 25
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
NEWSLETTER: Ketchikan Nuclear Disarmament Group Newsletter
Organized to promote an awareness of the threat of nuclear war, to support a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze, and to work for a nonviolent world. Involved in petitioning for freeze initiative to be placed on Alaska ballot, annual Walkathon, booth at 4th of July and Blueberry Festival celebrations, other consciousness-raising activities.

ARIZONA

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Mesa
c/o Francis Layer
3300 E. Broadway #124
Mesa, AZ 85204
(602) 832-1946
See national listing for more information.

Arizona Center to Reverse the Arms Race
112 W. Roosevelt
Phoenix, AZ 85003
(602) 252-9516
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: events, direct mail
NO. OF MEMBERS: 400 individuals, 44 organizations
RANGE: Phoenix, Mesa, Tempe, Sun City
Purpose is to educate community about consequences of the arms race, influence political decisions about the arms race, provide forum for discussion and dialogue, and offer alternatives to an arms buildup as a way of maintaining peace. Acts as a clearinghouse for activities of individuals and organizations involved.

Mobilization for Survival/Phoenix
2250 N. 16th St.
Phoenix, AZ 85006
(602) 254-0513
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Phoenix
c/o Gary Kahn MD
940 W. Palm Lane
Phoenix, AZ 85007
(602) 258-5808
See national listing for more information.

Prescott Peace Network
P.O. Box 1463
Prescott, AZ 86301
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 125
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: county
NEWSLETTER: Prescott Peace News (monthly, $5 out of state sub.)
Contributions are tax deductible. Sponsors peace education programs, vigils. Networks with others and provides resources and activities to further understanding of peace issues. Run by consensus, under direction of volunteer steering group.

Franciscan Renewal Center/Office of Peace and Social Justice
5802 E. Lincoln Drive, P.O. Box 220
Scottsdale, AZ 85252
(602) 948-7460
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: grant
NO. OF MEMBERS: 24
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
A group of concerned people who have come together to pray, study, learn, and work to eliminate the causes of social injustice. Believe that only through justice is peace possible. Pray and work for own conversions through direct and indirect contact with the poor and victims of injustice.

Mobilization for Survival/Scottsdale
6118 E. Windsor
Scottsdale, AZ 85257
(602) 947-6608
See national listing for more information.

World Peacemakers
Camelback Presbyterian Church
3535 East Lincoln Dr.
Scottsdale, AZ 85253
(602) 955-6080
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: church and members
Contributions are tax deductible. Organization giving support and encouragement to Camelback and Sunrise Presbyterian Churches and St. Stephen's Episcopal Church members to be active peacemakers.

Center for a Positive Future/Tempe
c/o Jo Ann Nickols
2520 N. Champlain
Tempe, AZ 85281
(602) 994-2453
See national listing for more information.

Catholics for Peace and Justice
P.O. Box 588
Tucson, AZ 85702
(602) 623-7094
FOUNDED: 1979
FUNDING: donations and grants
NO. OF MEMBERS: 130
MEMBERSHIP: Catholic community
RANGE: southern Arizona
NEWSLETTER: Presente (quarterly, $5/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. Religious organization focusing on education, cooperation with other justice and peace efforts in local community, advocacy, and spiritual development.

Educators for Social Responsibility/Tucson
835 N. 6th Ave. #20
Tucson, AZ 85705
(602) 655-5659
See national listing for more information.

Movement for a New Society/Southwest
P.O. Box 40183
Tucson, AZ 85717
See national listing for more information.

Nuclear-Free State
1145 E. 6th St.
Tucson, AZ 85719
(602) 792-3517
FOUNDED: 1978
FUNDING: member and public donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 450
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
Contributions are tax deductible. Educates and activates on nuclear power and nuclear weapons, sponsors referenda, lobbies local and state politicians.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Tucson
2365 E. Seneca
Tucson, AZ 85719
(602) 323-8986
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Tucson
c/o Barbara Warren MD
P.O. Box 42108
Tucson, AZ 85733
(602) 323-8986
See national listing for more information.

Tuscon Peace Action Coalition
PO Box 26356
Tucson, AZ 85726
(602) 622-8288
FOUNDED: 1970
FUNDING: donations
RANGE: city
Does not initiate projects, but assists other peace, freedom, and social action organizations, including Arizona Right to Choose. Oriented toward mass action; peaceful, nonconfrontational, nonexclusive, single-issue demonstrations as a means for winning social change.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/Tucson
c/o Elaine Schwartz
5516 E. Rosewood
Tucson, AZ 85711
(602) 745-2171
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Tucson
c/o Dorothy Hayes
1743 Adelaide Dr., Rm. 5
Tucson, AZ 95719
(602) 326-9018
See national listing for more information.

ARKANSAS

Arkansas Peace Center
217 W. 8th St.
Little Rock, AR 72201
(501) 372-4982
FOUNDED: 1983

FUNDING: contributions, church groups, some grants
NO. OF MEMBERS: 150
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
Contributions over $50 are tax deductible. Links resources of individuals and groups concerned for peace throughout the state. Has growing library of printed and audio-visual resources. Also takes part in lobbying efforts.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Little Rock
c/o John Wolverton MD
206 Thayer
Little Rock, AR 72205
(501) 375-2171
See national listing for more information.

SANE/Little Rock
8015 Brandon St.
Little Rock, AR 72204
(501) 565-3581
See national listing for more information.

CALIFORNIA

Center for a Positive Future/Aptos
c/o Roberta Brissel
204 Burnham Ct.
Aptos CA 95003
(408) 662-1827
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Aptos
c/o Bob Keet
9053 Soquel Dr.
Aptos, CA 95003
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Aptos
c/o Mary Teeling
9012 Soquel Dr. #11
Aptos, CA 95003
See national listing for more information.

Citizens for Social Responsibility
P.O. Box 385
Arcata, CA 95521
(707) 822-7005
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 300
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: local
NEWSLETTER: Citizen News
A local, grassroots organization that focuses on education on the nuclear arms race and voter registration. Supports Nuclear Freeze in the short term, world nuclear disarmament in the long term.

Educators for Social Responsibility/ Humboldt
c/o Stephen Littlejohn
Humboldt State University
Arcata, CA 95521
(707) 826-4311
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Atascadero
c/o Donald Chisholm MD
10420 El Camino Real
Atascadero, CA 93422
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Auburn
c/o Millie Livingston
11251 Tahoe St.
Auburn, CA 95603
(916) 823-7609
See national listing for more information.

Northern California Freeze Voter '84/Solano Chapter
917 Bradford Ct.
Benicia, CA 94510
(707) 746-0732
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: contributions, events
NO. OF MEMBERS: 50
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: county
NEWSLETTER: Solano Freeze News ($5 min.)
"A caring, committed group, from all walks of life, working to help make the world free from a nuclear holocaust." Working through November on registering and educating voters on who the pro-Freeze candidates are. Will be working to get out the vote in November, after that will continue to lobby elected officials on arms control issues and educate Sonoma County residents. Provides speakers and resources on request.

ASUC-Berkeley Draft Counseling Center
300-C Eshleman Hall, UC-Berkeley
Berkeley, CA 94720
(415) 642-0165
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: ASUC
NO. OF MEMBERS: 15-30
MEMBERSHIP: students
RANGE: UCB campus community
NEWSLETTER: Draft Update (free on request)
Contributions are tax deductible. A free, nonadvocacy draft and military counseling center. Resource center on draft, military, and militarism issues; internship program; community project for high school youth.

Berkeley Students for Peace
ASUC, 613 Eshleman Hall, UC-Berkeley
Berkeley, CA 94720
(415) 642-7783
FOUNDED: 1976
FUNDING: ASUC
NO. OF MEMBERS: 15
MEMBERSHIP: students
RANGE: city
NEWSLETTER: regular mailings, $3 contribution appreciated
Resource center for anti-militarist and peace-promoting activities on UC-Berkeley campus. Has built many contacts with campus and community groups and often serves as a link between them. Often works in coalitions, bringing a holistic, nonviolent feminist perspective to single-issue campaigns, and tries to provide some continuity to campus activities. Issues include disarmament, draft resistance, intervention, militarism, and corporate power. Organizes nonviolent resistance actions.

Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility/Berkeley
P.O. Box 9026
Berkeley, CA 94709
(415) 654-5263
See national listing for more information.

Draft Resisters Defense Fund
2022 Essex St.
Berkeley, CA 94703
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 10
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
Contributions are tax deductible. Promotes the option of nonregistration with the Selective Service and urges all young people to stay away from the draft registration program entirely. Aids in legal defense of those in violation of Selective Service law.

East Bay Women for Peace
2302 Ellsworth
Berkeley, CA 94704
See national Women Strike for Peace listing for more information.

Livermore Action Group
3126 Shattuck Ave.
Berkeley, CA 94705
(415) 644-3031
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 4,000 in 250 affinity groups
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: northern California
NEWSLETTER: Direct Action ($15/yr or sliding scale)
Contributions are tax deductible. A regional network of nonviolent activists organized into affinity and working groups opposed to nuclear weapons, nuclear power, and militarism. Organizes nonviolent direct actions. Keeps tabs on Livermore National Laboratory. Now involved in direct nonviolent civil disobedience, including blockades at Livermore (resulting in over 3,000 arrests in the past 2-1/2 years).

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Berkeley
c/o Joan Ali
2288 Fulton St.
Berkeley, CA 94704
(415) 845-8395
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Berkeley
P.O. Box 5454
Berkeley, CA 94705
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Berkeley
c/o Dolores Taller
743 Spruce St.
Berkeley, CA 94707
(415) 525-0592
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/ Carmel
c/o Linda Miller
P.O. Box 80
Carmel, CA 95472
(408) 625-2379
See national listing for more information.

Chico Peace Endeavor
930 Walnut St.
Chico, CA 95926
(916) 893-9078

FOUNDED: 1960
FUNDING: pledges, contributions, fundraising
RANGE: county
NEWSLETTER: Peaceful Action (monthly, free)
Contributions are tax deductible. Directs the Chico Peace Center, which is becoming a central peace library and information center; presents educational programs; works with local schools; sponsors rallies and demonstrations with other peace groups; has speakers' bureau. Groups that can be contacted through the Chico Peace Center are the Butte County Freeze Committee, Chico Nuclear Free Zone Group, Chico War Tax Resistance, Health Care Workers Against Nuclear War, North Valley Peace Academy Campaign, People for a Nuclear Free Future, and Women Against Nuclear Destruction.

Educators for Social Responsibility/Chico
c/o Kate McCracken
Bidwell Junior High School
2376 N. Ave.
Chico, CA 95926
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Chico
c/o Wilhelmina Taggart
444 W. 1st Ave.
Chico, CA 95926
See national listing for more information.

North Valley Religious Community for Peace
P.O. Box 4890
Chico, CA 95927
(916) 891-5780
FOUNDED: 1984
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 200
MEMBERSHIP: religious
RANGE: northern California
NEWSLETTER: bimonthly (free)
Aims to bring together peace groups in local churches, synagogues, and other religious organizations to share information and strengthen mutual understanding and commitment to peace. Programs include speakers, films.

Educators for Social Responsibility/ Marin County
c/o Faye Hinze
18 Siminole Ave.,
Corte Madera, CA 94925
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Del Mar
c/o Florence Stevens
1956 Sea View Ave.
Del Mar, CA 92014
(619) 755-4283
See national listing for more information.

El Dorado Nuclear Freeze Committee
P.O. Box 997
Diamond Springs, CA 95619
(916) 644-4073
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: contributions, flea market, events
RANGE: western county
NEWSLETTER: monthly ($5/yr)
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/El Cerrito
c/o Judith Schultz
3420 Belmont Ave.
El Cerrito, CA 94530
(415) 525-6477
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Eureka
c/o Tim Nicely MD
P.O. Box 450
Eureka, CA 95501
(707) 442-3966
See national listing for more information.

People for a Nuclear Free Future
366 N. Main St.
Fort Bragg, CA 95437
(707) 964-0536
FOUNDED: 1979
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 30
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
A grassroots community peace organization whose primary objective is to alert people to the problems associated with nuclear energy, including nuclear weapons proliferation, the disposal of nuclear waste, and the entire question of nuclear power generation. Provides a spectrum of activities, from political activism to educational outreach.

Educators for Social Responsibility/ San Mateo
c/o Barbara Buskirk
733 Bounty Dr. #202
Foster City, CA 94402
(415) 349-5385
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/ Fountain Valley
c/o David Baldwin
10195 La Hacienda #E
Fountain Valley, CA 92708
(714) 963-3721
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Fresno
c/o John Fulan
1230 N. Poplar
Fresno, CA 93728
(209) 485-4724
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/Fresno
c/o Robert Valett, Ed.D.
School of Education, California State Univ.
Fresno, CA 93740
(209) 294-2271
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Fresno
c/o Sr. Judy Breslin
2850 N. Crystal Ave.
Fresno, CA 93705
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Fresno
c/o Dr. Ron Silvertri
2828 Fresno St., Suite 202
Fresno, CA 93654
See national listing for more information.

Seminary Peace Fellowship
4824 E. Butler
Fresno, CA 93727
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 15
MEMBERSHIP: students at Mennonite Brethren Biblical Seminary
RANGE: city
"Advocates biblical peacemaking (peace theology, providing information about conflict situations, witness for peace, and pray for peace) at all levels of relationship in the M.B. Biblical Seminary community and in the city of Fresno."

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Fresno
c/o Jacquelin Pilar
5147 E. American Ave.
Fresno, CA 93725
(209) 237-0418
See national listing for more information.

Theatre Peace
63501 Bell Springs Rd.
Garberville, CA 95440
(707) 984-8296
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: donations through Capp St. Foundation
Multi-media presentations with slides, music, tapes.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Goleta
c/o Eva Ando
762 Birchwalk #11
Goleta, CA 93017
(805) 969-2818
See national listing for more information.

Nevada County Peace Center
123 Richardson St.
Grass Valley, CA 95945
(916) 265-8173, 272-7079
FOUNDED: 1984
FUNDING: dues ($10/yr), fundraisers
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: county
NEWSLETTER: Outlook-Journal for a Nuclear Free Sierra (quarterly)
A resource center that provides educational programs (speakers and films) and organizes local response to peace issues. Issues include peace, human rights, the environment.

Peace On Earth
P.O. Box 337
Hemet, CA 92343
(714) 925-2735
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: donations
MEMBERSHIP: religious, strict vegetarian
A new-age Christian group that campaigns in cities and towns on foot, teaching the ways of the Lord and the ten commandments.

Interfaith Peace Center
1950 Third St.
La Verne, CA 91750
(714) 593-6414
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: Friends Meeting, churches, donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 900 mailing list
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
NEWSLETTER: Peace Notes
Contributions are tax deductible. Provides educational resources for peace and social justice organizations and individuals in the Pomona Valley area.

Center for a Positive Future/Lincoln
c/o Patricia Malberg
4191 Goaley Lane
Lincoln, CA 95648
(916) 645-8789
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/ San Joaquin
c/o Bonnie Meyer
1619 W. Elm
Lodi, CA 95240
(209) 467-6000
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/ Long Beach
c/o Key Meyer
1706 Erie St. #4
Long Beach, CA 90802
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/ Long Beach
c/o Sheridan Kuncel
3376 Roxanne Ave.
Long Beach, CA 90808
See national listing for more information.

Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility/Palo Alto
437 Mundel Way
Los Altos, CA 94022
(415) 948-5753
See national listing for more information.

Alliance for Survival
426 S. Alexandria
Los Angeles, CA 90020
(213) 388-1824, 382-3542
FOUNDED: 1977
FUNDING: dues ($15/yr)
NO. OF MEMBERS: 12,000
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: southern California
NEWSLETTER: Peace Conversion Times (free to members, $15/yr other)
Reaching the young is a key concern. Principal activity is grassroots organizing that targets change in legislation on current nuclear activities.

Center for a Positive Future/Los Angeles
c/o Christi Ana Davidsunn
3259 Malcolm Ave.
Los Angeles, CA 90034
(213) 470-6471
See national listing for more information.

Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility/Los Angeles
P.O. Box 66038
Los Angeles, CA 90066
(213) 450-2057
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/ Los Angeles
4607 Prospect Ave.
Los Angeles, CA 90027
See national listing for more information.

Physicians For Social Responsibility/ Los Angeles
c/o Richard Saxon MD
P.O. Box 35385
Los Angeles, CA 90035
(213) 938-3837
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Los Angeles
c/o F.H. Yorra MD
218 Bronwood Ave.
Los Angeles, CA 90049
See national listing for more information.

SANE/Greater Los Angeles
7250 Franklin Ave., Suite 107
Los Angeles, CA 90046
See national listing for more information.

Southern Californians for a Bilateral Nuclear Weapons Freeze
7250 Franklin Ave. #304
Los Angeles, CA 90046
(213) 851-4930
See national listing for more information.

War Resisters League/Southern California
c/o Bob Meola
866-1/4 Kensington Rd.
Los Angeles, CA 90026
(213) 629-2998
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Los Angeles
4603 Prospect Ave.
Los Angeles, CA 90020
(213) 462-7227
See national listing for more information.

Women Strike for Peace/Los Angeles
5539 W. Pico Blvd.
Los Angeles, CA 90019
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ McKinleyville
c/o Marilyn and Tim Palk-Nicely
2670 Kelly Ave.
McKinleyville, CA 95521
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Mendocino
c/o Jeanne McNamara
P.O. Box 1347
Mendocino, CA 95460
(707) 937-0127
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/ Mid Peninsula
c/o David Shippen-Rice
1940 Camino de los Robles
Menlo Park, CA 94025
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Mill Valley
c/o Mary Andrews
14 Ethel Ave.
Mill Valley, CA 94941
(415) 388-6967
See national listing for more information.

Modesto Peace/Life Center
922 6th St.
Modesto, CA 95354
(209) 529-5750
FOUNDED: 1970
FUNDING: donations, fundraisers
MEMBERSHIP: open
NO. OF MEMBERS: 725
RANGE: regional
NEWSLETTER: Modesto Peace/Life Center Newsletter, by request
Contributions are tax deductible. Focuses on nonviolent social change, elimination of nuclear weapons, energy alternatives. Programs include public, church, and school meetings; a peace retreat; a family camp; films; a booth at the county fair; tables at public events.

Educators for Social Responsibility/Salinas
c/o Gloria Coffey
1864 David Ave.
Monterey, CA 93940
See national listing for more information.

Monterey Peninsula Unitarian Church
P.O. Box 264
Monterey, CA 93942
(408) 624-7404
FOUNDED: 1953
FUNDING: member pledges
NO. OF MEMBERS: 205
MEMBERSHIP: religious liberals
RANGE: local
NEWSLETTER: ToGather (monthly)
Contributions are tax deductible. A member congregation of the Unitarian Universalist Association. Members are active in the Nuclear Freeze and Beyond War movements.

Center for a Positive Future/Napa
c/o Tom Caven
2047 Russel St.
Napa, CA 94558
(707) 252-0838
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Oakland
c/o Nancy Sackett
4142 Terrace St.
Oakland, CA 94611
(415) 653-9871
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/East Bay
c/o Rick Collett
4726 Redding St.
Oakland, CA 94619
(415) 535-2397
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/ Lutheran Peace Center
c/o Paul Benz
4100 Mountain Blvd.
Oakland, CA 94619
See national listing for more information.

Instruments of Peace
1500 34th Ave.
Oakland, CA 94601
(415) 536-3772
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: Franciscan Friars/Santa Barbara
RANGE: regional
NEWSLETTER: Instruments of Peace (free on request)
Contributions are tax deductible. A project of the Franciscan Friars/Santa Barbara Province, which sponsors a weekend retreat, adult education (four-part series), and one-day workshop entitled "From Despair to Hope (The Call to Christians Living in

the Nuclear Age)." The "Nevada Desert Experience" sponsors events at the Nevada nuclear test site.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Oakland
200 Woodward Bldg., 477 15th St.
Oakland, CA 94612
(415) 834-7897
See national listing for more information.

The Ojai Foundation
P.O. Box 1620
Ojai, CA 93023
(805) 646-8343
FOUNDED: 1979
FUNDING: programs
RANGE: international
Contributions are tax deductible. Sponsors educational and contemplative retreats with guest faculty in the fields of religion, philosophy, science, and the arts.

Citizens for Social Responsibility
P.O. Box 385
Oncata, CA 95521
(707) 822-7005
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 300
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: local
NEWSLETTER: Citizen News
"Person to person" organization working through education and voter registration to bring about nuclear freeze and eventual world-wide nuclear disarmament.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Pacific Palisades
c/o Pearl Letz
17321 Castellammare #1
Pacific Palisades, CA 90272
(213) 454-0427
See national listing for more information.

CAUSICA (Committee Against U.S. Intervention in Central America)
P.O. Box 60461
Palo Alto, CA 94306
(415) 327-6035
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 50
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: mid-penninsula
NEWSLETTER: Central America Adelante! (2,000 mailing list)
Works to change U.S. policy in Central America toward fostering negotiated settlements and social reform, through public education, fundraising for aid to refugees, lobbying Congress.

Educators for Social Responsibility/ Santa Clara
c/o Sam Anderson
240 Iris Way
Palo Alto, CA 94303
(415) 856-7979
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Palo Alto
c/o Dr. Gary lapid
703 Welch Rd., H-5
Palo Alto, CA 94304
(415) 322-4235
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Palo Alto
c/o Kevin Lemley
Stanford University Medical Center
Palo Alto, CA 94305
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/ Palo Alto
c/o Rachel Loden
3072 Stelling Dr.
Palo Alto, CA 94303
(415) 493-4799
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Palo Alto
c/o Fran Gillis
915 Colonial Lane
Palo Alto, CA 94303
(415) 856-6070
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Penninsula
P.O. Box 60851
Palo Alto, CA 94306
(414) 326-8837
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/ Paradise
c/o Jim Umenhofer
6064 Terra Vista
Paradise, CA 95969
(916) 872-1356
See national listing for more information.

American Friends Service Committee
980 N. Fair Oaks Ave.
Pasadena, CA 91103
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/ El Dorado
c/o Duane Kalman
4141 Karl Dr.
Placerville, CA 95667
(916) 626-3369
See national listing for more information.

New Morning Peace Center
1720 Branstetter Circle
Redding, CA 96001
(916) 246-3112
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: contributions, fundraisers
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: New Morning Peace Center News (bimonthly)
Sponsors workshops and speakers on various issues. Conducted successful initiative referendum and voted down city's proposal to buy into nuclear power plant. Serves as umbrella for peace groups. Maintains library, acts as clearinghouse and meeting place.

Redlands Peace Group
P.O. Box 561
Redlands, CA 92373
(714) 792-7980
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 50
MEMBERSHIP: open
NEWSLETTER: Peace Action (monthly, donation requested)
An education and action group focusing on the international arms race. Meets the second Sunday of each month. Networks with other groups concerned with peacemaking; helps establish new organizations; provides for speakers and programs; studies issues and nonviolent solutions; writes letters to legislators and media; holds conferences.

Center for a Positive Future/Sacramento
c/o Kevin Kelly
1954 Juliesse
Sacramento, CA 95815
(916) 927-3516
See national listing for more information

Educators for Social Responsibility/ Sacramento
c/o Don Monte
4233 Birgit Way
Sacramento, CA 95825
(916) 685-0232
See national listing for more information

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Sacramento
c/o Neil Flynn, MD
3849 V Street
Sacramento, CA 95817
See national listing for more information

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Sacramento
4812 Folsom Blvd. #111
Sacramento, CA 95819
See national listing for more information

Sacramento Religious Community for Peace
P.O. Box 163078
Sacramento, CA 95816
(916) 456-2616
FOUNDED: 1979
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 185
MEMBERSHIP: religious community
RANGE: regional
NEWSLETTER: Sacramento Religious Community for Peace Newsletter
Local and regional interfaity organization. Provides resource persons, materials, and support to religious groups; public education; sponsors ecumenical and interfaith worship services; and works with other groups.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/ Sacramento
c/o Carol Stone
5713 State Ave.
Sacramento, CA 95819
(714) 226-6961
See national listing for more information

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/ San Anselmo
c/o Linda Watson
P.O. Box 109
San Anselmo, CA 94960
(415) 493-4799
See national listing for more information

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Inland
c/o Ray Conaiser
25619 Pacific St.
San Bernadino, CA 92404
See national listing for more information

War Resisters League/Inland Empire
1336 N. Wall Ave.
San Bernadino, CA 92404
(714) 889-3170
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/San Diego
c/o Adrienne Doyle
10768 Cariuto Ct.
San Diego, CA 92124
(619) 292-7327
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/San Diego
c/o Christopher Stowell
5102 Towle Ct.
San Diego, CA 92105
See national listing for more information.

San Diego Committee Against Registration and the Draft
P.O. Box 15195
San Diego, CA 92115
(619) 272-5718
FOUNDED: 1979
FUNDING: donations, events, grants
NO. OF MEMBERS: 400
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city, county
NEWSLETTER: Draft Notices (bimonthly, $5 donation requested)
Seeks to mobilize opposition to the draft and militarism through direct action, lobbying, and legislative campaigns. "We believe it is essential that the growing peace movement seriously address the relationship between conventional and nuclear weapons/war." Diverse membership including a wide spectrum of views. Works closely with Draft Resisters Defense Fund.

San Diego County Draft Resisters Defense Fund
P.O. Box 33544
San Diego, CA 92103
(619) 753-7518
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations, events
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city, county
NEWSLETTER: DRDF Newsletter (bimonthly, donation requested)
Tax deductible contributions can be arranged. Organized around Ben Sasway's indictment, to organize political, moral, legal support for nonregistrants in San Diego County. Publicizes cases, mobilizes public support, provides link between local resistance and others nationally. "Our goal is to counter the government campaign to intimidate youth nationwide into registering. We view draft registration resistance as a stand against nuclear war, intervention, and the violation of conscience and civil liberties."

SANE/Pacific
1101 Camino Del Mar #260
San Diego, CA 92014
(714) 450-1993
See national listing for more information

Abalone Alliance
2940 16th St., Rm. 310
San Francisco, CA 94103
(415) 861-0592
FOUNDED: 1977
FUNDING: direct mail, canvassing, dues ($25/yr)
NO. OF MEMBERS: 3,500
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: It's About Times (free to members, $8/yr others)
Tax deductible contributions through Agape Foundation. Purpose is to educate people about the dangers of nuclear power and weapons and the inherent link between the two; to organize nonviolent, affinity-group-based actions to actively affect the nuclear situation; to work as an integral part of a larger movement working for peace and social justice.

American Friends Service Committee
2160 Lake St.
San Francisco, CA 94121
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/San Francisco
c/o Susan Rogers
2955 Clay St. #3
San Francisco, CA 94115
(415) 566-9323
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/San Francisco
c/o Jeanie Rahman
1328 12th Ave.
San Francisco, CA 94122
See national listing for more information.

Nuclear Disarmament Banner/Poster Campaign
105 Belvedere St.
San Francisco, CA 94117
(415) 731-7961
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: sales
NO. OF MEMBERS: 3
RANGE: city
Makes anti-nuclear banners (stenciled on canvas) and posters (silk-screened) and conducts banner-making workshops.

People's Anti-War Mobilization/San Francisco
2718 24th St.
San Francisco, CA 94110
(415) 821-6545
See national listing for more information.

San Francisco Women for Peace
50 Oak St.
San Francisco, CA 94102
See national Women Strike for Peace listing for more information.

War Resisters League/West
85 Carl St.
San Francisco, CA 94117
(415) 731-1220
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/San Francisco
c/o Kali Grosberg
13 Columbus Ave.
San Francisco, CA 94111
(415) 981-8909
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/San Francisco
c/o Vivian Hallinan
1080 Chestnut #11D
San Francisco, CA 94109
(415) 441-0388
See national listing for more information

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/San Francisco
Women's Bldg., 3443 18th St.
San Francisco, CA 94110
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/San Francisco
c/o Evelyn Pine
1456 Page St. #4
San Francisco, CA 94117
(415) 626-6365
See national listing for more information.

Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility/San Jose
P.O. Box 53197
San Jose, CA 95153
(408) 739-2729
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Bay Area
c/o George Collins
160 S. 14th St.
San Jose, CA 95112
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/San Jose Peace Center
c/o Kathy Lynch
520 S. 10th St.
San Jose, CA 95112
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/San Jose
c/o Marc Sapir
1924 Vollmer Way
San Jose, CA 95116
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/San Jose
c/o Jackie Taylor
489 N. Lake #102
San Jose, CA 95117
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/San Jose
c/o Marjorie Boehm
152 S. 16th St.
San Jose, CA 95112
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/San Jose
c/o Eileen Levy
1829 Dry Creek Rd.
San Jose, CA 95124
(415) 441-0388
See national listing for more information.

Abalone Alliance Diablo Project Office
452 Higuera St.

San Luis Obispo, CA 93401
(805) 543-6614
FOUNDED: 1979
FUNDING: concerts, sales, fundraising
MEMBERSHIP: coalition of antinuclear/safe energy groups
RANGE: state
The Alliance is a coalition of 60 California antinuclear safe energy groups. Diablo Project Office coordinates statewide outreach and direct action on Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant, including the 1981 blockade involving 4,000 people.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Santa Ana
c/o Robert Keller MD
P.O. Box 11691
Santa Ana, CA 92711
(714) 542-8443
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/ Santa Barbara
c/o Loren Weidman
1075 Mockingbird Lane
Santa Barbara, CA 93110
(805) 967-4082
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/ Santa Barbara
c/o Gwen Phillips
1786 Las Canoas Rd.
Santa Barbara, CA 93105
(805) 965-8449
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/ Santa Barbara
c/o Marjie Swansen
312 Sola St. #5
Santa Barbara, CA 93105
See national listing for more information.

Peace Resource Center of Santa Barbara
331 N. Milpas St. #F
Santa Barbara, CA 93103
(805) 965-8583
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: dues ($20/yr), donations, fundraisers
NO. OF MEMBERS: 600
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: county
NEWSLETTER: Peaceletter (free to members, others on request)
Contributions are tax deductible. Educational center providing information and resources, clearinghouse, and network for other organizations.

SANE/Santa Barbara
c/o Michael Shaffer
P.O. Box 20136
Santa Barbara, CA 93120
(805) 965-7796
See national listing for more information.

War Resisters League/Santa Barbara
P.O. Box 22042
Santa Barbara, CA 93121
(805) 966-2915, 965-4817
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Santa Barbara
c/o Elizabeth Faggan
P.O. Box 5114
Santa Barbara, CA 93108
(805) 685-3969
See national listing for more information.

A California Group to Establish Trust Between the U.S. and USSR
P.O. Box 693
Santa Cruz, CA 95060
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: contributions, literature sales
NO. OF MEMBERS: 15-20
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
Supports independent peace groups in the USSR and Eastern Europe. Spreads information, other protest and support activities.

Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility/Santa Cruz
147 S. River, Suite 205
Santa Cruz, CA 95060
(408) 425-8523
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/ San Luis Obispo
c/o Sheryl Heber
P.O. Box 235, Star Route
Santa Margarita, CA 93453
(805) 438-5855
See national listing for more information.

Catholic Peace Coalition
1440 Harvard St.
Santa Monica, CA 90404
(213) 828-4245
FOUNDED: 1979
FUNDING: dues ($15/yr), contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 200
MEMBERSHIP: Catholics
RANGE: southern California
NEWSLETTER: Peacemaking ($15/yr)
Members work, particularly in the parish setting, to educate, witness, and in other ways act to stop the nuclear arms race and to bring about a world of peace and justice. Supports legislation.

Center for a Positive Future/ Santa Monica
c/o Richard Villoria
1021 Lincoln Blvd.
Santa Monica, CA 90403
(213) 395-9522
See national listing for more information.

The Thursday Night Group
1220 Second St.
Santa Monica, CA 90403
(213) 395-4123
Nonprofit, nonpartisan nuclear education organization. Provides information about nuclear threat, helps people understand the information, and involves them in creative solutions. Primary goal is to educate the uninformed and motivate the underinvolved. Shares ideas, skills, materials, resources with other organizations. Focus on educational outreach.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/ Angela Center
c/o Sr. Clare Morris
535 Angela Dr.
Santa Rosa, CA 95401
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Santa Rosa
c/o Lucy Forrest
777 Aston Ave. #17
Santa Rosa, CA 95404
(707) 525-9062
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Sebastopol
c/o Neil Ehrlich MD
171 N. High St.
Sebastopol, CA 95472
(707) 829-1118
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/ Sebastopol
c/o Jane Flood
2821 Bloomfield Rd.
Sebastopol, CA 95472
(707) 823-6742
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Seaside
c/o Nancy McClintock
1174 Olympia
Seaside, CA 93955
(408) 394-1378
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/San Diego
c/o Andrew Oser
312 S. Cedros
Solana Beach, CA 92075
(303) 698-2523
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Sonoma
c/o Jackie Kramer-Silver
19201 Twin Oaks Ln.
Sonoma, CA 95476
(707) 996-4945
See national listing for more information.

Lawyers for Reduction of Nuclear Arms
c/o Kiwi Petrie
433 First St. W.
Sonoma, CA 95476
(707) 996-7707
FUNDING: dues ($10/yr)
NO. OF MEMBERS: 70
MEMBERSHIP: legal professionals
RANGE: city
A group of attorneys and legal community members providing legal support to other antinuclear groups and doing individual tax counseling and public education on conflict resolution and legal rights.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Stanford
Mid County Campus Dr.
Old Anatomy Bldg., Room 108A
Stanford, CA 94305
(415) 497-9060
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Stanford
P.O. Box 2337
Stanford, CA 94305
(415) 497-9060
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Sunnyvale
c/o Marilyn Nyborg
1657 J Belleville
Sunnyvale, CA 94087
(408) 732-7717
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Marin
c/o Claire Russell
1 Felipa Ct.
Tiburon, CA 94920
(415) 435-3767
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/ Mendocino County
c/o Debra Meek
P.O. Box 475
Ukiah, CA 95482
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/ Los Angeles
c/o Herb Bauers
7882 Matilija
Van Nuys, CA 91402
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Visalia
c/o Thomas Akin MD
330 Midland Dr.
Visalia, CA 93291
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Whittier
c/o Tom Dunlop
13554 Dunton Dr.
Whittier, CA 90605
See national listing for more information.

COLORADO

Arvada Mennonite Church
5927 Miller
Arvada, CO 80004
FOUNDED: 1961
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 120
MEMBERSHIP: open, religious
RANGE: city
Participated in peace witness at Rocky Flats. Provides sanctuary for Central American refugees, worship and community service.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/ Aspen Peace Fellowship
c/o Maxwell Aley
720 E. Hyman
Aspen, CO 81611
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Boulder
3495 Fordham Court
Boulder, CO 80303
(303) 949-3122
See national listing for more information.

Rocky Mountain Peace Center
1520 Euclid
Boulder, CO 80302
(303) 443-3680
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: individual sponsors
NO. OF MEMBERS: 150
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
Contributions are tax deductible. A regional base for research, education, and action in nonviolence, working toward the abolition of war. Programs include study groups, workshops, summer study/ work camps, translation of foreign peace research, policy papers, newspaper commentary series, public presentations, nonviolence training.

SANE/Boulder
c/o Adam Frank
University of Colorado
Student Union, UMC 331-F
Boulder, CO 80309
(303) 444-1064
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Boulder
c/o Jean Gore
980 Lincoln Pl.
Boulder, CO 80302
(303) 447-8668
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/ Colorado Springs
c/o Cynthia Groom
P.O. Box 6130
Colorado Springs, CO 80904
(303) 685-1283
See national listing for more information.

Colorado Springs Nuclear Freeze Campaign
P.O. Box 1344
Colorado Springs, CO 80901
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Denver
c/o Woody Moore
1081 S. Fillmore
Denver, CO 80209
(303) 698-2523
See national listing for more information.

Denver Justice and Peace Committee
2840 Lawrence St.
Denver, CO 80205
(303) 296-9225
FOUNDED: 1977
FUNDING: grassroots and church grants
NO. OF MEMBERS: 200 plus
MEMBERSHIP: church people
RANGE: city
NEWSLETTER: The Mustard Seed (bimonthly, $2/year to non-members)
An interfaith social action organization providing church people opportunities to act collectively on national campaigns. Works primarily on issues that stop U.S. multinationals' exploitation of Third World peoples and U.S. intervention in Central America. Latin American Project focused on the Interfaith Campaign to Stop the Importation of Salvadoran/Guatemalan Coffee, other projects.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Denver
c/o Ruth Robinson
3963 Haddon Rd.
Denver, CO 80205
See national listing for more information

Justice and Peace Office, Archdiocese of Denver
200 Josephine Street
Denver, CO 80206
(303) 388-4411
FOUNDED: 1976
FUNDING: Archdiocese
MEMBERSHIP: people in the faith community
RANGE: Archdiocese of Denver
Contributions are tax deductible. Main emphasis nuclear disarmament and U.S. policy in Central America. Part of Central American Refugee coalition. Does much work in coalitions, including education and planning conferences, rallies, memorial and solidarity events. Tries to link social, economic, and militaristic problems.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Denver
P.O. Box 20608
Denver, CO 80220
(303) 393-3093
See national listing for more information.

Rocky Flats Project/AFSC
1660 Lafayette St.
Denver, CO 80218
(303) 832-4508
FOUNDED: 1974
FUNDING: contributions to AFSC
RANGE: regional
Contributions are tax deductible. Works for an end to nuclear weapons production at Rocky Flats, a total and verifiable nuclear weapons freeze, and progressive world disarmament. Does public education, works with policymakers in Colorado and Washington DC, organizes with a wide range of groups, sponsors hearings on health hazards.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Denver
c/o Helen Nokke
4801 E. 18th Ave.
Denver, CO 80220
(303) 388-1760
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Fort Collins
217 S. Sherwood
Fort Collins, CO 80521
See national listing for more information

War Resisters League/Foothills
3024 Ross Dr. #A4
Fort Collins, CO 80521
(303) 482-9641
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Fort Collins
618 S. Grant
Fort Collins, CO 80521
(303) 482-9139
See national listing for more information.

People's Anti-War Mobilization/Greeley
P.O. Box 1863
Greeley, CO 80632
(303) 339-3750
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Greeley
c/o Elaine Schmidt
1413 23rd Ave. Ct.
Greeley, CO 80631
(303) 352-7765
See national listing for more information.

People for Social Responsibility
3005 Marshall Ash Dr.
Loveland, CO 80537
(303) 663-1187
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 20
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
Works within the community to promote discussion of the arms race and related issues; presents seminars and educational programs to church, civic, and neighborhood groups; organizes legislative phone trees to influence congresspeople.

Montrose Peacemakers
1305 Chatam Dr.
Montrose, CO 81401
(303) 249-7574
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 46
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
A small group of concerned citizens who write letters to the newspapers, invite speakers, commemorate peace occasions, disseminate publicity for the Colorado Freeze Network, and write congresspeople.

Pueblo Nuclear Freeze Campaign
408 Morrison
Pueblo, CO 81003
(303) 543-1680
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 80
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city, county
A community organization committed to a reduction of the arms race and a nuclear weapons freeze.

Salida Freeze Group
330 Shauano Street
Salida, CO 81201
(303) 539-4560
NO. OF MEMBERS: 2 to l0
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
A small group working to disseminate information on the Freeze to the residents of Salida. Provides films, lectures, discussion groups, etc. Also involved in radio presentations.

CONNECTICUT

Center for a Positive Future/Abington
c/o Reva Seybolt
P.O. Box 1
Abington, CT 06230
(203) 928-3311
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/Bridgeport
c/o Kevin Cassidy
245 Ellsworth St.
Bridgeport, CT 06605
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/Bridgeport
c/o Jack Hickey-Williams
238 Jewett Ave.
Bridgeport, CT 06606
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/Bridgeport
c/o Gary Koos
240 Black Rock Ave.
Bridgeport, CT 06605
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/Darien
c/o Patricia Gray
33 Norton Ave.
Darien, CT 06820
(203) 655-8516
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Darien
c/o Cynthis MacBain
461 Hoyt St.
Darien, CT 06820
(203) 322-7428
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Farmington
P.O. Box 209
Farmington, CT 06032
(203) 582-4504
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Guilford
c/o Karen Klugman
918 Dunk Road
Guilford, CT 06437
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Hartford
c/o Kent Stahl MD
230 Scarborough St.
Hartford, CT 06105
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Lyme
c/o Helen Schmitt
41 Hickory St.
Lyme, CT 06371
(203) 434-1542
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Monroe
c/o Barbara Stead
66 Pepper St.
Monroe, CT 06468
See national listing for more information.

Feminist Union Anti-Nuclear Task Force
c/o Joan Cavanagh
36 High St. #23
New Haven, CT 06511
(203) 776-4098
FOUNDED: 1979
FUNDING: donations
RANGE: state
A Connecticut feminist group that provides speakers on a variety of subjects, including feminism and nuclear resistance, women and the war machine, mothering in the nuclear age, and Connecticut's defense dependency. Also codirects actions at a local Connecticut nuclear facilities and participates in national actions.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/New Haven
c/o David London MD
91 Wall St., P.O. Box 1158
New Haven, CT 06443
(203) 245-1902
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/New Haven
310 Prospect St.
New Haven, CT 06511
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/New Haven
c/o Milada Marsalka
64 Morris Cove Rd.
New Haven, CT 06512
(203) 467-4629
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Norwalk
P.O. Box 172
Norwalk, CT 06856
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Hartford
c/o Ben Wojan
134 Davenport Rd.
West Hartford, CT 06110
See national listing for more information.

Promoting Enduring Peace
112 Beach Ave., P.O. Box 5103
Woodmont, CT 06460
(203) 878-4769
FOUNDED: 1952
FUNDING: donations
MEMBERSHIP: open
Contributions are tax deductible. Seeks to advance international understanding and world peace. Reprints and distributes, free of charge, articles on world peace; conducts international peace seminars that visit various countries; sponsors and presents annual Gandhi Peace Award.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/Woodstock
c/o Margaret Thompson
P.O. Box 122
Woodstock, CT 06281
(203) 928-2046
See national listing for more information.

DELAWARE

Sussex County Freeze/Pacem in Terris
P.O. Box 400
Lewes, DE 19958
(302) 645-5578
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 40
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: Sussex County
Contributions are tax deductible. A small ad hoc group that assembles from time to time for discussion and action. Maintains a small library of information on the effects and dangers of nuclear weapons and the nuclear arms race; sets up information booths at fairs; other special projects.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Newark
c/o Philip Pollner MD
P.O. Box 7588
Newark, DE 19714
See national listing for more information.

Office of Peace and Justice,
Catholic Diocese of Wilmington
1300 N. Broom St.
Wilmington, DE 19806
(302) 655-6118
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: Diocese
RANGE: Delaware, nine eastern shore counties of Maryland
NEWSLETTER: Just Jotting (schools); For Justice Sake (adults)
Contributions are tax deductible. Educates Catholic community in matters of peace and justice and works with other groups, locally and nationally.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Wilmington
P.O. Box 142
Wilmington, DE 19899
(302) 774-6292
See national listing for more information.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Fellowship of Reconciliation/
District of Columbia
c/o John and Bobbie Stewart
1812 Monroe St. NW
Washington, DC 20010
See national listing for more information.

Hiroshima/Nagasaki Peace Committee
P.O. Box 40602
Washington, DC 20016
(202) 536-6380
FOUNDED: 1980
"To commit ourselves as individuals, families, communities, councils and congresses to work unceasingly to establish peace and to completely dismantle all nuclear weapons, that the children of the world may be free of the threat of nuclear war and may share in a beneficent and beautiful future." Every year, two White House vigils are organized to fulfill the promise "Rest in peace, for we shall not repeat the sin."

Jobs with Peace/Washington
Center for Commercial Change
1000 Wisconsin Ave.
Washington, DC 20007
See national listing for more information.

People's Anti-War Mobilization/
Washington
1470 Irving St. NW
Washington, DC 20010
(202) 462-1488
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/
Washington
510 C Street NE
Washington, DC 20002
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/
Washington
c/o Susan Leighton
236 Massachusetts Ave. NE, Suite 301
Washington, DC 20002
(202) 543-0672
See national listing for more information.

Psychologists for Social Responsibility
2424 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, Suite 116
Washington, DC 20037
(202) 296-4679
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 30
MEMBERSHIP: psychologists, general
RANGE: state
Conducts study groups; speaks to church, school, and parent groups; has organized a speakers' series for Fall 1984-Spring 1985.

Washington Peace Center
2111 Florida Ave. NW
Washington, DC 20008
(202) 234-2000
FOUNDED: 1963
FUNDING: donations, contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 4,000
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
NEWSLETTER: Washington Peace Center Newsletter (monthly, $10/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. Organizes demonstrations and assists other groups with volunteers. Also has an educational committee doing workshops and nonviolence training and a Young People's Peace Campaign doing high school organizing. Operates as a clearinghouse.

Women Strike for Peace/Washington
201 Massachusetts Ave. NE
Washington, DC 20002
See national listing for more information.

World Peace Mission Group
1500 16th St. NW
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 270-1186
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: Foundry United Methodist Church
NO. OF MEMBERS: 20
MEMBERSHIP: affiliation with Foundry UMC
RANGE: metropolitan DC area
NEWSLETTER: The Peacemaker
Contributions are tax deductible. Seeks to focus attention of Foundry Church community on issues of world peace. "We are not unanimous in how to fulfill our mission for peace, but we agree that the quest for peace stirs us to perfect our personal understanding of the issues as well as to seek external outlets to advance the attainment of peace in the world." Organizes forums, public events.

FLORIDA

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Boca Raton
c/o Minnie Friedlander
4760 Bison St.
Boca Raton, FL 33409
(305) 482-8262
See national listing for more information.

Upper Pinellas Nuclear Freeze Coalition
P.O. Box 7477
Clearwater, FL 33575
(813) 725-1343, 584-6681
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: dues
NO. OF MEMBERS: 300
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: Upper Pinellas County
A political action organization whose primary purpose is to work for a mutual, verifiable freeze.

Community Alliance for Peace Education
1921 NW 2nd Ave.
Gainesville, FL 32603
(904) 372-1070
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: membership, donations, fundraisers, T-shirts, buttons
NO. OF MEMBERS: 200
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: Gainesville and county
NEWSLETTER: $5/yr
Educational organization sponsoring peace studies and special programs.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/
Gainesville
c/o Peter Small
3454 NW 12th Ave.
Gainesville, FL 32605
See national listing for more information.

People for Nuclear Responsibility
90 Highpoint Drive
Gulf Breeze, FL 32561
FUNDING: donations
RANGE: local
A grassroots organization of concerned people wanting to help promote peaceful coexistence of world powers to prevent a nuclear war or use of nuclear weapons.

Center for a Positive Future/Lake Park
c/o David Benson
8649 Pluto Terrace
Lake Park, FL 33403
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Lake Wales
c/o Hunter Lilly
P.O. Box 1651
Lake Wales, FL 33853
(813) 638-1227
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/
Lake Worth
c/o Susan Glaser
915 N. Lakeside Dr.
Lake Worth, FL 33460
(305) 588-2909
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Miami
c/o Madaline Harrison
7210 Red Road #208
Miami, FL 33143
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Miami
c/o Gertrude Pearl
9972 N. Kendall Dr.
Miami, FL 33176
See national listing for more information.

Grace Contrino Abrams Peace Education Foundation
P.O. Box 19-1153
Miami Beach, FL 33119
(305) 534-0031
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: membership
NO. OF MEMBERS: 125
MEMBERSHIP: primarily students and educators
RANGE: South Florida, sales nationally
NEWSLETTER: Peace Ed News (2-3 times/year)

Contributions are tax deductible. Develops and disseminates conflict resolution/peace education curricula, trains teachers in their use, gives classroom presentations, honors peace educators, and sponsors an annual student peace essay contest. Also sponsors teacher workshops, provides school consultation services, and maintains a resource library of peace education and conflict resolution materials.

Peace of Highlands County
123 NE Lakeview Dr. #8CS
Sebring, FL 33870
(813) 385-7826
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: church bequest
NO. OF MEMBERS: 15
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: county
Distributes literature, holds panel discussions, presents programs to church and service clubs, writes letters to legislators and newspapers. Promotes library displays and makes donations to libraries, sponsors high school essay contests.

SANE/Florida
c/o Paul Jones
1001 55th Ave. S.
St. Petersburg, FL 33705
(813) 866-1836
See national listing for more information.

Tampa Bay Peace Education Program/AFSC
130 19th Ave. SE
St. Petersburg, FL 33705
(813) 822-5522
FOUNDED: 1950s
FUNDING: Atlanta regional AFSC office
NO. OF MEMBERS: 12
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: Tampa Bay
NEWSLETTER: AFSC Peace Paper (monthly, $5/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. Conducts monthly human rights forum and peace action meeting (films, speakers). Organizes demonstrations. Maintains library of peace information.

Peace for the Future
3411 El Prado Blvd.
Tampa, FL 33629
(813) 839-2458
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: member contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 15
MEMBERSHIP: Tampa teenagers
RANGE: city
A group of teenagers dedicated to increasing involvement in the cause of peace. Promotes self-education through discussion and study, cooperating with other peace groups; demonstration on anniversary of atomic bombing of Japan; lobbying for peace curriculum in public schools.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Tampa
c/o Priss Streater
1005 Charter St.
Tampa, FL 33602
(813) 223-6884
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/West Palm Beach
1766 Donnell Rd.
West Palm Beach, FL 33409
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/West Palm Beach
c/o Bess Nemiroff
90 E. Hampton Dr., Century Village
West Palm Beach, FL 33409
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Miami Beach
c/o Clara Gavurin
736 Lenox Ave.
Miami Beach, FL 33139
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Miami Beach
c/o Pauline Mansfield
3 Island Ave. #3
Miami Beach, FL 33139
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Miami Beach
c/o Rose Sorkin
1510 West Ave.
Miami Beach, FL 33139
(305) 672-0978
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Naples
c/o Karen Neumann & John Dwyer
1235 Woodridge Ave.
Naples, FL 33940
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/North Miami Beach
c/o Athenia Dohn
1450 NE 149th St.
N. Miami Beach, FL 33161
(305) 945-5534
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/North Miami Beach
c/o Pamela Isabel
15205 NE 6th Ave. #D106
N. Miami Beach, FL 33162
(305) 947-5972
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/North Dade-South Broward
c/o Ruth Anderson
18360 NE 20th Ct.
N. Miami Beach, FL 33179
(305) 932-6398
See national listing for more information.

Draft Counseling Service
P.O. Box 2236
Port Charlotte, FL 33952
(813) 629-6134
FOUNDED: 1980
RANGE: five counties of SW Florida
Information service to discuss registration, draft, military service, discharge upgrading.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Southwest Florida
c/o Abraham and Ida Kaufman
P.O. Box 2726
Port Charlotte, FL 33952
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Sarasota
c/o Pattie Lanier
2315 McClellan
Sarasota, FL 33579
(813) 922-3575
See national listing for more information.

GEORGIA

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Sumter County
c/o Gail Steiner & Steve Clemens
Koinonia Partners
Route 2
Americus, GA 31709
See national listing for more information.

Athens Progressive Resource Center
185 W. Washington St.
Athens, GA 30601
(404) 353-1218
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations, renting of office space
NO. OF MEMBERS: 3
RANGE: city
Provides office space, meeting space, telephone to progressive groups; makes national newsletters available to public; sponsors informative speakers, films, festivals, and demonstrations.

Atlanta Nuclear Freeze/Jobs with Peace/AFSC
92 Piedmont Ave. NE
Atlanta, GA 30303
(404) 586-0460
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 1200
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city, statewide networking
NEWSLETTER: The Peace Option (bimonthly, $5/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. See national listings for more information.

Atlanta Peace Alliance
P.O. Box 54225
Atlanta, GA 30308
(404) 762-6024
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 25
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
A group of Atlanta area organizations, parents, teachers, students, and concerned citizens working to make peace and military counseling information available to Atlanta public school students. Seeks same rights as military recruiters have, to inform students of alternatives.

Center for a Positive Future/Atlanta
c/o Geri Taran
75 Peachtree Hills Ave.
Atlanta, GA 30305
(404) 262-7470
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/Atlanta
c/o Celia Marshall
4505 Lake Forrest Dr. NE
Atlanta, GA 30342
(404) 255-1210
See national listing for more information.

Metro Atlanta Tax Conversion Group
1425 Miller Ave.
Atlanta, GA 30307

(404) 577-1498
FOUNDED: 1979
FUNDING: donations, interest on Conversion Fund
NO. OF MEMBERS: 200
MEMBERSHIP: open, mostly war tax resisters
RANGE: city
NEWSLETTER: free from 415 Katherine Ln., Woodstock, GA 30188
War tax converters and their supporters who meet regularly to provide mutual support and to plan and carry out education and public witness on war tax conversion. Members share experience and technical knowledge, helping each other reach clearness on future action, and being there in tax court, for example. Public actions include annual demonstration at the IRS. In liaison with the National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee.

Movement for a New Society/Southeast
1425 Miller Ave. NE
Atlanta, GA 30307
(404) 577-1498
See national listing for more information.

People's Anti-War Mobilization/Atlanta
1017 Capital Ave. SW
Atlanta, GA 30315
(404) 622-3091
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Atlanta
c/o Jenie Dehaan
Energy University, School of Medicine
Clifton Rd.
Atlanta, GA 30322
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Atlanta
P.O. Box 95190
Atlanta, GA 30347
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Augusta
c/o David Stoney, Jr.
Medical College of Georgia
Augusta, GA 30912
(404) 736-4616
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/Decatur
c/o Jerome Scott
3026 San Jose Dr.
Decatur, GA 30032
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Tiger
c/o Natalie Howard
Rt. 1, Lk. Burton
Tiger, GA 30576
See national listing for more information.

Pax Christi/Warner-Robins
P.O. Box 5052
Warner-Robins, GA 31099-5052
(912) 923-0124
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: donations and fundraising
NO. OF MEMBERS: 18
MEMBERSHIP: mostly Catholic
RANGE: city
Contributions are tax deductible. Conducts prayer vigils and peace witnesses at military installations and White Train tracks. Involvement with issues such as death penalty, Central American refugees, nuclear war. Ongoing consciousness raising and mutual support.

HAWAII

Center for a Positive Future/Kauai
c/o Jean Green
P.O. Box 305
Anahola, HI 96703
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Honolulu
c/o Orland & Elaine Lefforge
4990 Poola St.
Honolulu, HI 96821
(808) 377-5751
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/Honolulu
c/o David Coleman
2813 Manoa Rd.
Honolulu, HI 96822
See national listing for more information.

War Resisters League/Hawaii-Catholic Action
1918 University Ave.
Honolulu, HI 96822
(808) 949-1210
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Honolulu
c/o Frances Viglielmo
106 Nenue St.
Honolulu, HI 96821
(808) 373-1560
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Kailua
c/o Dr. Will Butler
178 Kaihole
Kailua, HI 96734
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Kaneohe
c/o J. Frederick Reppun MD
47-410 Lulani St.
Kaneohe, HI 96744
(808) 239-8383
See national listing for more information.

Big Island Peace Center
P.O. Box 792
Keaau, HI 96749
(808) 966-7589
FOUNDED: 1984
FUNDING: donations
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: county
NEWSLETTER: Peace Flows
A resource and networking center that is attempting, through education and creative actions, to improve the quality of life on island and planet. Monitors and researches other organizations and resources to determine the most effective methods of education, communication, and action on specific social and environmental problems. Shows free video programs, provides book and cassette library, seed exchange service, and meeting place for groups. Planning to conduct discussion groups, show film "Gandhi" around island

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/Makawoa
c/o Sydney Droslin
P.O. Box 733
Makawoa, HI 96968
(808) 572-1430
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/Maui
c/o Celeste King
P.O. Box 465
Wailuku, HI 96793
See national listing for more information.

IDAHO

Boise Women for Peace
2608 Stewart St.
Boise, ID 83702
(208) 343-0690
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations, events
RANGE: city
Loose-knit, project-oriented organization that does education on nuclear arms race, effects on children, the Soviet Union, and related topics. See national Women Strike for Peace listing for more information.

Peace Committee, Ecumenical Association of Churches in Idaho
4900 N. Five Mile
Boise, ID 83704
(208) 322-6154
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: grant
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
Contributions are tax deductible. "Provides persons who feel called to be peacemakers as a result of their faith in God with opportunities for fellowship, education, and active witness for justice and peace." Sponsors leadership training seminar.

Snake River Alliance
P.O. Box 1731
Boise, ID 83701
(208) 344-9161
FOUNDED: 1979
FUNDING: contributions, dues, fundraising
NO. OF MEMBERS: 350
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: Snake River Alliance Newsletter (free to members)
Contributions are tax deductible. Promotes peace and seeks reversal of arms race. Advocates development of energy system aimed at lower bills, more jobs, and a healthier environment. Investigation, education, and public action, cultural events such as Water for Life Concert.

Center for a Positive Future/Coeur D'Alene
c/o Katie Thompson
1104 'A' St.
Coeur D'Alene, ID 83814
(208) 667-7277
See national listing for more information.

Peace Education Committee
c/o Deb Hoffman
HC01 Box 115
Kingston, ID 83839
(208) 682-3442
FOUNDED: 1983
NO. OF MEMBERS: 20-30

MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: Shoshone County
Provides films, guest speakers, discussion on the "folly of our nuclear weapons and nuclear attitudes"; hopes "to give our community hope and empower them/us to make changes in their lives and in American society."

Canyon County Citizens for Peace
P.O. Box 9008
Nampa, ID 83652
(208) 467-3628
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: collections
NO. OF MEMBERS: 35
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: county
Conducts monthly vigils, White Train actions, educational meetings, and annual Hiroshima Day memorials.

Pocatello Center for Peace and Justice/ Pocatello War Resisters League
310 E. Center
Pocatello, ID 83201
(208) 234-2973
FOUNDED: 1979
FUNDING: donations, fundraising projects
NO. OF MEMBERS: 60
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
NEWSLETTER: Bannock County Peace Coalition (monthly to members)
Supports Freeze, meeting human needs; opposes new production reactor to be built at Idaho National Engineering Lab that would produce explosive materials for nuclear weapons, and other military programs at INEL; concerned with other social injustice such as U.S. and Soviet intervention. Advocates Gandhian nonviolence. Has library with books, videotapes, and slideshows; does leafletting, public programs; participates in White Train vigils and other actions.

Center for a Positive Future/Twin Falls
c/o Marjorie Chupa
1860 Falls Ave. E.
Twin Falls, ID 83301
(208) 733-7002
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/ Magic Valley
c/o Ervin Huston
461 Flier Ave. W.
Twin Falls, ID 83301
See national listing for more information.

ILLINOIS

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Athens
c/o Janice Di Girolama
RR 2
Athens, IL 62613
(312) 246-1482
See national listing for more information.

Bloomington-Normal Nuclear Freeze Coalition
304 S. Evans
Bloomington, IL 61701
(309) 828-4185
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Wesleyan
c/o Melanie Myers
Ferguson Hall, Illinois Wesleyan University
Bloomington, IL 61701
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Champaign
c/o Claire Szoke
1405 Centennial
Champaign, IL 61820
(217) 356-6710
See national listing for more information.

American Friends Service Committee
407 S. Dearborn St.
Chicago, IL 60605
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Chicago
c/o Jake Fisher
2626 Lakeview #1203
Chicago, IL 60614
(312) 549-5802
See national listing for more information.

Chicago Women for Peace
312 S. Dearborn St.
Chicago, IL 60604
See national Women Strike for Peace listing for more information.

Greenpeace Great Lakes
1300 W. Belmont
Chicago, IL 60657
(312) 248-0400
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: canvassing, fundraising
NO. OF MEMBERS: 34,000
RANGE: regional
NEWSLETTER: free
Contributions are tax deductible. See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/Chicago
c/o Anthony Prince
9058 S. Exchange Ave.
Chicago, IL 60617
See national listing for more information.

Mobilization for Survival/Chicago
407 S. Dearborn St.
Chicago, IL 60605
(312) 427-2533
See national listing for more information.

People's Anti-War Mobilization/Chicago
542 S. Dearborn, Rm. 1003
Chicago, IL 60605
(312) 427-8038
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Chicago
c/o Richard Gardiner
831 S. Soomis
Chicago, IL 60606
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Chicago
P.O. Box 12094
Chicago, IL 60612
(312) 726-8087
See national listing for more information.

Third District Freeze Committee
6500 S. Mozart
Chicago, IL 60629
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Chicago
542 S. Dearborn, Rm. 510
Chicago, IL 60605
(312) 922-6586
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Chicago
c/o Fern Gayden
4134 S. Lake Pk.
Chicago, IL 60653
(312) 922-6586
See national listing for more information.

Covenant Community Peace Tax Group
1745 Hinman Ave.
Evanston, IL 60201
(312) 864-2320
FOUNDED: 1979
FUNDING: membership
NO. OF MEMBERS: 20
MEMBERSHIP: Christians
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: perodically
Contributions are tax deductible. Christian tax resistance "to help contribute to a world-wide revolution of love and justice by reorienting power and stewardship."

Educators for Social Responsibility/ Chicago
c/o Paula Baron
732 Michigan Ave.
Evanston, IL 60201
(312) 864-5785
See national listing for more information.

Peace and Justice Center of Covenant Community UCM
1745 Hinman Ave.
Evanston, IL 60201
(312) 864-2320
FOUNDED: 1960
FUNDING: membership
MEMBERSHIP: genuine desire to orient life-style for peacemaking
RANGE: university community
NEWSLETTER: monthly, free
Contributions are tax deductible. University group attempting to build Gandhian commitment to justice and peacemaking. Interfaces questions of urban poverty and justice with international relations.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Galena
c/o James Webster
2170 N. Blackjack Rd.
Galena, IL 61036
See national listing for more information.

Jo Daviess Peace Fellowship
2170 N. Blackjack Rd.
Galena, IL 61036
(815) 777-2422
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: fundraising, dues
NO. OF MEMBERS: 100
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: county
NEWSLETTER: JDPF Newsletter ($5/yr)
Aims to educate people in county to the growing threat of the arms race and on all peace and

justice issues. Involved in leaflet distribution, canvassing, booths in fairs, placing books and periodicals in school and public libraries, presenting programs to civic organizations, supporting marches and demonstrations, etc.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Glenview
c/o Louise Barry
611 Hunter
Glenview, IL 60025
(312) 724-6583
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Highland Park
c/o Jason Millik
2833 Greenwood
Highland Park, IL 60035
(312) 432-0548
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Hinsdale
c/o Nancy Ging
326 Hillcrest
Hinsdale, IL 60521
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Bloomington-Normal
c/o Betty Zimmerman
1509 North Main
Normal, IL 61761
See national listing for more information.

Peace and Justice Coalition
501 S. Main St.
Normal, IL 61761
(309) 452-5046
FOUNDED: 1978
FUNDING: bake sales, raffles
NO. OF MEMBERS: 15
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
Campus group sponsoring educational events to advance an interest in and desire for peace "with an occasional education presence somewhere on campus."

War Resisters League/Oak Park
645 N. Taylor
Oak Park, IL 60302
(312) 386-0192
See national listing for more information.

Peoria Area Peace Network
815 NE Monroe
Peoria, IL 61606
(309) 637-0411
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 50
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city and nearby towns
NEWSLETTER: Peoria Peace Press (monthly, to members)
Network of area groups working toward a bilateral, verifiable Freeze as a first step toward nuclear arsenal reductions and against intervention. Sponsors workshops, rally and march on Freeze weekend '84.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Rockford
4815 Upland
Rockford, IL 61108
(815) 398-6262
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Urbana
506 S. Mathews
Urbana, IL 61801
(217) 398-4981
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/West Suburban (Chicago)
c/o Martha Craig
3912 Woodland
Western Springs, IL 60558
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/West Suburban
c/o Martha Craig
3912 Woodland
Western Springs, IL 60558
See national listing for more information.

INDIANA

Bloomington Nuclear Weapons Freeze
111 S. College
Bloomington, IN 47401
(812) 336-2083
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 800
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
NEWSLETTER: Bloomington Freeze Update (monthly, $5/yr)
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Southern Indiana
c/o Sylvia Payne
P.O. Box 1832
Bloomington, IN 47402
(812) 336-1318
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Elkhart
c/o Brent Eash
15485 CR 5
Bristol, IN 46507
See national listing for more information.

Citizens Concerned for Peace and Justice
201 W. North St.
Delphi, IN 46923
(317) 564-2250
FOUNDED: 1984
MEMBERSHIP: not a membership organization
RANGE: Carroll County
Small group organizing programs and activities on peace and justice issues.

Center for a Positive Future/Fort Wayne
c/o Aline Gray
1511 Swinney
Fort Wayne, IN 46804
See national listing for more information.

Indiana Disciples Peace Fellowship
845 W. Creighton Ave.
Fort Wayne, IN 46807
(219) 744-4950
FUNDING: membership
NO. OF MEMBERS: 210
MEMBERSHIP: mostly Disciples of Christ
RANGE: state
Provides support and resourcing for individuals engaged in peacemaking through their local churches and/or communities. In 1982, coordinated an interfaith peace procession.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/Gary
c/o Karen Lee
9225 Lakeshore Dr.
Gary, IN 46403
(219) 938-9312
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Gary
c/o Ruth Morrick
3243 Maryland St.
Gary, IN 46409
(317) 631-8401
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Indianapolis
c/o Loisanne Buchanan
209 South Downey Ave.
Indianapolis, IN 46214
See national listing for more information.

Indianapolis Nuclear Weapons Freeze
P.O. Box 55565
Indianapolis, IN 46205
(317) 251-0755
FOUNDED: 1984
FUNDING: membership, fundraisers
NO. OF MEMBERS: 60
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city, county
NEWSLETTER: Freeze! (5017 N. Penn., Indianapolis, IN 46205)
Contributions are tax deductible. See national listing for more information.

Indianapolis Peace Center
3808 N. Meridian St.
Indianapolis, IN 46208
(317) 924-1553
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: grants, private donations
MEMBERSHIP: individuals, organizations
RANGE: city
NEWSLETTER: Indianapolis Peace Center Newsletter (donation)
A coalition of peace and justice groups. The office works as a clearinghouse to coordinate events and publicity for projects of the various member organizations. Believes in the use of nonviolent action. Board of directors consists of one representative from each member organization, as well as members-at-large. Multi-issue. Services to organizations and individuals include information file/library, speakers' bureau, information/referral service.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Indianapolis
8402 Harcourt Road
Indianapolis, IN 46260
(317) 295-1592
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Indianapolis
c/o Marilyn Solterman
2001 W. 86th St.
Indianapolis, IN 46460
See national listing for more information.

SANE/Indianapolis
c/o Harold Karab
P.O. Box 1782
Indianapolis, IN 46206
(317) 251-2673
See national listing for more information.

Muncie Peace Network
1002 N. Bittersweet Lane
Muncie, IN 47304
(317) 289-2080
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 35
MEMBERSHIP: individuals interested in peace issues
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: sent to all attenders
Mostly informational organization focusing community interest on peace issues.

War Resisters League/Ball State
Student Center, Box 401
Muncie, IN 47306
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/North Manchester
c/o Jeff Hunn
601 Wayne St.
North Manchester, IN 46962
See national listing for more information.

Peace Studies Institute & Program in Conflict Resolution
Manchester College
North Manchester, IN 46962
(219) 982-2141
FOUNDED: 1948
FUNDING: Manchester College
RANGE: college
NEWSLETTER: Bulletin of the Peace Studies Institute (yearly, $3)
Contributions are tax deductible. Offers an undergraduate major in peace studies, with courses in the literature of nonviolence, religions and war, philosophy of civilization, conflict resolution, and international politics. Sponsors annual conferences and lectures and concerts on peace and justice issues.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Terre Haute
c/o Sylvia Laska
681 Delaware Ave.
Terre Haute, IN 47804
(812) 466-1853
See national listing for more information.

Purdue Peace Fellowship
320 North Street
West Lafayette, IN 47906
(317) 743-3861
FUNDING: church
NO. OF MEMBERS: 20
MEMBERSHIP: students, clergy
RANGE: city
Student, clergy, and laity group committed to working on a wide range of peace issues.

IOWA

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Iowa
c/o Jim Dubert
129 Ash St. #2
Ames, IA 50010
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Cedar Falls
c/o David Burrow & Diane Finnerty
1903 College #4
Cedar Falls, IA 50613
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Cedar Rapids
c/o Art & Kali Khalsa
1908 4th Ave. SE
Cedar Rapids, IA 52403
(319) 364-8263
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Quad Cities
c/o Steve Sheridan
806 W. 5th St.
Davenport, IA 52801
See national listing for more information.

Peace Fellowship
First Presbyterian Church
Davenport, IA 52801
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: offerings
NO. OF MEMBERS: 12
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
Contributions are tax deductible. Meets twice a month for prayer and study of many peace issues from a Christian perspective. Provides liaison between Church General Assembly and local congregation.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/Decorah
c/o Karen Isminger
Route 4
Decorah, IA 52101
See national listing for more information.

American Friends Service Committee
4211 Grand Ave.
Des Moines, IA 50312
See national listing for more information.

Catholic Peace Ministry
4211 Grand Ave.
Des Moines, IA 50312
(515) 274-3687
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 1,500
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: sent on request
Contributions are tax deductible. Promotes peacemaking in Diocese of SW Iowa, especially parish-by-parish. Current policy thrusts focus on ending military aid to Central America, stopping arms race (especially by adopting nuclear weapons freeze), cutting military spending, and meeting human needs at home and abroad. Developing programs on draft and war tax resistance. Organizes events, helps local parishes in own work, lobbies, works in coalitions.

Jobs with Peace/Des Moines
c/o Bill Douglas
P.O. Box 8211
Des Moines, IA 50306
See national listing for more information.

Mobilization for Survival/Des Moines
P.O. Box 45[illegible]1
Des Moines, IA 50306
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Des Moines
c/o Katheryn Wisdom
4018 Ingersoll
Des Moines, IA 50312
See national listing for more information.

Dubuque Nuclear Disarmament Coalition
382 E. 21st St.
Dubuque, IA 52001
(319) 583-2043
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations, subscriptions
RANGE: city
NEWSLETTER: DNDC Newsletter ($5/yr)
A coalition of 29 groups and individuals involved in disarmament education and action. Projects have included support for Freeze, monies for crisis relocation, compilation of educational materials on nuclear issues, phone tree for legislation.

Dubuque Seminary Peace Fellowship
2000 University
Dubuque, IA 52001
(319) 589-3112
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: individual contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 10
MEMBERSHIP: students
RANGE: Dubuque Seminary
A small cell group that meets on a weekly basis to serve as a catalyst for peace in the seminary campus.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Christians FOR a Just Society
c/o D.M. Hennessey, Mt. St. Francis
3390 Windsor Ave.
Dubuque, IA 52001
See national listing for more information.

Mobilization for Survival/Catholic Worker
382 E. 21st St.
Dubuque, IA 52001
(319) 583-2043
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Dubuque
c/o Peter Whitis MD
1000 Langworthy
Dubuque, IA 52001
(319) 582-7696
See national listing for more information.

Fort Madison Human Rights Commission
309 6th Street
Fort Madison, IA 52627
(319) 372-8000
FOUNDED: 1965
FUNDING: City of Ft. Madison
RANGE: city
Contributions are tax deductible. A nine-member commission with representatives from the Black, Hispanic, elderly, white, and women populations. Sponsors speakers on peace, discrimination, and human rights issues. Investigates human rights violations, sponsors annual civil rights conference.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Iowa City
3016 Radcliffe
Iowa City, IA 52240
See national listing for more information.

Mobilization for Survival/Iowa City
120 N. Dubuque

Iowa City, IA 52240
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Iowa City
c/o Dr. Linea Copeland
434 Upland Ave.
Iowa City, IA 55240
(319) 354-2388
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/ Oskaloosa
c/o Joan Edgren
RR 4
Oskaloosa, IA 52577
(515) 673-7992
See national listing for more information.

Christians Concerned with the Nuclear Arms Race
1117 9th St. NW
Waverly, IA 50677
(319) 352-5956
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: events, donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 20
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
NEWSLETTER: Christians Concerned
Religious group representing six churches, advocating a nuclear Freeze through lobbying and education.

KANSAS

Hutchinson Interfaith Peace Alliance
301 E. 16th St.
Hutchinson, KS 67501
(316) 669-9892
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 87
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
An association of individuals committed to working for peace and justice. Promotes public awareness, provides peace education, supports other peace-seeking individuals and groups, and makes an ongoing peace witness. Nondenominational.

Shalom Catholic Worker House
2100 N. 13th St.
Kansas City, KS 66104
(913) 321-2206
FOUNDED: 1972
FUNDING: donations
NEWSLETTER: Shalom News (quarterly)
Research library in peace and alternative lifestyle fields, with over 100 worldwide periodicals. Audiovisuals for loan. Correspondence courses on peace themes, conscientious objector counseling, live-in space for peace research or preparing classroom syllabi, Friday night input sessions (September-April), speakers, weekend live-in experiences in Worker lifestyle, hospitality for transient men.

Center for a Positive Future/Lawrence
c/o Lance Burr
16 E. 13th
Lawrence, KS 66044
(913) 749-1640
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Leawood
2512 W. 90th St.
Leawood, KS 66206
(913) 649-7738
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Manhattan
1622 Humboldt
Manhattan, KS 66502
(913) 776-1154
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/McPherson
c/o Kaye Yoder
141 N. Charles
McPherson, KS 67460
(316) 241-2935
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Newton
c/o Lavonne Platt
Rt. 2
Newton, KS 67114
(316) 283-6708
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/North Newton
c/o Eva Harshbarger
P.O. Box 84
N. Newton, KS 67117
(316) 283-6728
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Topeka
c/o Diana Kaye
1169 SW College
Topeka, KS 66604
(913) 235-2871
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Wichita
c/o Dorothy Flory
249 S. Ridgewood
Wichita, KS 67218
See national listing for more information.

KENTUCKY

Fellowship of Reconciliation
c/o Steve Montgomery
Buckhorn Presbyterian Church
Buckhorn, KY 41721
See national listing for more information.

Bluegrass Nuclear Freeze Campaign
P.O. Box 1330
Lexington, KY 40590
(606) 255-1341
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 50
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
Contributions are tax deductible. A grassroots organization founded to focus on disarmament and specifically the nuclear weapons freeze. Principal activities include the Lexington Peace School, nuclear arms race issues, a petition drive to put the Freeze on the county ballot, Freeze Fridays, Freeze Fair, vigils, marches.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/ Central Kentucky
c/o Dean Bucalos
2228 Jasmine Dr.
Lexington, KY 40504
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Lexington
122 Shady Lane
Lexington, KY 40503
(606) 278-7368
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Louisville
c/o Jean Edwards
2317 Strathmoor Blvd.
Louisville, KY 40205
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Louisville
c/o Barry Ceridan
859 Starks Bldg.
Louisville, KY 40202
(502) 459-9056
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Louisville
c/o Lucy Pike MD
2217 Cherokee Pkwy.
Louisville, KY 40204
(502) 451-2359
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Louisville
c/o Doris Pipkin MD
1941 Bishop Ln. #508A
Louisville, KY 40218
See national listing for more information.

Madison County Citizens Against Nuclear War
403 Summit
Richmond, KY 40475
(606) 623-7864
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: membership dues
NO. OF MEMBERS: 30
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: county
NEWSLETTER: Madison County Citizens Against Nuclear War
Aims to educate the public on the dangers of the nuclear arms race and to encourage political action to control and eventually eliminate the arms race. Involved in letter writing, educational programs and speakers, political action.

Appalachian Peace Fellowship
P.O. Box 420
Whitesburg, KY 41858
(606) 633-5065
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: AFSC
NO. OF MEMBERS: 75-100
MEMBERSHIP: open
NEWSLETTER: APF Newsletter (monthly)
A coalition of religious groups and concerned individuals. Aims to educate members and others concerning peace and social justice issues and the present and potential negative effects of the arms race. Holds monthly educational/organizational meetings, educational programs in churches and schools, public witness at local festivals.

LOUISIANA

Center for Disarmament Education
546 Bienville St.
Baton Rouge, LA 70806
(504) 927-6127
FOUNDED: 1978
FUNDING: contributions, memberships, pledges
NO. OF MEMBERS: 350
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
NEWSLETTER: Stemming the Tide (to members)
Contributions are tax deductible. Seeks to foster peace with justice by working for a world without nuclear arms, alternatives to military solutions, equitable sharing of global resources, respect for human rights. Promotes practical steps toward a world order adequate to the challenges that face humankind through education and political involvement.

Educators for Social Responsibility/ New Orleans
c/o Jeanie Thompson
338 Deckbar Ave.
Jefferson, LA 70121
(504) 865-8341
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/New Orleans
c/o Judy Massey
4241 Veterans Blvd. #A-1
Metairie, LA 70002
(504) 283-9823
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ New Orleans
c/o Brook Howard, Dept. of Pathology
1430 Tulane Ave.
New Orleans, LA 70112
(504) 588-522
See national listing for more information.

War Resisters League/New Orleans
2115 Esplanade Ave.
New Orleans, LA 70119
(504) 943-7041
See national listing for more information.

MAINE

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Augusta
c/o David Halperin MD
89 Hospital St.
Augusta, ME 04330
See national listing for more information.

Bangor Area Central America Solidarity Committee
40 Garland St.
Bangor, ME 04401
(207) 942-4055
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: dues ($10), contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 40
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: BACASC Newsletter
Does community organizing and action around U.S. policy in Central America. Seeks to end U.S. intervention in Central America through conferences, demonstrations, letters and articles to local newspapers.

Physcians for Social Responsibility/Bangor
c/o Geoffrey Gratwick MD
412 State St.
Bangor, ME 04401
(207) 947-0637
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/ Portland
c/o Betty Wurtz
P.O. Box 532
New Gloucester, ME 04260
See national listing for more information

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/ Orono
c/o Emily Wessen
22 Pond Street
Orono, ME 04473
(207) 866-3503
See national listing for more information

Jobs with Peace/Portland
c/o Gail Halfkenny
142 High St., Suite 330
Portland, ME 04101
See national listing for more information

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Portland
c/o Peter Wilk, MD
P.O. Box 4202, Station A
Portland, ME 04101
See national listing for more information

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Portland
c/o Donald Belmont, MD
143 Francis St.
Portland, ME 04102
See national listing for more information

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Presque Isle
c/o Bruce Alexander, MD
64 Dudley St.
Presque Isle, ME 04769
See national listing for more information

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/ Stetson
c/o Sunshine Crate
151 Old North Rd.
Stetson, ME 04488
(207) 296-3611
See national listing for more information

MARYLAND

Center for a Positive Future/Annapolis
c/o Mary Kent Norton
398 Ridgley Ave.
Annapolis, MD 21401
See national listing for more information.

American Friends Service Committee
317 E. 25th St.
Baltimore, MD 21218
See national listing for more information

Educators for Social Responsibility/ Baltimore
c/o Phyllis Vingling
28 Cedarwood Rd.
Baltimore, MD 21228
See national listing for more information

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Baltimore
c/o Barbara Jensen
One York Court
Baltimore, MD 21218
See national listing for more information

Jobs with Peace/Baltimore
2001 E. Baltimore St.
Baltimore, MD 21231
See national listing for more information

People's Anti-War Mobilization/Baltimore
433 E. 25th
Baltimore, MD 21218
(301) 235-7040
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Baltimore
5116 N. Charles St.
Baltimore, MD 21210
(301) 593-4527
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Baltimore
c/o Mary Carnell, MD
3353 N. Charles St.
Baltimore, MD 21218
See national listing for more information

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Baltimore
c/o Barbara Ruland
1443 Gorsuch Ave.
Baltimore, MD 21218
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Baltimore
c/o Donna Shapiro
325 East 25th St.
Baltimore, MD 21218
See national listing for more information.

SANE/Baltimore
4015 Glen Ave.
Baltimore, MD 21215
(301) 578-1387
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Baltimore
c/o Marguerite Vlasits
1515 Pentridge Rd.
Baltimore, MD 21239
(301) 435-8621
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/Bethesda
Gray Panthers, Irv Riskin
7911 Kentbury Dr.
Bethesda, MD 20814
See national listing for more information.

Nuclear Arms Freeze Task Force of Maryland
9601 Cedar Lane
Bethesda, MD 20814
(301) 593-4527
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: membership
NO. OF MEMBERS: 200
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: Montgomery and Prince Georges County

NEWSLETTER: NAFTF of Maryland Newsletter (monthly)
Contributions are tax deductible. See national listing for more information

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Churchville
c/o Madeline Banks
313 Asbury Rd.
Churchville, MD 21028
(301) 734-6400
See national listing for more information

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Elkton
c/o Philip Pollner MD
131 W. Main St.
Elkton, MD 21921
See national listing for more information.

Nuclear Free Garrett Park
c/o Gene McDowell
P.O. Box 92
Garrett Park, MD 20896
(301) 942-1444
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: T-shirt sales
NO. OF MEMBERS: 10
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
Supports educational events in opposition to nuclear weapons and weapons in space, and in favor of peacemaking.

Maryland Campaign for No First Use of Nuclear Weapons
9215 N. Traders Crossing
Laurel, MD 20707
(301) 490-8892
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: membership dues
NO. OF MEMBERS: 50
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
Contributions are tax deductible. A small group of peace activists focusing on the need for a U.S. policy of No First Use and working to gain public support for such a policy and for passage of H.J. Res. 393, the national No First Use legislation.

Center for a Positive Future/Washington DC
c/o Linda Duffy
P.O. Box 1601
Silver Springs, MD 20902
(301) 933-6870
See national listing for more information.

MASSACHUSETTS

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/Acton
c/o Pam Kelly
29 Main St.
Acton, MA 01609
(617) 263-0493
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/Amherst
c/o Anne Woodhull
33 Enfield Rd., RFD #2
Amherst, MA 01002
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmanent/Newton Area
c/o Beverly Curtis-Droz
35 Islington Rd.
Auburndale, MA 02166
(617) 527-1916
See national listing for more information.

Brushfire Graphics/Food Not Bombs
636 Beacon St.
Boston, MA 02215
(617) 424-1450
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: payment for services, donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 25
Food Not Bombs collects waste food and distributes it to the poor and as prepared meals at events. Brushfire Graphics does graphic design of logos, posters, flyers, books, ads, banners, buttons, T-shirts, and movies for progressive groups; also conducts workshops.

Citizens for Participation in Political Action (CPPAX)
25 West St.
Boston, MA 02111
(617) 426-3040
FOUNDED: 1962
FUNDING: dues ($22)
NO. OF MEMBERS: 2,000
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: $10 (included in membership fee)
Contributions are tax deductible. Independent, multipurpose, multiracial, grassroots progressive organization with goal of educating and involving the public in the political process. Basic issues are human rights, social and economic justice, peace, electoral reform, energy, and environment. Priorities for 1984 are Central America, disarmament, federal and state elections, state legislative rules reform.

Jobs with Peace/Boston
c/o Frank Clemente, Director
77 Summer St.
Boston, MA 02110
(617) 451-3389
See national listing for more information.

People's Anti-War Mobilization/Boston
355 Boylston St.
Boston, MA 02116
(617) 424-1176
See national listing for more information.

American Friends Service Committee
2161 Massachusetts Ave.
Cambridge, MA 02140
See national listing for more information.

Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility/Boston
P.O. Box 962, Kendall Station
Cambridge, MA 02142
See national listing for more information.

Council for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze
456 Massachusetts Ave.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 491-7809
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: concerts, contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 10,000
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: Freezeletter (bimonthly, $5/yr)
Tax-deductible contributions can be arranged. A regional freeze center. See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/Boston
11 Garden St.
Cambridge, MA 02138
(617) 492-8820
See national listing for more information.

Mobilization for Survival/Boston
727 Massachusetts Ave.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 354-0008
See national listing for more information.

Movement for a New Society/Northeast
P.O. Box 1922
Cambridge, MA 02238
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Boston
c/o Paula Gutlove, DMD
639 Massachusetts Ave.
Cambridge, MA 02139
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Cambridge
c/o Thomas Halstead
639 Massachusetts Ave.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 491-2754
See national listing for more information.

Underground Railway Theater
21 Notre Dame Ave.
Cambridge, MA 02140
(617) 497-6136
FOUNDED: 1974
FUNDING: ticket sales, grants
Contributions are tax deductible. Peace education through performances of its touring repertoire, The Anything Can Happen Roadshow (a comic musical satire on the arms race) and The Vision of Dreaming Branch (a peace parable). Performances used as outreach, education, or fundraisers for other peace groups. Also other peace-related theater.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/Cambridge
c/o Caroline Vaillant
41 Holden St.
Cambridge, MA 02138
(617) 868-4347
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Cape Cod
c/o Jean Bagley
RR 1
Eastham, MA 02642
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/Fairhaven
c/o Harriet Ward
Sea Space, Sconticut Neck
Fairhaven, MA 02719
See national listing for more information.

Peace Committee
Northern Essex Community College
100 Elliott St.
Haverhill, MA 01830
(617) 374-0721

FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: college budget
NO. OF MEMBERS: 25
MEMBERSHIP: students and faculty
RANGE: Merrimeck Valley
Faculty, students, administrators, and staff who plan cultural events on campus to raise awareness of peace issues.

Resource Center for Peace and Justice
P.O. Box 954
Hyannis, MA 02601
(617) 771-6455
FUNDING: membership
NO. OF MEMBERS: 130 individuals, 34 groups
RANGE: Cape Cod area
NEWSLETTER: monthly calendar
Resource network, library, and meeting place established by organizations and individuals dedicated to nonviolence, peace, and justice at home and abroad.

Cooperative Methodist Ministries
474 Centre St.
Newton, MA 02159
(413) 244-3650
FOUNDED: 1966
FUNDING: individual, institutional donations
MEMBERSHIP: churches, temples, individuals
RANGE: city
Contributions are tax deductible. Multiracial, interfaith organization focusing on economic justice, hunger, housing, elder concerns, racism, minority job training. Generates community-based programs that "spin off" as independent entities.

Jobs with Peace/Northampton
c/o Linda Kopf
20 Sterns Ct.
Northampton, MA 01060
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Northampton
c/o Thomas Crowe, MD
3 Langworthy Road
Northampton, MA 01060
(413) 584-8975
See national listing for more information.

Eastoners for Nuclear Disarmament
9 Main St.
North Easton, MA 02356
(413) 238-6373
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 60
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
Educational and political group working on issues related to nuclear arms defense policies and U.S. foreign policy in relation to the USSR.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/ Orleans
c/o Pat Anthony
75 Great Oak Rd., RR 1
Orleans, MA 02653
(617) 255-4971
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Pittsfield
c/o Charles Whol MD
725 North Street
Pittsfield, MA 01201
(413) 499-4161
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/ Quincy
c/o Terry Marchetti
391 Palmer St.
Quincy, MA 02169
(617) 479-0392
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/ Rockport
c/o Betty Tuttle
One Squam Rd.
Rockport, MA 01966
(617) 546-3603
See national listing for more information.

Action for Nuclear Disarmament/Cape Cod
197 Farmersville Rd.
Sandwich, MA 02563
(617) 477-1386
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: membership, fundraising
NO. OF MEMBERS: 200
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: yes
Single-issue group working to halt nuclear arms race through education, petitions, programs, rallies, legislature alerts. An affiliate of WAND.

Sharon Peace & Justice Council
131 N. Main St.
Sharon, MA 02067
(617) 784-5214
FOUNDED: 1981
NO. OF MEMBERS: 24
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
Spiritually based ecumenical organization that advocates nonviolent methods for solving conflicts. Activities are primarily informational and educational, including programs, forums, and discussion groups and support for other local, national, and international peace groups.

Jobs with Peace/Shutesbury
c/o Marvin Kalkstein
Lockspond Rd.
Shutesbury, MA 01072
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/ North Shore
c/o John Henderson
The Winthrop School
S. Hamilton, MA 01982
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Springfield
c/o Gerald Green MD
759 Chestnut St.
Springfield, MA 01107
See national listing for more information.

Artists for Survival
144 Moody St.
Waltham, MA 02154
(617) 891-4235
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: membership
NO. OF MEMBERS: 100
MEMBERSHIP: visual artists
RANGE: regional
NEWSLETTER: on request
Artists interested in using the visual arts to awaken the imagination, "forcing people to face the visceral terror of nuclear holocaust, and to rejoice in the sanctity of life." Sponsors shows at many sites and galleries, produces posters and banners and video and slide shows.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Weston
c/o Rita Paine
23 Sears Rd.
Weston, MA 02193
(617) 891-9084
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/Westport
c/o Neal Watson
P.O. Box 211
Westport, MA 02791
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/ Williamstown
c/o Eileen Drummond
126 Sloan Rd.
Williamstown, MA 01267
(413) 458-3874
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Williamstown
P.O. Box 271
Williamstown, MA 01267
See national listing for more information.

Coalition for Justice and Peace
Diocese of Worcester
49 Elm Street
Worcester, MA 06109
(617) 791-7171
FOUNDED: 1979
FUNDING: Diocese of Worcester
NO. OF MEMBERS: 15-20
MEMBERSHIP: Diocese of Worcester
RANGE: city
A group of volunteers, lay persons, priests, and religious organizations founded "to provide information and resources to individuals or groups interested in peace and justice issues and to sponsor educational programs within the diocese." Also "Bases its goals and objectives on following the Gospel of Jesus Christ."

Jobs with Peace/Worcester
c/o Barbara Morin
2 Pelham St.
Worcester, MA 06109
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Worcester
c/o Tom Winters MD
Univ. of Massachusetts, Medical School
Lake Avenue
Worcester, MA 01605
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/ Worcester
14 Castle St.
Worcester, MA 01610

(617) 755-0253
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/ Worcester Polytech
Women's Awareness Group
Worcester Polytech, Box 2543
Worcester, MA 01609
See national listing for more information.

MICHIGAN

Educators for Social Responsibility/Franklin
c/o Lynn Kleiman
3078 Williamsburg
Ann Arbor, MI 48104
(313) 971-1203
See national listing for more information.

Michigan Alliance for Disarmament (MAD)
4318 Michigan Union
Ann Arbor, MI 48109
(313) 995-5871
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: local fundraising, donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 50
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: regional
NEWSLETTER: MAD Newsletter (monthly)
A multi-issue organization of people with many different points of view who share a common commitment to making the peace movement politically powerful and effective. Opposes "deadly connections" between militarism and nuclear arms race, interventionism, and social oppression here and abroad. Seeks to find and put into practice constructive solutions to these and other problems facing the peace and social justice movement.

Nurses Peace Collective
287 Highlake
Ann Arbor, MI 48103
(313) 769-7785
FOUNDED: 1982
NO. OF MEMBERS: 8
MEMBERSHIP: nurses
An organization formed to educate nurses about issues related to war and peace, to enable nurses in the collective to receive support to work for peace, and to act as a group to effect changes in society that may make peace and justice a reality.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Ann Arbor
c/o A.E. Good MD
3427 Craig Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48103
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Ann Arbor
1141 Clair Circle
Ann Arbor, MI 48103
(313) 863-2533
See national listing for more information.

Swords into Plowshares Peace Center
628 S. Warren
Big Rapids, MI 49307
(616) 796-8315
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: church support
NO. OF MEMBERS: 10
RANGE: West Central Michigan
Contributions are tax deductible. Core group of concerned citizens based at Wesley House, directing its efforts toward public education against nuclear arms and war. Audio-visual presentations and resource materials for classes and public groups.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Dearborn
c/o Rosalie Sullivan
835 N. Martha
Dearborn, MI 48128
(313) 562-2277
See national listing for more information.

Mobilization for Survival/Detroit
1542 W. Alexandrine
Detroit, MI 48201
(313) 331-5682
See national listing for more information.

People's Anti-War Mobilization/Detroit
Woodward Tower, 10 Witherell
Detroit, MI 48226
(313) 965-0074
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Detroit
WSU, Newman Center
761 Student Center Bldg.
Detroit, MI 48202
(313) 341-1249
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Detroit
c/o Kathleen Anzicek
17678 Manderson
Detroit, MI 48203
See national listing for more information.

War Resisters League/Detroit
1542 W. Alexandrine
Detroit, MI 48208,
(313) 833-3197
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Detroit
c/o Dolores McKee
402 Woodward Towers
Detroit, MI 48226
(313) 961-3643
See national listing for more information.

Michigan Conference Peace with Justice Task Force
United Church of Christ
5945 Park Lake Rd.
E. Lansing, MI 48823
(517) 332-3511
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: church
NO. OF MEMBERS: 12
MEMBERSHIP: local churches
RANGE: state
Clergy and lay people from across Michigan working for peace and justice in faith community.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Lansing
c/o Gary Farenchick
405 Hillcrest
E. Lansing, MI 48823
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/E. Lansing
c/o Jean Krieger
325 Wildwood
E. Lansing, MI 48823
(517) 332-6763
See national listing for more information.

Flint Alliance for Peace
P.O. Box 1326
Flint, MI 48501
(313) 238-0474
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: events
NO. OF MEMBERS: 250
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
NEWSLETTER: free to membership
Sponsors activities and rallies and monthly meetings around peace and social justice issues.

Educators for Social Responsibility/ Grand Rapids
c/o Philip Jung
1547 Seventh St. NW
Grand Rapids, MI 49504
(616) 453-4860
See national listing for more information.

Institute for Global Education
415 Ethel SE
Grand Rapids, MI 49506
(616) 454-1642
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: dues, donations, local fundraising
NO. OF MEMBERS: 555
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
NEWSLETTER: Equity (quarterly) and Equity Action (8 times/yr), free to members, $15/yr others
Contributions are tax deductible. Directs efforts against racism, economic exploitation, growing militarism, and nuclear madness. Addresses global issues with emphasis on their symptoms within the local community. Working groups and educational programs on disarmament, Central America, South Africa, and draft registration. Has audio-visual and print resources, does visible actions (vigils, etc.).

PhysicSocial Responsibility/ Grand Rapids
c/o Paul Hoffman
2246 Woodcliffe SE
Grand Rapids, MI 49506
(616) 949-5983
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Grand Rapids
833 Lake Drive
Grand Rapids, MI 49506
(616) 942-8315
See national listing for more information.

Social Action Committee
Aquinas College
Grand Rapids, MI 49506
(616) 459-8281
FOUNDED: 1979
FUNDING: Aquinas College Community Senate and Campus Ministry
NO. OF MEMBERS: 30
MEMBERSHIP: students, faculty, staff, administrators

RANGE: city
Student-run, approaches peace work from a faith perspective. Educates the college community concerning peace and justice issues and provides opportunities for action.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Grand Rapids
c/o Pat Verider
812 Sibley NW
Grand Rapids, MI 49504
(616) 458-8004
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Gross Pointe Park
c/o Katheryn Gee
710 Barrington
Grosse Pointe Park, MI 48230
(313) 822-2859
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Harbor Springs
c/o Rosalie Henshaw
2883 Lake Shore Dr. N.
Harbor Springs, MI 49740
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Kalamazoo
250 Bronson Medical Center E.
Kalamazoo, MI 49006
(616) 349-2491
See national listing for more information.

Valley Alliance
P.O. Box 629
Kalamazoo, MI 49001
(616) 343-3875, 345-4506
FOUNDED: 1978
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 45
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
NEWSLETTER: Valley Alliance Newsletter
A local group working for a non-nuclear world. Opposed to both nuclear energy and nuclear weapons. Works by consensus. Supports the Nuclear Freeze campaign. Organizes speakers, concerts and other events.

Wonder Workshop
1525 Grand Ave.
Kalamazoo, MI 49007
(616) 342-8336
FOUNDED: 1977
FUNDING: honorariums, fees, workshop material sales
NO. OF MEMBERS: 120
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
NEWSLETTER: To Everyone (quarterly, $20/yr)
Group presents workshop programs to help people develop independent, creative approaches to the future.

Conscientious Objectors of Michigan to Military Income Taxes
1217 Vermont
Lansing, MI 48906
(517) 372-9576
FOUNDED: 1980
NO. OF MEMBERS: 25
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
War tax resistance group developing alternative fund to support human needs, supporting tax resisters, and doing education on taxes and militarization.

Jobs with Peace/Lansing
c/o Tom Bogar
317 Shepard, Peace Education Center
Lansing, MI 48912
See national listing for more information.

Peace and Justice Ministry
228 N. Walnut
Lansing, MI 48933
(517) 372-8540
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: Diocese of Lansing
MEMBERSHIP: Diocese members, other individuals and churches in area
RANGE: Diocese
NEWSLETTER: Just Jottings (bimonthly)
Contributions are tax deductible. Purpose is to "raise consciousness to issues of social justice and peace from a faith perspective, with a basic commitment to the Gospel message of nonviolence." Provides programs for churches on a wide range of social issues, resources for schools and churches, including audio-visual materials; background material to enable advocacy on behalf of social issues.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Lansing
722 N. Sycamore
Lansing, MI 48906
(517) 372-1438
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Menominee
c/o Phyllis Hupy
P.O. Box 143
Menominee, MI 498558
(715) 863-2540
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/ Orchard Lake
c/o Deanne Bedner
2641 Warner
Orchard Lake, MI 48033
(313) 363-0819
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/ Macomb County Peace Information Center
c/o Janet Fleury
18416 Martin Rd.
Roseville, MI 48066
See national listing for more information.

Home for Peace and Justice
126 N. Weadock
Saginaw, MI 48607
(517) 754-0015
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 250
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: congressional district
Contributions are tax deductible. Involved in direct and political action regarding issues of justice and peace. Provides resources on justice and peace issues; educational programs on issues and action planning (direct and political). Facilitates groups in direct and/or political action.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Southfield
c/o Bobbie Graff
19635 W. 12 Mile Rd.
Southfield, MI 48076
(313) 557-2065
See national listing for more information.

Campus Ministry Peace Library
Campus Ministry
Saginaw Valley State College
University Center, MI 48710
(517) 790-4423
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: Presbyterian grant
RANGE: city
Library with circular files and audio-visual equipment.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Ypsilanti
c/o Lynn Minkoff
1010 Pearl
Ypsilanti, MI 48197
(313) 483-0737
See national listing for more information

MINNESOTA

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Peace and Justice Center
c/o Dennis Montgomery
313 2nd. St.
Bemidji, MN 56601
See national listing for more information

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Prairie Peacemakers
c/o Janith Hatch
Rt 2 Box 199
Oranada, MN 56039
See national listing for more information

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Duluth
c/o Mary White
2409 Branch St.
Duluth, MN 55812
(218) 724-1163
See national listing for more information

Friends for a Nonviolent World
1925 Nicollet, Suite 101
Minneapolis, MN 55403
(612) 870-1501
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: individual contributions, pledges
MEMBERSHIP: 850 mailing list
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: free
Contributions are tax deductible. A Quaker anti nuclear peace and justice education organization that conducts nonviolence and envisioning workshops, monthly die-ins, media distribution, and South Africa divestment lobbying. Also provides material aid to Nicaragua and El Salvador, does draft registration counseling and Nuclear Free Zones campaigns. The Middle East, hunger, women's concerns, public policy issues, and peace education are other program areas.

Minnesota Public Interest Research Group (MPIRG)
2412 University Ave. SE
Minneapolis, MN 55414
(612) 376-7554
FOUNDED: 1971
FUNDING: student contributions, citizen canvassing
NO. OF MEMBERS: 50,000
MEMBERSHIP: students, citizens
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: Statewatch (bimonthly, $10/yr)
A student-directed advocacy group that works for safe and affordable energy, a clean environment, and a halt to nuclear weapons through lobbying, litigation, citizen involvement in public affairs, and public information.

Minnesota War Tax Resistance
122 W. Franklin Ave., Rm. 302
Minneapolis, MN 55404
(612) 871-8083
FOUNDED: 1972
FUNDING: donations, literature sales
NO. OF MEMBERS: 300
MEMBERSHIP: war tax resisters
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: Minnesota War Tax Resistance
An informal group that provides information and support to people in Minnesota who are interested in refusing to pay all or part of the military portion of their federal taxes. Operates alternative fund for distributing this money to peaceful community projects.

Movement for a New Society/North Central
P.O. Box 6595
Minneapolis, MN 55406
See national listing for more information.

People's Anti-War Mobilization/Minneapolis
P.O. Box 462
Minneapolis, MN 55440
(612) 721-4020
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/New Ulm
c/o Sister Mary Nolan
1400 Chauncy Drive
New Ulm, MN 56073
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Rochester
Mayo Clinic, Radiology Dept.
200 1st St. SW
Rochester, MN 55901
(507) 282-9036
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/St. Cloud
c/o Sonia Berg
1203 N. 7th Ave.
St. Cloud, MN 56304
(612) 253-5437
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/St. Joseph
c/o Evelyn Durkee
415 W. Ash, Box 524
St. Joseph, MN 56374
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/St. Paul
2144 Fairmont Ave.
St. Paul, MN 55105
(612) 698-4535
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/St. Paul
Griggs-Midway Bldg., Suite S-321
St. Paul, MN 55104
(612) 645-5490
See national listing for more information.

MISSISSIPPI

People's Anti-War Mobilization/Jackson
P.O. Box 8783
Jackson, MS 39204
(601) 355-7495
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Tupelo
612 Burnson Drive
Tupelo, MS 38801
(601) 842-3712
See national listing for more information.

MISSOURI

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Columbia
c/o Larry Williams
100 Hitt St.
Columbia, MO 65201
See national listing for more information.

SANE/Columbia
c/o Wendy Serinsky
1513 Bouchelle
Columbia, MO 65201
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Kansas City
c/o Audra Gier
3512 Kerwood
Kansas City, MO 64109
(816) 561-2867
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Northeast Missouri
c/o Susan Dean
1315 N. Elson
Kirksville, MO 63501
See national listing for more information.

War Resisters League/Ozarks
P.O. Box 3541
Springfield, MO 65804
(314) 864-4078
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/St. Louis
c/o Alice Chaplin
159 Linden Ave.
St. Louis, MO 63105
(314) 721-6846
See national listing for more information.

Institute for Peace and Justice
4144 Lindell #400
St. Louis, MO 63108
(314) 533-4445
FOUNDED: 1970
FUNDING: fees, sales, contributions
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: to contributors
Contributions are tax deductible. Provides resources and services in education for social justice and peacemaking. Assists people in finding alternatives for living that incorporate justice into an active quest for peace. Services include teaching and leadership training and advocacy.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/St. Louis
6342 Southwood #3E
St. Louis, MO 63105
(314) 726-5637
See national listing for more information.

War Resisters League/St. Louis
4556A Oakland St.
St. Louis, MO 63110
(314) 533-2234
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/St. Louis
c/o Eldora Spiegelberg
7200 Pershing
St. Louis, MO 63130
(314) 721-4198
See national listing for more information.

MONTANA

Montana Citizens to End the Arms Race (Montcear)
P.O. Box 138
Anaconda, MT 59711
(406) 563-2201
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: foundations, large individual contributions, memberships
NO. OF MEMBERS: 450
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: Montana Citizen Alert
Broad-based statewide membership coalition. Affiliated with the National Freeze Campaign. Voter education, lobbying, statewide telephone tree, occasional rallies and demonstrations.

Montana State University Students for Peace
Box 72 Strand Union Bldg., MSU
Bozeman, MT 59715
(406) 994-3591
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: dues, donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 25
MEMBERSHIP: students
RANGE: city
Student group divided into subcommittees addressing nuclear arms; Central America; Middle East; general peace issues through programs, letter-writing, demonstrations.

Peace Political Action Committee (Peace PAC)
P.O. Box 1575
Hamilton, MT 59840
(406) 549-9679
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: contributions, small fundraisers
RANGE: state
A non-political action committee "working for individual elections or defeat as well as attempting to sway people in office." Does not give direct contributions to candidates, but rather encourages grassroots, volunteer peace participation in electoral campaigns. Also publishes voting records,

lobbies parties and politicians, helps draft resolutions and legislation.

Center for a Positive Future/Helena
c/o Ann Wilsnack
715 Highland
Helena, MT 59601
(406) 443-4332
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Helena
c/o Francis Kromkowski & Linda Hays
1615 Karmen Rd.
Helena, MT 59601
See national listing for more information.

Last Chance Peacemakers Coalition
P.O. Box 11
Helena, MT 59624
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: dues, donations, grants
NO. OF MEMBERS: 400
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: included with membership
Community of peace and justice advocates doing educational outreach and political action for freeze as first step; against MX; for conversion, tax reallocation; against intervention and U.S. support for repressive regimes; identifying local impacts of unjust policies.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Helena
c/o David Marsolek
842 8th Ave.
Helena, MT 59601
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Helena
c/o Dr. Cloutier
511 Logan St.
Helena, MT 59631
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Kalispell
1291 Burns Way
Kalispell, MT 59901
(406) 755-6752
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Missoula
2825 Ft. Missoula Rd.
Missoula, MT 59801
(406) 728-2539
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Missoula
c/o Paul Loehnen MD
601 W. Spruce St.
Missoula, MT 59802
(406) 728-5324
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Missoula
c/o Florence Chessin
400 University Ave.
Missoula, MT 59801
(406) 549-9408
See national listing for more information.

NEBRASKA

Nebraska Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign
P.O. Box 95052
Lincoln, NE 68509
(402) 475-4258
See national listing for more information.

Mobilization for Survival/Omaha
P.O. Box 283
613 N. 17th St.
Omaha, NE 68101
(402) 341-1218
See national listing for more information.

New Covenant Justice and Peace Center
1717 Izard St.
Omaha, NE 68102
(402) 345-0539
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: area Roman Catholic religious community
MEMBERSHIP: primarily religious community
RANGE: Nebraska/Iowa
NEWSLETTER: Covenant ($10/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. Exists to inform religious communities, as well as individuals and groups in the area, through audio-visual library, written resources, newsletter, annual conference, workshops, lectures, and speakers. Serves and empowers through prayer and liturgical services, networking. Research on social issues.

Omaha Ecumenical Peace Council
1717 Izard St.
Omaha, NE 68102
(402) 345-7507
FOUNDED: 1980
NO. OF MEMBERS: 30
MEMBERSHIP: clergy, church workers
RANGE: city
Informs and acts on all manner of peace and justice issues. Sponsors Peace Pentecost Sunday, visiting speakers and delegations, rallies, etc.

Omaha Nuclear Freeze Campaign
500 S. 18th St.
Omaha, NE 68102
(402) 348-1074
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: pledges, donations, fundraisers
NO. OF MEMBERS: 950
MEMBERSHIP: open
NEWSLETTER: Omaha News
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Omaha
c/o Carol Gilbert
P.O. Box 31026
Omaha, NE 68137
See national listing for more information.

Cass County Nuclear Weapons Freeze
P.O. Box 154
Plattsmouth, NE 68048
(402) 296-4629
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations, fundraisers
NO. OF MEMBERS: 25
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: county
Particularly working against MX. See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Ralston
c/o Linda Shepard
7529 Washington St.
Ralson, NE 68127
(402) 331-3760
See national listing for more information.

NEVADA

Franciscan Center for Peace and Justice
704 W. McWilliams
Las Vegas, NV 89106
(702) 647-3610
FOUNDED: 1969
FUNDING: Diocese, donations
RANGE: southern Nevada
Does parish education on peace and justice issues, collaborates with peace groups; prison ministry, political ministry, ministry among refugees.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Concord
c/o Randy Hayes MD
203 London Rd., Bldg. 4, Apt. 4
Concord, NH 03301
(603) 225-5465
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/Dublin
c/o Wendy Dwyer
P.O. Box 139
Dublin, NH 03444
(603) 563-8819
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Hanover
c/o George Margolis MD
Dartmouth Medical School
Hanover, NH 03755
See national listing for more information.

Nashua Peace Center
22 Meade St.
Nashua, NH 03060
(603) 889-0049
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: membership, donations, events
NO. OF MEMBERS: 250
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: NPC Newsletter (monthly, free to members); Under the Vine and Fig Tree (quarterly, $5/yr)
An education and resource center on peace and nonviolence. Publishes quarterly war tax resistance newsletter and monthly newsletter of statewide and local events; coordinates peacemaking efforts in area; leads programs; sponsors forums; has flyers, books, buttons, posters, films, speakers; monitors legislation. Affiliated groups include Alternative Energy Coalition, Draft Counseling Center, PSR, Americans Concerned with Democratic Business; also works with CISPES, Freeze, AFSC, Fair Budget Coalition. Sponsored Tax Resistance Organizers Training.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Portsmouth
c/o John Robinson MD
379 State St.
Portsmouth, NH 03801
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/ Portsmouth
c/o Barbara Greer
204 Washington St.
Portsmouth, NH 03801
(603) 431-7623
See national listing for more information.

NEW JERSEY

Somerset Hills PEACE
P.O. Box 469
Bernardsville, NJ 07924
(201) 766-1988
Subchapter of SANE. See national listing for more information.

Caldwell PEACE
P.O. Box 462
Caldwell, NJ 07006
(201) 226-3168
Subchapter of SANE. See national listing for more information.

South Jersey Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze
44 E. Collins Ave.
Collingswood, NJ 08108
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: donations, fundraisers
NO. OF MEMBERS: 600
NEWSLETTER: South Jersey Freeze Newsletter
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Denville
c/o Walter Burnstein MD
3 Whitman Drive
Denville, NJ 07834
(201) 625-2768
See national listing for more information.

War Resisters League/Monmouth County
P.O. Box 131
Fair Haven, NJ 07701
See national listing for more information.

People's Anti-War Mobilization / Jersey City
317 Grove St., Rm. 7
Jersey City, NJ 07302
(201) 433-2332, 433-3809
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Lawrenceville
c/o Harriet Hitch
307 Glenn Ave.
Lawrenceville, NJ 08648
(609) 822-3396
See national listing for more information.

SANE/South Mountain
P.O. Box 143
Maplewood, NJ 07040
(201) 763-4054
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/Montclair
c/o Rev. Dave Burgess
253 Orange Rd.
Montclair, NJ 07042
See national listing for more information.

New Jersey Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze
324 Bloomfield Ave.
Montclair, NJ 07042
(201) 744-3263
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: NJ SANE and Princeton Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: free, $5 donation requested
See national listing for more information.

SANE/New Jersey
324 Bloomfield Ave.
Montclair, NJ 07042
(201) 744-3263
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Montclair
c/o Taylor Eskew
190 Park St.
Montclair, NJ 07042
(201) 744-7885
See national listing for more information.

Physcians for Social Responsibility/Newark
c/o Donald Loria MD
New Jersey Medical School
100 Bergen St.
Newark, NJ 07103
(201) 456-4422
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ New Brunswick
c/o Norman Sissman MD
UMDNJ, Rutgers Medical Shcool, CN19
New Brunswick, NJ 08903
(609) 924-2670
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/ New Brunswick
c/o Diane Shatin
P.O. Box 1656
New Brunswick, NJ 08903
(201) 247-3176
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/ World Peacemakers
c/o Helen Bailey
Featherbed Lane
New Vernon, NJ 07976
See national listing for more information.

Citizens Against Nuclear Arms
P.O. Box 5155
North Branch, NJ 08876
(201) 722-6866
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 50
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: Somerset and Hunterdon counties
NEWSLETTER: Citizens Against Nuclear Arms (donation requested)
Contributions are tax deductible. Involved in education, phone trees, program presentations, resource distribution, political action. Subchapter of SANE; see national listing for more information.

Jersey Cape Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament
P.O. Box 54
Ocean View, NJ 08230
(609) 624-3885
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: dues ($5), donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 200
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: Cape May and Atlantic Counties
NEWSLETTER: Dovetales
Purpose is to educate people on the threat of nuclear war and to show them what they can do as part of a national effort to halt the arms race. Action alert phone tree, educational programs, peace walks, etc.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Princeton
c/o Allan Smith
RD 1, Box 193A
Pennington, NJ 08534
See national listing for more information.

Ridgewood Peace Coalition
c/o E.W. Clark
490 Fairfield Ave.
Ridgewood, NJ 07458
(201) 652-3967
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: fundraising
NO. OF MEMBERS: 18 groups
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
A coalition of 18 peace and church groups. Purpose is to unite activities of peace groups and stimulate action. Encourages formation of local peace groups; does leafleting and rallies.

SANE/Bergen County
c/o Ceil Raven
1102 E. Ridgewood Ave.
Ridgewood, NJ 07450
(201) 447-6886
See national listing for more information.

War Resisters League/New Brunswick
443 Cedar Grove Lane
Somerset, NJ 08873
(201) 356-6083
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Springfield
c/o Sylvia Zisman
104 Warwick Circle
Springfield, NJ 07081
(201) 376-5629
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Succasunna
c/o Walter Burnstein MD
77 Sunset Strip
Succasunna, NJ 07876
See national listing for more information.

SANE/Union County
256 W. Dudley Ave.
Westfield, NJ 07090
(201) 232-1078
See national listing for more information.

NEW MEXICO

Jobs with Peace/Albuquerque
c/o Barbara Petersen
2323 Kathryn Ave. SE
Albuquerque, NM 87105
See national listing for more information.

Peace Action Group
3211 Silver SE
Alberquerque, NM 87106
(505) 268-9557
FOUNDED: 1976
FUNDING: sales
NO. OF MEMBERS: 40
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
Opposes U.S. militarism and its manifestations, especially in New Mexico. Endeavors to "point out how the Southwest and New Mexico historically have been colonized by the U.S. government and corporations." Works on all fronts, including direct action.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Albuquerque
c/o Lynda Taylor
P.O. Box 4096
Albuquerque, NM 87106
(505) 884-2106
See national listing for more information.

War Resisters League/Albuquerque

201 Pine St.
Albuquerque, NM 87106
(505) 243-6169
See national listing for more information

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/ Albuquerque
c/o Debbie Pogel
10411 Theresa Pl. NE
Albuquerque, NM 87111
(505) 299-2239
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Corrales
c/o J. Voorhees
3615 Rio Rancho Blvd. #109
Corrales, NM 87048
(505) 898-9118
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Sante Fe
c/o Mary Lou Cook
321 Calle Lama Norte
Sante Fe, NM 87501
(505) 983-2894
See national listing for more information.
c/o Mary Lou Cook
321 Calle Lama Norte
Sante Fe, NM 87501
(505) 983-2894
See national listing for more information.

NEW YORK

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Albany
Capital District
107 Euclid Ave.
Albany, NY 12203
(518) 438-5248
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Albany
c/o Rezsin Adams
112 Chestnut St.
Albany, NY 12210
(518) 462-0891
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Apalachin
c/o Celine Costello
11 Rhodes Rd.
Apalachin, NY 13732
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Brightwaters
c/o Yale Solomon MD
46 Orchard Dr.
Brightwaters, NY 11718
See national listing for more information.

SANE/Brooklyn Heights
8 Sidney Place
Brooklyn, NY 11201
(212) 624-4483
See national listing for more information.

SANE/Flatbush
3111 Aurelia Ct. #401
Brooklyn, NY 11210
(212) 258-2268
See national listing for more information.

People's Anti-War Mobilization/Buffalo
204 Allen St.
Buffalo, NY 14201
(716) 881-1525
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Buffalo
2123 Bailey Ave.
Buffalo, NY 14211
(716) 894-4532
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmanent/ Buffalo
c/o Esther Rae
215 Lamarck Dr.
Buffalo, NY 14226
(716) 837-0790
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Croton
c/o Ruth Klotzie
6 Skytop Dr.
Croton, NY 10520
(914) 737-6865
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Dansville
c/o Joan Flender MD
RD #2, Poags Hole Rd.
Dansville, NY 14437
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Dryden
c/o John Ferger MD
Box 8, Evergreen St.
Dryden, NY 13053
See national listing for more information.

Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility/New York
P.O. Box 929
Flushing, NY 11354
(212) 539-6500
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Flushing
c/o Ruth Sillman
36-40 Bowne
Flushing, NY 11354
(212) 461-3467
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/ Forest Hills
c/o Paul Hilt
6826 Clyde St.
Forest Hills, NY 11375
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Freeport
c/o Dr. J. Lawrence
502 N. Brookside Ave.
Freeport, NY 11520
See national listing for more information.

Genesee Valley Citizens for Peace
P.O. Box 363
Genesee, NY 14454
(716) 243-4002
FOUNDED: 1971
FUNDING: donations, dues ($10/yr)
NO. OF MEMBERS: 75
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: western NY
Local grassroots peace/disarmament group. Does direct action.

SANE/Great Neck
c/o David Jones
151 Schenck Ave.
Great Neck, NY 11021
(516) 482-1551
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Ithaca
c/o Margaret Gold
308 N. Tioga
Ithaca, NY 14850
See national listing for more information.

Mobilization for Survival/Ithaca
117 Dewitt Pl.
Ithaca, NY 14850
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Johnson City
c/o Allan Baustin MD
156 Carliss Ave. #705
Johnson City, NY 13790
(607) 739-0791
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Kenmore
c/o James Metzger MD
800 Delaware Rd.
Kenmore, NY 14223
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Kingston
c/o Maureen MacDonald
185 Fair St.
Kingston, NY 12401
(914) 331-3397
See national Listing for more information.

Shalom Mountain Retreat and Study Center
Cattail Road
Livingston Manor, NY 12758
(914) 482-5421
FOUNDED: 1976
FUNDING: retreat fees
NO. OF MEMBERS: 2,000
MEMBERSHIP: open
Leads 3- and 10-day retreats for "unlocking the energy of persons who are stuck on their spiritual journey." Uses human potential methodologies, bio-energetics, fantasy, primal scream, and gestalt. Also teaches meditation, yoga, and journal writing.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Massapequa Park
c/o Doriane Gloria
205 Rose St.
Massapequa Pk., NY 11762
(516) 779-4498
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Neponsit
c/o Doris Cohen
218 Beach 145th St.
Neponsit, NY 11694
(914) 255-6448
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/New Hartford
c/o Irwin Redlener MD
8 Fieldwood Rd.
New Hartford, NY 13413
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/New Paltz
c/o Helen Elliott
41 N. Oakwood Terrace
New Paltz, NY 12561
(914) 255-6448
See national listing for more information.

American Friends Service Committee
15 Rutherford Pl.
New York, NY 10003
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/New York
c/o Austin Bleich
668 Washington #4B
New York, NY 10014
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/New York
c/o NY PIRG, Bill Degrasse
9 Murray St.
New York, NY 10007
See national listing for more information.

Mobilization for Survival/New York
135 W. 4th St.
New York, NY 10012
(212) 673-1808
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsbility/New York
c/o Sid Starkman MD
225 Lafayette St.
New York, NY 10012
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/New York
510 Madison Ave., Suite 704
New York, NY 10022
(212) 308-2325
See national listing for more information.

SANE/New York Peace Council
c/o Alex Smith
15 E. 26th St.
New York, NY 10010
(212) 683-7906
See national listing for more information.

SANE/Upper West Side
c/o Muriel Shapiro
10 W. 66th St.
New York, NY 10023
(212) 874-7205
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmanent/New York
315 Central Park W. #4-S
New York, NY 10025
(212) 873-4541
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Metropolitan New York
201 W. 13th St.
New York, NY 10011
(212) 242-4610
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/New York
c/o Ethel Panken
205 W. End Ave.
New York, NY 10023
(212) 799-7610
See national listing for more information.

Women Strike for Peace/New York
799 Broadway, Rm. 411
New York, NY 10003
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Westchester
c/o Ellen Lane
RFD 1, Box 221, South Hill Rd.
Peekskill, NY 10566
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/Pleasantville
c/o Stuart Newman
23 Grove St.
Pleasantville, NY 10570
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/Suffolk County
c/o Jon Barbato
310 E. Broadway
Port Jefferson, NY 11777
(516) 689-7109
See national listing for more information.

People's Anti-War Mobilization/Rochester
902 Portland Ave.
Rochester, NY 14621
(716) 342-5707
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Rochester
c/o Rosemary Mancini
P.O. Box 18333
Rochester, NY 14618
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Rochester
c/o Dr. Beaufait
885 South Ave.
Rochester, NY 14620
See national listing for more information.

Rochester Peace and Justice Education Center
713 Monroe Ave.
Rochester, NY 14607
(716) 244-7191
FOUNDED: 1974
FUNDING: church grants, donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 600
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
NEWSLETTER: monthly (free to members, $5/yr others)
Contributions are tax deductible. Local chapter of Clergy and Laity Concerned. Works for social change primarily in four areas: politics of food, Central America, safe energy, and peace/disarmament. Anti-racism focus in all areas.

War Resisters League/Rochester
713 Monroe Ave.
Rochester, NY 14607
(716) 244-7191
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Rochester
c/o Margot Schuetze
37 Lilac Dr. #4
Rochester, NY 14260
(716) 442-2682
See national listing for more information.

SANE/North Shore
54 Altamont St.
Sea Cliff, NY 11579
(516) 671-0923
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Rocklanders for Peace in Central America
c/o Joseph Goldman
123 Piermont Ave.
South Nyack, NY 10960
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Rockland County
c/o Linda Verdesi
4 S. Madison
Spring Valley, NY 10977
See national listing for more information.

SANE/Staten Island
P.O. Box 4
Staten Island, NY 10301
(212) 273-9656
See national listing for more information.

Arms Control, Disarmament and Peace Studies Resource Center
CED, State University of New York
Stony Brook, NY 11794

(516) 246-3450
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 100
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: regional
Contributions are tax deductible. A resource base for scholarship and research by students, faculty, staff, and community members. Schedules lectures and seminars on topics of current interest. Extensive resource collection available to the public.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Suffolk
c/o Alice Daly
12 Maple Ave.
Suffolk, NY 11776
(516) 473-0808
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/Syracuse
c/o John Freie
124 Harwood Ave.
Syracuse, NY 13224
(315) 451-2359
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Syracuse
c/o Tom Boudreau, Slocum House
Slocum Ave.
Syracuse, NY 13204
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Syracuse
c/o Robert Kanter MD
P.O. Box 412
Syracuse, NY 13210
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Syracuse
c/o E. Swift MD
725 Irving Ave.
Syracuse, NY 13210
See national listing for more information.

Program in Nonviolent Conflict and Change
249 Physics Building
Syracuse University
Syracuse, NY 13210
(315) 423-3870
FOUNDED: 1970
FUNDING: Syracuse University
NO. OF MEMBERS: 12
MEMBERSHIP: students
Contributions are tax deductible. A graduate and undergraduate program on creative, peaceful ways of dealing with conflict. Participates in nationwide efforts to develop and expand peace education and research on nonviolent means of resolving conflicts and bringing about or resisting change. Examines theory, history, and dynamics of nonviolent action movements and techniques. Serves as a resource on peace and conflict issues locally, sponsors colloquia, films, etc.

Syracuse Peace Council
924 Burnet Ave.
Syracuse, NY 13203
(315) 472-5478
FOUNDED: 1936
FUNDING: contributions, pledges, newsletter
NO. OF MEMBERS: 2,000
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: regional
NEWSLETTER: Peace Newsletter
An anti-war/social justice organization. Educates, agitates, and organizes for a world where war, violence, and exploitation in any form will no longer exist. Disarmament an emphasis, as well as anti-intervention and solidarity work, building alternative community, economic conversion, environmental and energy issues. Works through collective, consensual feminist process. Projects include Local Nuclear Weapons Facilities Group, Syracuse Upstate Resistance, Tax Resistance, Cruise Missile Action Project, Upstate Feminist Peace Alliance, Cultural Workers, PSR, and more!

Mobilization for Survival/Rockland
53 Hickory Hill Rd.
Tappan, NY 10983
(914) 359-2283
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/Troy
c/o Helen Bayley
415 Winter St. Extension
Troy, NY 12180
See national listing for more information.

NORTH CAROLINA

Educators for Social Responsibility/Asheville
c/o Jean Luce
University of North Carolina
Asheville, NC 29914
(704) 258-6480
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Asheville
c/o Rebecca Meriwether MD
129 Lakewood Pkwy. #3
Asheville, NC 28803
(704) 254-9482
See national listing for more information.

North Carolina Peace Network
790 E. Maynard Rd.
Cary, NC 27511
(919) 467-6026
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 1,800
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: bimonthly
Sponsors regular demonstrations at Seymour-Johnson Air Force Base and a Peace booth at the North Carolina State Fair.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Chapel Hill
c/o Jean Wagner
311 Burlage Circle
Chapel Hill, NC 27514
(919) 942-6753
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/Charlotte
c/o Carrie Graves
1534 West Blvd.
Charlotte, NC 28234
See national listing for more information.

North Carolina PEACE
2143 Sherwood Ave.
Charlotte, NC 28207
(704) 375-8983
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: events, contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 35
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
A Political Action Committee registered with the FEC. Contributes money and volunteer work to pro-peace candidates. Educates and lobbies candidates and office holders; researches candidates' positions; sponsors advertising, candidates' forums, political education events.

SANE/North Carolina
P.O. Box 220101
Charlotte, NC 28222
(704) 372-9140
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/Charlotte
c/o Edi Irons
417 Hermitage Ct.
Charlotte, NC 28207
(704) 376-1821
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/Durham
c/o Marc Miler
P.O. Box 531
Durham, NC 27702
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/Durham
c/o Bob Brinkmeyer
1107 Wells St.
Durham, NC 27707
See national listing for more information.

New Durham Peace Initiative
404 Alexander Ave.
Durham, NC 27705
(919) 489-7207
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 10
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
Conducts weekly vigils, encourages community involvement in peace issues, organizes special events.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Durham
c/o Stephen Leighton MD
2934 Ridge Road
Durham, NC 27705
(919) 493-4615
See national listing for more information.

War Resisters League/Durham
c/o Steve Summerford
604 W. Chapel Hill St.
Durham, NC 27701
(919) 682-6374
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/Durham
c/o Beverly Mosher
1222 Clarentown
Durham, NC 27705
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Durham
c/o Sadie Hughley
203 Pekoe Ave.
Durham, NC 27707
(919) 682-8890
See national listing for more information.

Greenville Peace Committee
610 S. Elm St.
Greenville, NC 27834
(919) 758-4906
FOUNDED: 1968
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 30
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: county
Works on nuclear disarmament, nonintervention, death penalty, world hunger. Does education and actions. Part of North Carolina Peace Network; affiliated with Mobilization for Survival.

Raleigh Peace Initiative
c/o Community UCC
814 Dixie Trail
Raleigh, NC 27607
(919) 787-6422
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations, church, in-kind
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
A coalition of churches, civic groups, and individuals formed to work against the nuclear arms race.

Jackson County Citizens for a Nuclear Arms Freeze
P.O. Box 1872
Sylva, NC 28779
(704) 586-9041
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: dues, donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 180
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: county
NEWSLETTER: monthly (free to members, or $15/yr)
See national listing for more information.

NORTH DAKOTA

Educators for Social Responsibility/Grand Forks
c/o Dave Cole
1015 N. 39th St., C-11
Grand Forks, ND 58201
(701) 775-9982
See national listing for more information.

OHIO

Educators for Social Responsibility/Akron
c/o Mary King
590 Weber Ave.
Akron, OH 44303
(216) 375-6548
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Akron
c/o Donald Parker MD
75 Arch St., Suite 304
Akron, OH 44304
(216) 633-7038
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/Athens
c/o Robert Maher
Rt. 4, Box 200D
Athens, OH 45701
(614) 592-3487
See national listing for more information.

West Side Ecumenical Ministry
4315 Bridge Ave.
Bay View, OH 44140
(216) 651-2037
FOUNDED: 1967
FUNDING: denominations, congregations
RANGE: Cleveland area
NEWSLETTER: free
Contributions are tax deductible. Formed by a handful of WSEM and cluster persons who initiated the Peace Pentecost Prayer Service and sponsored "Alice in Blunderland," the WSEM Peace Commiteee now works with a coalition of peace groups.

People's Anti-War Mobilization/Cadiz
P.O. Box 48
Cadiz, OH 43907
(614) 942-2072
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Chagrin Falls
c/o Daisy Ford
45001 Mather Lane
Chagrin Falls, OH 44022
(216) 247-5856
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/Cincinnati
c/o Liz Wilbers
461 Beechtree Dr.
Cincinnati, OH 45224
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Cincinnati
University of Cincinnati
P.O. Box 19322
Cincinnati, OH 45219
(513) 872-5284
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Cincinnati
c/o Michel Berg
258 Erkenbrecher
Cincinnati, OH 45229
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Cincinnati
c/o James Titchner MD
4021 Rose Hill Ave.
Cincinnati, OH 45229
(513) 872-5834
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Cincinnati
3259 Elland Ave.
Cincinnati, OH 45267
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Cincinnati
c/o Pat Martin
11050 Springfield Pike
Cincinnati, OH 45246
(513) 772-6086
See national listing for more information.

Mobilization for Survival/Cleveland
1736 Superior Ave.
Cleveland, OH 44114
(216) 214-7859
See national listing for more information.

People's Anti-War Mobilization/Cleveland
2012 W. 25th St.
Cleveland, OH 44113
(216) 861-6154
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Cleveland
2476 Euclid Heights Blvd.
Cleveland, OH 44106
(216) 932-3098
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Cleveland Heights
c/o Eugene Hirsch MD
P.O. Box 18176
Cleveland Heights, OH 44118
(216) 321-3513
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Columbus
c/o Ron Docie
1458 Ashland Ave.
Columbus, OH 43212
(607) 273-2040
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/Columbus
c/o Matt Perenod
2704 Hibbert
Columbus, OH 43202
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Columbus
Columbus Ohio State University
College of Medicine, Box 624
Columbus, OH 43210
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Columbus
c/o Steward Rose MD
3600 Olentangy River Rd., Suite A
Columbus, OH 43214
(614) 451-1174
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Columbus
4632 Hilton Ave.
Columbus, OH 43228
(614) 870-6976
See national listing for more information.

American Friends Service Committee
915 Salem Ave.
Dayton, OH 45406
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Dayton
c/o Robert Mathes MD

48 Fountain Ave.
Dayton, OH 45405
(513) 274-8085
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/
Northwest Ohio
c/o Claire and Joseph Davis
1721 S. Main St.
Findlay, OH 45840
See national listing for more information.

Movement for a New Society/Midwest
Rt. 3, Box 466
Glouster, OH 45732
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Sylvania
c/o Carol Kimbrough
24486 Second St.
Grand Rapids, OH 43522
See national listing for more information.

Center for Peaceful Change
Kent State University
Kent, OH 44242
(216) 672-3143
FOUNDED: 1971
FUNDING: academic department funded by the state
JOURNAL: Peace and Change: A Journal of Peace Research
Contributions are tax deductible. Offers an interdisciplinary program of study that is issue-oriented and humanistic. Personal development and experiential learning are integral to program. Leads to a major in Integrative Change under the College of Arts and Sciences. Seeks to develop humane change agents who can think sensitively about human needs and who have the vision to see the world as a community.

Center for a Positive Future/Milford
c/o Suzanne Collins
5397 Country Lane
Milford, OH 45150
(513) 831-7377
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/New Richmond
c/o Vicky Motch
528 Old U.S. 52
New Richmond, OH 45157
(513) 553-4228
See national listing for more information.

SANE/Oberlin College
P.O. Box 25, Oberlin College
Oberlin, OH 44074
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/
Oberlin
c/o Deborah Lubar
218 Forest St.
Oberlin, OH 44074
See national listing for more information.

Interfaith Justice and Peace Center
6832 Convent Blvd.
Sylvania, OH 43560
(419) 882-2160
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: donations, grants
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: Linkages ($10/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. Works as a clearinghouse and resource center and sponsors numerous conferences, seminars, steering committees, and other special events. Also heavily involved in developing local linkages with state, regional, and national peace and justice groups.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Toledo
P.O. Box 2472
Toledo, OH 43606
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Toledo
c/o Anne Nelson
1961 Shenandoah Dr.
Toledo, OH 43607
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/Warren
c/o Lee Bellinger
P.O. Box 1041
Warren, OH 44481
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/
Yellow Springs
c/o Robert Brandt MD
1001 Xena Ave.
Yellow Springs, OH 45387
See national listing for more information.

OKLAHOMA

Enid Peace and Justice Center
P.O. Box 10192
Enid, OK 73706
(405) 237-6094
FOUNDED: 1979
FUNDING: contributions, grants
NO. OF MEMBERS: 50
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
NEWSLETTER: EPJC Newsletter ($5)
Purpose is to educate by monthly presentations and yearly conferences on peace and justice related issues.

People's Anti-War Mobilization/Norman
P.O. Box 5612
Norman, OK 73070
(405) 360-0045
See national listing for more information.

Oklahoma Peace Strategy
P.O. Box 54874
Oklahoma City, OK 73154
(405) 524-5577
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: newsletter, contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 188
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: Oklahoma Peace Strategy ($5/yr)
Peace activists meet monthly to develop cooperative spirit in peace education, lobbying, and witness. Sponsors regional and statewide events, speakers' bureau.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/
Oklahoma City
c/o Stan Shrago MD
6400 Urschel Ct.
Oklahoma City, OK 73132
(405) 721-4706
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/
Oklahoma City
c/o Robert Girsch, DDS
P.O. Box 54403
Oklahoma City, OK 73154
(405) 427-1134
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Tulsa
c/o Ken Graham, DO
1518 E. 17th Pl.
Tulsa, OK 74120
(918) 583-6935
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Tulsa
c/o Jean Dunlap
7444 S. Marion St.
Tulsa, OK 74136
(918) 492-7552
See national listing for more information.

OREGON

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Peace House
c/o John Stahmer
P.O. Box 524
Ashland, OR 97520
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Beaverton
c/o Johnnie Freeborn
6675 SW Whistling Ct.
Beaverton, OR 97225
(503) 643-4082
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/
Central Oregonians for Peace and Justice
c/o Harold Gillespie, Jr.
20377 Chase Rd.
Bend, OR 97702
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Coos Bay
c/o Cassandra Brunn
790 Commercial
Coos Bay, OR 97420
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/
Corvallis
c/o Sara Hubbe
1726 NW 23rd
Corvallis, OR 97330
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Corvallis
c/o Ed Curtin
2140 NW Elmwood Pl.
Corvallis, OR 97330
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/
Corvallis
P.O. Box 1534
Corvallis, OR 97339
(503) 929-6866
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Cottage Grove
c/o Mary Jo Davis
30519 Overholser Rd.
Cottage Grove, OR 97424
(503) 942-9675
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Cottage Grove
c/o Gail Hoeltzle
7815 Rat Creek Rd.
Cottage Grove, OR 97424
(503) 942-2288
See national listing for more information.

New Frontier: Humanity
P.O. Box 222
Enterprise, OR 97828
(503) 426-4455

FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: dues, donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 25
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: northern Oregon
NEWSLETTER: Political Awareness ($5-10 donation)
Broad-based group seeking to inform public of nuclear arms risks and waste and to promote peaceful solutions.

Center for a Positive Future/Eugene
c/o Marty Immerman
2588 Emerald St.
Eugene, OR 97403
(503) 343-3081
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/Eugene
c/o Margaret Gontrum
1636 Fairmont Blvd.
Eugene, OR 97403
(503) 343-9893
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Eugene
c/o K. Jacobson MD
677 E. 12th St. #520
Eugene, OR 97401
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Eugene
P.O. Box 10836
Eugene, OR 97440
(503) 686-222
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/Washington County
c/o Diane Sharken
1401 Filbert
Forest Grove, OR 97116
(503) 357-6171
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Klamath Christian Peace and Justice Group
c/o Gabriel Gomez
407 N. 9th St.
Klamath, OR 97601
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Philomath
c/o David Grube
Rt. 2, Box 205
Philomath, OR 97370
(503) 929-6866
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Portland
c/o Kris Nelson
2270 N. Irving
Portland, OR 97210
(503) 228-6098
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/Portland
c/o Barbara Ruben
6028 SE Long St.
Portland, OR 97206
(503) 771-8672
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Oregon
c/o Chuck Bell
1838 SW Jefferson
Portland, OR 97201
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/Portland
c/o Michael Stoops
313 E. Burnside
Portland, OR 97214
See national listing for more information.

Mobilization for Survival/Portland
4312 SE Stark
Portland, OR 97215
See national listing for more information.

Northwest Action for Disarmament
P.O. Box 4212
Portland, OR 97208
(503) 295-2101
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: varies
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
NEWSLETTER: occasionally
A coalition of organizations and individuals working for nuclear weapons disarmament through affinity group-based direct action and civil disobedience.

Northwest Draft Counseling Center, Inc.
313 E. Burnside St.
Portland, OR 97214
(503) 238-0605
FOUNDED: 1967
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 25
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: Pacific Northwest
Provides free information and counseling to those faced with questions or problems with the draft and military, including recruiter fraud, AWOL, and discharge from the military.

Oregon Coalition of Alternative Human Services
P.O. Box 14742
Portland, OR 97214
(503) 239-4991
FOUNDED: 1976
FUNDING: subscribers, advertisers, affiliate organizations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 300
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
NEWSLETTER: The Alliance
Contributions are tax deductible. Promotes information and resource sharing amoung individuals and organizations working for social change. Publishes newspaper.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Portland
c/o D. Greenfield
P.O. Box 14723, 495 NW Greenleaf Rd.
Portland, OR 97214
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Portland
c/o David Pollock
4312 SE Stark
Portland, OR 97215
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Portland
c/o Karen Steingard MD
7006 SW 4th Ave.
Portland, OR 97219
See national listing for more information.

Portland Nonviolence Preparers Collective
2940 SE Woodward
Portland, OR 97202
(503) 230-1399
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: from members as needed
NO. OF MEMBERS: 12
RANGE: regional
Does workshops on nonviolence and civil disobedience, high school presentations.

Student Alliance for Nuclear Awareness
P.O. Box 9148
Portland, OR 97207
(503) 242-3829
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: fundraisers, donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 120
MEMBERSHIP: students
RANGE: city
NEWSLETTER: free with membership
Students from ten high schools across Portland. Sponsors events, fundraisers, affinity groups for civil disobedience.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Portland
P.O. Box 1186
Portland, OR 97207
(503) 643-4082
See national listing for more information.

Citizen Action for Lasting Security (CALS)
333 State St.
Salem, OR 97301
(503) 371-8002
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: dues ($20/yr), donations, fundraisers
NO. OF MEMBERS: 1,000
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: CALS (free to members, others $5/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. Promotes a nuclear weapons Freeze through education, demonstrations, limited lobbying, organizers' training, resource production, and statewide network-

ing. Affiliated with National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign and informally with SANE. Local groups in Albany, Ashland, Brookings, Corvallis, Eugene, Grants Pass, Portland.

Educators for Social Responsibility/Salem
c/o Ron Bloodworth
1800 23rd St. NE
Salem, OR 97303
(503) 399-3193
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Salem
c/o Betty Rademaker
960 Shipping St. NE
Salem, OR 97303
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Salem
c/o Hugh Baskin
3965 Kendell Ave. SE
Salem, OR 97302
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Salem
P.O. Box 13491
Salem, OR 97309
(503) 588-1086
See national listing for more information.

PENNSYLVANIA

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Allentown
c/o Peter Warrington MD
1832 Congress St.
Allentown, PA 18105
(215) 820-5885
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/Allentown
c/o Judy Rittenhouse
P.O. Box 1425, Lehigh Valley
Allentown, PA 18105
(215) 820-9682
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/Montco
c/o Robert Simpson
346 Euclid Ave.
Ambler, PA 19002
(215) 643-1981
See national listing for more information.

Women Strike for Peace/Main Line
P.O. Box 136
Berwyn, PA 19312
See national listing for more information.

LEPOCO (Lehigh-Pocono Committee of Concern)
313 W. 4th St.
Bethlehem, PA 18015
(215) 691-8730
FOUNDED: 1965
FUNDING: dues ($15/yr), donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 400
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: Allentown, Bethlehem, Easton
NEWSLETTER: LEPOCO Newsletter ($5)
Founded to oppose war in Vietnam, but has broadened to include threats to peace and economic, environmental, and political problems menacing the human community. Through nonviolent means, members work collectively and individually to bring about a safer and more just world.

Central Bucks Interfaith Peace Alliance
c/o Rick Howe
158 Wood St.
Doylestown, PA 18901
(215) 348-7884
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: local churches
NO. OF MEMBERS: 20
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: to meeting attenders
Encourages local churches to establish committees for the purpose of promoting international peace. Has educational materials, sponsors special projects such as public forum on El Salvador. Participation in Interfaith Witness against nuclear armaments in Philadelphia, Interfaith Pilgrimage for Peace, conference.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Harrisburg
c/o Betty Lentz
420 Alta Vista Ave.
Harrisburg, PA 17109
(717) 564-5543
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Haverford
c/o Anna Scheffrey
601 Walnut Lane
Haverford, PA 19041
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/King of Prussia
c/o Gwen Robinson
619 Charles Dr.
King of Prussia, PA 19406
(215) 337-2677
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Lancaster County
P.O. Box 7246
Lancaster, PA 17604
See national listing for more information

Educators for Social Responsibility/Bucks County
c/o JoAnn Woodman
RD 2
Newtown, PA 18940
(215) 968-2134
See national listing for more information.

SANE/Bucks County
P.O. Box 377
Newtown, PA 18940
(215) 968-7859
See national listing for more information.

Adams County Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze
Rt. 1, Box 155
Orrtanna, PA 17353
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Philadelphia
c/o Art Rosenblum
5620 Morton St.
Philadelphia, PA 19144
(215) 849-3237
See national listing for more information.

Educators for Social Responsibility/Philadelphia
c/o Paul Paul
5501 Wayne Ave.
Philadelphia, PA 19144
(215) 438-9319
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/Philadelphia
c/o Annette Brown
127 W. Sedgwick St.
Philadelphia, PA 19119
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/Philadelphia
c/o George Lakey
4719 Springfield Ave.
Philadelphia, PA 19143
See national listing for more information.

Movement for a New Society/Mid-Atlantic
4722 Baltimore Ave.
Philadelphia, PA 19143
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Philadelphia
c/o Larry Pastor
P.O. Box 13419
Philadelphia, PA 19101
See national listing for more information.

SANE/Philadelphia
5808 Greene St.
Philadelphia, PA 19144
(215) 848-4100
See national listing for more information.

St. Vincent's Peace Center
109 E. Prince St.
Philadelphia, PA 19144
(215) 438-5947
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: religious communities, foundations, individuals
MEMBERSHIP: religious community
RANGE: southern Pennsylvania and New Jersey
Contributions are tax deductible. Seeks to mobilize the grassroots church community to learn about and act against the nuclear armaments crisis. Forms peace ministries within churches that provide support to continue to confront the nuclear arms situation. Provides networking opportunities, films, presentations, retreats, and literature to interested groups.

War Resisters League/Philadelphia
2208 South St.
Philadelphia, PA 19146
(215) 545-4626
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Philadelphia
c/o Fanny Beck
1901 Walnut St.
Philadelphia, PA 19103
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Philadelphia
c/o Fay Stern

1611 Pine St.
Philadelphia, PA 19103
(215) 985-4260
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Mid-City
2020 Pine St.
Philadelphia, PA 19103
(215) 732-2613
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Germantown
6907 Sherman St.
Philadelphia, PA 19119
(215) 813-2051
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Philadelphia
c/o Rena Benjamin
2632 Lenape Rd.
Philadelphia, PA 19131
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Philadelphia
c/o Evelyn Haas
7832 Lister St.
Philadelphia, PA 19152
(215) 338-8420
See national listing for more information.

Women Strike for Peace/Philadelphia
145 S. 13th St.
Philadelphia, PA 19107
See national listing for more information.

Mobilization for Survival/Pittsburgh
1111 E. Carson S.
Pittsburgh, PA 15203
(412) 381-1400
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Pittsburgh
c/o Jack Paradise MD
Children's Hospital, 125 Desoto St.
Pittsburgh, PA 15213
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Pittsburgh
P.O. Box 7241
Pittsburgh, PA 15213
(412) 341-5028
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Pittsburgh
c/o Dr. R. Michaels
7421 W. Hutchinson
Pittsburgh, PA 15218
See national listing for more information.

The Thomas Merton Center
5125 Penn Ave.
Pittsburgh, PA 15224
(412) 361-3022
FOUNDED: 1972
FUNDING: pledges, donations, subscriptions, fundraisers.
NO. OF MEMBERS: 1,200
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: western Pennsylvania
NEWSLETTER: The New People ($10/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. Provides resources and assistance to enable people to work in their own communities: newsletter, calendars of events, reflection booklets; audio-visual and printed materials; speakers, organizers, seminars and events; retreats and liturgies; nonviolent actions and campaigns; information on related local, national, international efforts.

Mobilization for Survival/Reading
200 Madison Ave.
Reading, PA 19605
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Scranton
c/o Mike Hanley
800 Woodlawn St.
Scranton, PA 18509
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Swarthmore
c/o Helen Carroll
32 College Ave.
Swarthmore, PA 19081
(215) 543-2986
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Swarthmore
c/o Betty McCorkel
222 Cornell
Swarthmore, PA 19081
(215) 543-6769
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/West Chester
c/o Bonnie Witthoft
111 Dean St.
West Chester, PA 19380
(215) 692-8257
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Pittsburgh North People for Peace
c/o Alice Neuenschwander
113 Meadowvue Dr.
Wexford, PA 15090
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Williamsport
c/o Donald Hess
707 High St.
Williamsport, PA 17701
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Yardley
c/o Eleanor Fowler
1561 Dolington Rd.
Yardley, PA 19067
(215) 493-5128
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Southwest Butler Peace Fellowship
c/o Jacqueline Anderson
410 S. Oliver Ave.
Zelienople, PA 16063
See national listing for more information.

RHODE ISLAND

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Barrington
32 Chapin Road
Barrington, RI 02806
(401) 245-3967
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Rhode Island
966-A Hope St.
Providence, RI 02906
See national listing for more information.

Mobilization for Survival/Providence
c/o Jerry Elmer
2 Stimson St.
P.O. Box 2449, E. Side Station
Providence, RI 02906
(401) 423-0433
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Providence
c/o James Myers MD
36 Methyl St.
Providence, RI 02906
See national listing for more information.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Columbia
7501 Mountainbrook Dr.
Columbia, SC 29209
(803) 793-3635
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Clemson Alliance for Peace
c/o Cathy Ceruzzi
221 Lebanon Rd.
Pendleton, SC 29607
See national listing for more information.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Easter Lily Peace Project
802 11th Ave.
Brookings, SD 57006
(605) 688-4518
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 100
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
Contributions are tax deductible. A nuclear weapons facility conversion project hoping to convert Ellsworth Air Force Base to an international grain facility. Each Easter, participants attempt to place Easter lilies on missile silo lids. Other educational and symbolic activities, religious perspective.

South Dakota Peace and Justice Center
P.O. Box 405
Watertown, SD 57201
(605) 882-2822
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: individuals, denominations, foundations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 600
MEMBERSHIP: religious
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: SDPJC Newsletter (quarterly, free to members)
Contributions are tax deductible. An interfaith

grassroots network of over 500 individuals and congregations working together to apply spiritual values to social structures through education and action. Areas of concern include the arms race, economic injustice, and Native American issues.

TENNESSEE

Mid-South Peace and Justice Center
P.O. Box 41645
Memphis, TN 39174
(901) 452-6997
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: contributions, grants
NO. OF MEMBERS: 800
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: W. Tenneseee, E. Arkansas, N. Mississippi
NEWSLETTER: MSPJC Newsletter ($5/yr)
An interfaith organization that keeps area residents informed of local, national, and international peace issues; promotes and coordinates efforts of all area groups within the network; researches and publishes materials on social justice issues; and participates in campaigns and nonviolent actions to promote peace and justice. Focuses on Central America, disarmament, draft education, Memphis issues, nonviolence training, parenting for peace and justice, and South Africa.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Memphis
c/o John Fowler MD
1151 Central Ave.
Memphis, TN 38104
(901) 528-5737
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Mountain Home
c/o John Douglas MD
P.O. Box 115
Mountain Home, TN 37684
(615) 926-4343
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Nashville
c/o Ken Wheaton
1210 Catina Dr.
Nashville, TN 37217
(615) 366-6100
See national listing for more information.

Nashvillians for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze
P.O. Box 121333
Nashville, TN 37212
(615) 244-4353
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Nashville
c/o Robert Quinn MD
508 Park Center Dr.
Nashville, TN 37205
(615) 297-8488
See national listing for more information.

Tennessee Freeze Voters
P.O. Box 121072
Nashville, TN 37212
(615) 244-4353
FOUNDED: 1984
FUNDING: donations, fundraisers
RANGE: state
Political Action Committee dedicated to electing federal pro-Freeze candidates.

TEXAS

Austin Peace and Justice Coalition
1022 West 6th St.
Austin, TX 78703
(512) 474-5877
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 27 organizations, 1,400 mailing list
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city, state
NEWSLETTER: APJC Newsletter (free, donation requested)
A coalition organized to exchange information among members, provide a forum for discussion of world peace, and provide educational resources. Does educational projects and nonviolent direct actions.

Center for a Positive Future/Austin
c/o Janice Hall
9602 Tulane St.
Austin, TX 78723
(512) 929-3556
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Austin
c/o Hilbert Sabin
2105 Enfield Rd., Apt. A
Austin, TX 78703
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/ Red River Peace Network
1022 W. 6th St.
Austin, TX 78703
See national listing for more information.

Mobilization for Survival/TEXECON
1022 W. 6th St.
Austin, TX 78703
(512) 474-5877
See national listing for more information.

People's Anti-War Mobilization/Austin
P.O. Box 6504
Austin, TX 78762
(512) 385-3136
See national listing for more information.

Corpus Christi Ground Zero
4402 Bluefield
Corpus Christi, TX 78403
(512) 852-0727
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 50
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
A civic organization in the Coastal Bend area of South Texas that focuses on educating individuals and groups about the problems of nuclear weapons and alternatives that would provide real U.S. and world security.

Center for a Positive Future/Dallas
c/o Susan Walton
11136 Dwarf Circle
Dallas, TX 75229
(214) 351-4698
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Dallas
c/o Lawrence Egbert MD
3883 Turtle Creek Blvd.
Dallas, TX 75219
(214) 637-8221
See national listing for more information.

War Resisters League/Dallas
2710 Woodmere
Dallas, TX 75233
(214) 337-5885
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Denton
c/o Betty Mitchell
1215 Emerson
Denton, TX 76201
See national listing for more information.

El Paso Peace Coalition
P.O. Box 31703
El Paso, TX 79931
(915) 778-2108
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: donations, fundraising, dues ($5)
NO. OF MEMBERS: 200
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
NEWSLETTER: EPPC Newsletter (free to members)
Contributions are tax deductible. A coalition of several groups working to promote peace. Primary area of concern is the Nuclear Freeze.

Center for a Positive Future/Fort Worth
c/o J. Walter Fiscus
3905 Lynncrest Dr.
Fort Worth, TX 76109
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Fort Worth
c/o Daryl Schmidt
4800 Trail Lake Dr.
Fort Worth, TX 76133
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Houston
c/o Chris O'Brien
10307 Sugar Hill
Houston, TX 77042
(713) 780-7633
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/ Interfaith Peaceforce of Houston
c/o Brenda Hardt
4907 Caris
Houston, TX 77091
See national listing for more information.

People's Anti-War Mobilization/Houston
P.O. Box 52115
Houston, TX 77052
(713) 694-2903
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Dallas
c/o Paul and Barbara Hunter
5544 N. Colony Blvd.
Lewisville, TX 75056
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/ San Antonio
c/o Rod and Pat Radle
1203 Chihuahua St.
San Antonio, TX 78207
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/San Antonio
c/o Onfalia Pena
1515 Mission Rd., Rm. 13
San Antonio, TX 78210
See national listing for more information.

People's Anti-War Mobilization/ San Antonio
P.O. Box 1504
San Antonio, TX 78295
(512) 532-7288
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ San Antonio
c/o Martin Raitiere
4707 Cheddar Dr.
San Antonio, TX 78229
(512) 691-0375
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/ Tyler Interfaith Peace Fellowship
c/o Marilyn Coler
2231 Mimosa
Tyler, TX 75701
See national listing for more information.

UTAH

MX Information Center
232-1/2 University St.
Salt Lake City, UT 84102
(801) 581-9027
FOUNDED: 1979
FUNDING: donations, fundraising
MEMBERSHIP: open
NO. OF MEMBERS: 125
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: Desert Sun (bimonthly, $5/yr)
Organized to provide accurate and timely information on the MX and the arms race to the people living in Utah and surrounding states. Involved in public education programs, research/seminars, voter registration.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Salt Lake City
c/o Louis Borgenicht MD
1249 Gilmer Dr.
Salt Lake City, UT 84105
(801) 583-2932
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Salt Lake City
998 S. 1500 E.
Salt Lake City, UT 84105
(801) 583-2362
See national listing for more information.

Utahns United Against the Arms Race
2701 Flamingo Dr.
Salt Lake City, UT 84117
(801) 278-1417
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 150
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
Contributions are tax deductible. An educational organization aiming to raise public consciousness about the arms race.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Salt Lake City
c/o Bonny MacRi
738 S. 600 E.
Salt Lake City, UT 84102
(801) 364-3018
See national listing for more information.

VERMONT

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Barre
c/o Mark Yorra MD
399 N. Main St.
Barre, VT 05641
(802) 454-8680
See national listing for more information.

Bennington PAX
310 Main St.
Bennington, VT 05201
(802) 447-1331
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 30
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: county
An informal group aiming to foster and promote the cause of peace through actions and education. Does lobbying, leafleting, petitioning, and demonstrations. Makes decisions by consensus.

Peace Resource Center
310 Main St.
Bennington, VT 05201
(802) 447-1331
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: donations, events
NO. OF MEMBERS: 200
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: county
A group committed to working to prevent nuclear war and to promote peace. Has drop-in center, library, speakers, educational and audio-visual materials. Conducts vigils and educational and community events.

Center for a Positive Future/Brattleboro
c/o Bill & Marylou Schmidt
Elysian RFD #1, P.O. Box 200
Brattleboro, VT 05301
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Burlington
c/o Richard Aronson MD
Box 259, UVM
Burlington, VT 04504
(802) 862-5701
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Burlington
Vermont College of Medicine
University of Vermont
Burlington, VT 05405
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/ Burlington
c/o Linda Aronson
9 Marion St.
Burlington, VT 05401
(802) 863-4303
See national listing for more information.

Bread and Puppet Theater
RD 2
Glover, VT 05839
(802) 525-6972
FOUNDED: 1963
FUNDING: performances, workshops
NO. OF MEMBERS: 18
Contributions are tax deductible. A theater company using masks and 10-foot rod puppets in performances and demonstrations, vigils, parades, and street shows. Maintains Bread and Puppet Museum and produces graphics and publications for sale.

Vermont Yankee Decommissioning Alliance
P.O. Box 53
Montpelier, VT 05667
(802) 426-3874
FOUNDED: 1979
FUNDING: donations, grants
NO. OF MEMBERS: 200
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: Vermont, W. Massachusetts, New Hampshire
A small, locally funded group using direct action, research, and education. Purpose is to monitor the Vermont Yankee nuclear power plant and promote its decommissioning, monitor all nuclear activities in Vermont, and educate the public on the connection between nuclear weapons and nuclear power. Has slide show on nuclear power.

War Resisters League/ Lamoille Peace Coalition
P.O. Box 63
N. Hyde Park, VT 05665
(802) 635-7077
See national listing for more information.

Upper Valley Alliance
P.O. Box 703
White River Jt., VT 05001
FOUNDED: 1984
FUNDING: fundraising
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: free
An alliance of activists and grassroots political organizations dedicated to the development of an independent political and cultural presence. Serves to unite social change agendas ranging from the peace churches to the co-ops, to provide a more visible and influential presentation for them, and to coordinate action. Focuses for nonviolent work include nuclear disarmament, antimilitarism, democracy and social justice, social equality, appropriate technology and environmental preservation, and renewed culture. Governed by consensus process.

VIRGINIA

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Ashland
c/o Phyllis Conkin
Rt. 4, Box 63
Ashland, VA 23005
See national listing for more information.

Choose Life
P.O. Box 397
Broadway, VA 22815
(703) 896-1361
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 34
MEMBERSHIP: Christians
An interdenominational group of Christians who are working to prevent nuclear war and promote world peace. Has participated in Ground Zero activities. Has speakers' bureau, is raising money to participate in Witness for Peace program.

Charlottesville Peace Center
214 Rugby Rd.
Charlottesville, VA 22903
(804) 977-7476
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations
NEWSLETTER: $5/yr
Contributions are tax deductible. Focus on peace education, maintaining resource center, newsletter. Coordinates local peace/justice events.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/ Charlottesville
c/o William Anderson
109 Quince Lane
Charlottesville, VA 22901
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Charlottesville
1820 Pendall Ave.
Charlottesville, VA 22903
(804) 296-8850
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Falls Church
c/o Noel McInnis
3128 Cafer Rd.
Falls Church, VA 22042
(703) 536-2030
See national listing for more information.

Lynchburg Peace Education Center
P.O. Box 3143
Lynchburg, VA 24503
(804) 847-5477
FOUNDED: 1984
FUNDING: pledges, donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 200
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: central Virginia
NEWSLETTER: Citizen's Report (monthly, $10/yr).
Dedicated to providing opportunities for people in Central Virginia to explore areas of global peacemaking and conflict resolution. Presents programs to civic, religious, and educational groups.

Penninsula Peace Education Center
12300 Warwick Blvd.
Newport News, VA 23606
(804) 595-3415
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 46
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city and surrounding area
NEWSLETTER: Peace Advocate (free on request)
Contributions are tax deductible. Primary purpose is to promote education on issues of peace. Has resource library, does educational workshops, provides draft information, and does draft education in schools.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Richmond
c/o Roger Coffey
1603 Grove Ave.
Richmond, VA 23220
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Richmond
c/o Theodore Feinson
10612 Wrens Nest Court
Richmond, VA 23235
See national listing for more information.

Richmond Episcopal Peace Fellowship
P.O. Box 8500
Richmond, VA 23226
(804) 288-2867
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 35
MEMBERSHIP: Episcopalian
RANGE: city/county
NEWSLETTER: on request
Contributions are tax deductible. A body of Episcopalians dedicated to discovering and practicing what peace is and what is needed to end war and militarism. Endeavors to develop community within the Episcopal Church that is pledged to renounce war and espouse nonviolence.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Burlington
Vermont College of Medicine
University of Vermont
Burlington, VT 05405
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/ Burlington
c/o Linda Aronson
9 Marion St.
Burlington, VT 05401
(802) 863-4303
See national listing for more information.

Bread and Puppet Theater
RD 2
Glover, VT 05839
(802) 525-6972
FOUNDED: 1963
FUNDING: performances, workshops
NO. OF MEMBERS: 18
Contributions are tax deductible. A theater company using masks and 10-foot rod puppets in performances and demonstrations, vigils, parades, and street shows. Maintains Bread and Puppet Museum and produces graphics and publications for sale.

Vermont Yankee Decommissioning Alliance
P.O. Box 53
Montpelier, VT 05667
(802) 426-3874
FOUNDED: 1979
FUNDING: donations, grants
NO. OF MEMBERS: 200
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: Vermont, W. Massachusetts, New Hampshire
A small, locally funded group using direct action, research, and education. Purpose is to monitor the Vermont Yankee nuclear power plant and promote its decommissioning, monitor all nuclear activities in Vermont, and educate the public on the connection between nuclear weapons and nuclear power. Has slide show on nuclear power.

War Resisters League/ Lamoille Peace Coalition
P.O. Box 63
N. Hyde Park, VT 05665
(802) 635-7077
See national listing for more information.

Upper Valley Alliance
P.O. Box 703
White River Jt., VT 05001
FOUNDED: 1984
FUNDING: fundraising
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: free
An alliance of activists and grassroots political organizations dedicated to the development of an independent political and cultural presence. Serves to unite social change agendas ranging from the peace churches to the co-ops, to provide a more visible and influential presentation for them, and to coordinate action. Focuses for nonviolent work include nuclear disarmament, antimilitarism, democracy and social justice, social equality, appropriate technology and environmental preservation, and renewed culture. Governed by consensus process.

VIRGINIA

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Ashland
c/o Phyllis Conkin
Rt. 4, Box 63
Ashland, VA 23005
See national listing for more information.

Choose Life
P.O. Box 397
Broadway, VA 22815
(703) 896-1361
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 34
MEMBERSHIP: Christians
An interdenominational group of Christians who are working to prevent nuclear war and promote world peace. Has participated in Ground Zero activities. Has speakers' bureau, is raising money to participate in Witness for Peace program.

Charlottesville Peace Center
214 Rugby Rd.
Charlottesville, VA 22903
(804) 977-7476
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations
NEWSLETTER: $5/yr
Contributions are tax deductible. Focus on peace education, maintaining resource center, newsletter. Coordinates local peace/justice events.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/ Charlottesville
c/o William Anderson
109 Quince Lane
Charlottesville, VA 22901
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Charlottesville
1820 Pendall Ave.
Charlottesville, VA 22903
(804) 296-8850
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/ Falls Church
c/o Noel McInnis
3128 Cafer Rd.
Falls Church, VA 22042
(703) 536-2030
See national listing for more information.

Lynchburg Peace Education Center
P.O. Box 3143

Lynchburg, VA 24503
(804) 847-5477
FOUNDED: 1984
FUNDING: pledges, donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 200
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: central Virginia
NEWSLETTER: Citizen's Report (monthly, $10/yr)
Dedicated to providing opportunities for people in Central Virginia to explore areas of global peacemaking and conflict resolution. Presents programs to civic, religious, and educational groups.

Penninsula Peace Education Center
12300 Warwick Blvd.
Newport News, VA 23606
(804) 595-3415
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 46
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city and surrounding area
NEWSLETTER: Peace Advocate (free on request)
Contributions are tax deductible. Primary purpose is to promote education on issues of peace. Has resource library, does educational workshops, provides draft information, and does draft education in schools.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Richmond
c/o Roger Coffey
1603 Grove Ave.
Richmond, VA 23220
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Richmond
c/o Theodore Feinson
10612 Wrens Nest Court
Richmond, VA 23235
See national listing for more information.

Richmond Episcopal Peace Fellowship
P.O. Box 8500
Richmond, VA 23226
(804) 288-2867
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 35
MEMBERSHIP: Episcopalian
RANGE: city/county
NEWSLETTER: on request
Contributions are tax deductible. A body of Episcopalians dedicated to discovering and practicing what peace is and what is needed to end war and militarism. Endeavors to develop community within the Episcopal Church that is pledged to renounce war and espouse nonviolence.

Richmond War Tax Alternatives Group
c/o Harold Houghton
3225 Woody's Lane
Richmond, VA 23234
(804) 231-2843
FOUNDED: 1980
FUNDING: interest from escrow funds, donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 20
MEMBERSHIP: war tax resisters and others
RANGE: city
Does education and outreach on tax issues, manages escrow account for refused taxes while awaiting passage of the World Peace Fund Bill. Participants include people refusing large amounts of their taxes, symbolic amounts, and people interested in the issues or wanting to be supportive of those taking more active stands.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Front Royal-Winchester
c/o Jim Mosley
Camp Paddy Run, Rt. 1
Star Tannery, VA 22654
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Interfaith Peace Fellowship
c/o Langdon Bristol
2909 Pinewood Dr.
Virginia Beach, VA 23452
See national listing for more information.

Wythe-Bland Citizens for the Prevention of Nuclear War
P.O. Box 894
Wytheville, VA 24382
(703) 228-8303
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 25
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: Wythe and Bland Counties
Aims to prevent nuclear war by educating the public to make responsible voting decisions. Sponsors public meetings with speakers and films, active in Ground Zero Pairing Project, writes articles in local paper.

WASHINGTON

Center for a Positive Future/Bellingham
c/o Kathleen Madden
2024 Niagra Pl.
Bellingham, WA 98226
(206) 733-5336
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Bellingham
c/o Aristene Reinhardt
1107 Queen St.
Bellingham, WA 98225
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Bellingham
753 E. Smith Road
Bellingham, WA 98226
(206) 398-1247
See national listing for more information.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/Bellingham
c/o Elizabeth Starnes
505 W. Bakerview Rd. #77
Bellingham, WA 98273
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Wenatchee
c/o Mary and Joe Roy
2410 NE 1st St.
East Wenatchee, WA 98801
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Olympia
c/o Glen Anderson
5015 15th Ave. SE
Lacey, WA 98503
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Cowlitz
c/o Arthur Mottet
P.O. Box 435
Longview, WA 98632
See national listing for more information.

Sky Valley Peace Council
28910 Ben Howard Rd.
Monroe, WA 98272
(206) 793-2129
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: donations, sales
NO. OF MEMBERS: 80
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: E. Snohomish County
NEWSLETTER: Sky Valley Peace News (monthly, $5/yr)
Grassroots peace organizing and educating. Concerned with arms race, militarism, intervention, nonviolence.

Bread and Roses Catholic Worker
1320 E. 8th
Olympia, WA 98501
(206) 754-4085
FUNDING: donations
RANGE: city
Provides hospitality for the homeless, including free meals; involved in Central America and peace issues. Nonviolence, decisions by consensus.

Center for a Positive Future/Olympia
c/o Tom Danaher
Evergreen State College, CAB 305
Olympia, WA 98508
(206) 352-1535
See national listing for more information.

Central America Action Committee of Thurston County
P.O. Box 7454
Olympia, WA 98507
(206) 352-3614
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: donations, fundraising
NO. OF MEMBERS: 40
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: county
Purpose is to organize against U.S. intervention in Central America. Organizes educational events, vigils, demonstrations; does lobbying; involved in fundraising for medical and agricultural aid to people of El Salvador.

Peace and Conflict Resolution Center
Evergreen State College, CAB 305
Olympia, WA 98505
(206) 866-6000
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: student fees, events
NO. OF MEMBERS: 12
MEMBERSHIP: students
RANGE: city
Purpose is to educate, develop skills, foster new ideas. Emphasizes educational activities such as workshops, teach-ins, speakers, weekly radio show, documentaries.

Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action
16159 Clear Creek Rd. NW
Poulsbo, WA 98370
(206) 779-4672, 779-7028
FOUNDED: 1977
FUNDING: donations
MEMBERSHIP: open
NEWSLETTER: Ground Zero (free, donation requested)
A seven-person intentional community, with a large and diffuse work and sharing community committed to a nonviolent campaign against the

Trident submarine and the White Train. Leaflets regularly at the Naval Shipyard, plans and organizes nonviolent direct actions, vigils on White Train tracks. "We try to transform ourselves and our society through a commitment to nonviolence."

World Citizens for Peace
P.O. Box 594
Richland, WA 99352
FOUNDED: 1982
FUNDING: donations, dues ($10/yr)
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: Richland, Kennewick, Pasco
NEWSLETTER: WCP Newsletter (free on request)
A nonprofit, nonpartisan organization concerned with fostering national and international peace through nonviolent conflict resolution. Primary focus on nuclear arms race. Conducts monthly peace vigils, memorials, informational events (films, debates). Is a member of the Washington State Nuclear Freeze Coalition.

All In One Piece
c/o Marilyn Bradley
18025 14th NE
Seattle, WA 98155
(206) 365-7259
FOUNDED: 1984
NO. OF MEMBERS: 2
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: local
NEWSLETTER: In One Piece (quarterly)
Educational organization.

American Friends Service Committee
814 NE 40th
Seattle, WA 98105
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Seattle
c/o Diana Dawn
P.O. Box 20217
Seattle, WA 98102
(206) 363-6406
See national listing for more information.

Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility/Seattle
P.O. Box 85481
Seattle, WA 98105
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Western Washington
225 N. 70th
Seattle, WA 98103
(206) 789-5565
See national listing for more information.

Give Peace a Dance/Legs Against Arms
P.O. Box 2409
Seattle, WA 98111
(206) 682-6455
FOUNDED: 1984
FUNDING: pledges raised by dancers in marathons, grants
NO. OF MEMBERS: 1,500
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
A local fundraising organization involved in putting on a yearly dance marathon. Funds raised (over $70,000 in 1984) are used to impact national arms policies on a local level.

Greenpeace Northwest
4649 Sunnyside N.
Seattle, WA 98103
(206) 632-4326
FOUNDED: 1971
FUNDING: events, canvassing
NO. OF MEMBERS: 20,000
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: regional, international
NEWSLETTER: Examiner (national, quarterly)
Contributions are tax deductible. Environmental watchdog group using nonviolent direct action to expose issues of concern to planetary survival. Disarmament work currently focuses on ending nuclear weapons testing, through lobbying and action.

Movement for a New Society/Northwest
P.O. Box 20471
Seattle, WA 98102
(206) 324-6491
See national listing for more information.

Nuclear Awareness Group/Group Health Cooperative
300 Elliot Ave. W.
Seattle, WA 98119
(206) 326-6076
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: Group Health
NO. OF MEMBERS: 600
MEMBERSHIP: Group Health members
RANGE: Puget Sound area
A volunteer group within a 330,000-member organization. An education/action campaign on the Nuclear Freeze and disarmament was approved at the Cooperative's 1983 annual membership meeting. Purpose is to educate and take action on what Group Health Cooperative considers the greatest health challenge confronting the earth today: prevention of nuclear war.

People's Anti-War Mobilization/Seattle
1327 E. Yesler
Seattle, WA 98144
(206) 322-8272
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Seattle
P.O. Box 15502
Seattle, WA 98115
(206) 632-9246
See national listing for more information.

Puget Sound Women's Peace Camp
P.O. Box 22756
Seattle, WA 98122
(206) 324-6491
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: donations, grants
MEMBERSHIP: women
NO. OF MEMBERS: 40 active, 2,000 supporters
RANGE: regional
NEWSLETTER: Peace Camp News (quarterly, donation requested)
Nonviolent feminist group has maintained encampment near Boeing cruise missile plant since June 1983. First women's peace camp in U.S. Focus on corporate peace conversion, direct action, vigils, educational work at Boeing and area military installations. Makes connections between nuclear weapons/militarism and other forms of violence and oppression through organizing against violence against women and in support of liberation struggles. Developing programs, resources in feminist nonviolent action. Works in coalitions. Networks with global women's peace movement.

Seattle Draft Counseling Center
1514 NE 45th St.
Seattle, WA 98105
(206) 525-0300
FOUNDED: 1968
FUNDING: contributions
NO. OF MEMBERS: 400 mailing list
MEMBERSHIP: draft age men
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: SDCC Newsletter (irregular)
Contributions are tax deductible. Provides information about registration and the draft, especially to young men contemplating conscientious objection. Speaks at schools, distributes literature.

Seattle/King County Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign
4534-1/2 University Way NE
Seattle, WA 98105
(206) 632-6205
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: membership, pledges, donations
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city, county
Contributions to Education Fund are tax deductible. Consists of three efforts in 1984: the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign does lobbying; Freeze Voter '84 is an election-year effort under the auspices of the national PAC to canvass for and register Freeze voters; and the Freeze Education Fund is a tax-exempt, nonprofit corporation supported by tax-deductible contributions developing freeze-related educational materials including economic conversion programs for area defense industry. See national listing for more information.

Seattle Nonviolent Action Group (SNAG)
6823 19th Ave. NE
Seattle, WA 98115
(206) 523-6687
FOUNDED: 1984
FUNDING: donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 20
MEMBERSHP: open
RANGE: city
A group committed to nonviolent direct action on issues of nuclear weapons, militarism, local defense contractors, U.S. intervention (especially Central America). Sponsors vigils, demonstrations, direct action (including civil disobedience). Past activities include direct action at Boeing, sit-in at Reagan-Bush Re-Election Headquarters in Seattle, South Africa-Central America demonstration, White Train vigil. Works in coalition with other groups.

Seattle Women Act for Peace

2524 16th Ave. S.
Seattle, WA 98144
See national Women Strike for Peace listing for more information.

Target Washington
909 4th Ave.
Seattle, WA 98104
(206) 322-8786
FOUNDED: 1984
FUNDING: contributions
RANGE: state
Citizen's organization dedicated to prevention of nuclear war. Advisory Committee includes all members of the state's congressional delegation.

Assists communities statewide in organizing broad-based conferences on the prevention of nuclear war. Encourages citizens to develop constructive initiatives and assists people of differing views to seek common ground.

Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament/ Seattle
c/o Pat Stromberg
7222 57th Ave. NE
Seattle, WA 98115
(206) 525-4368
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Seattle
2524 16th Ave. S.
Seattle, WA 98144
(206) 324-9291
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/ Sedro Woolley
c/o Judy Brown
864 Westerman Rd.
Sedro Woolley, WA 98284
See national listing for more information.

Center for a Positive Future/Spokane
c/o John & Catherine Scherer
W. 201 Sumner
Spokane, WA 99204
(509) 838-8167
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Spokane
c/o Nick Kassebaum
W. 321 8th
Spokane, WA 99204
See national listing for more information.

Peace and Justice Action League of Spokane
W. 231 8th
Spokane, WA 99204
(509) 838-7870
FOUNDED: 1975
FUNDING: dues ($15/yr), grants
NO. OF MEMBERS: 300
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: cit
NEWSLETTER: Handful of Salt (to members and subscribers, $6/yr)
Contributions are tax deductible. A center for education and advocacy on social issues from a nonviolent perspective. Networking with area peace groups.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Spokane
Spokane Rt. 12, 4004 Glenrose Dr.
Spokane, WA 99203
(509) 448-2191
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Spokane
c/o Marianne Etter
E. 224 Manito Pl.
Spokane, WA 99203
(509) 624-4846
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Tacoma
c/o George H. Hess MD
4437 W. Grandview Pl.
Tacoma, WA 98225
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Tacoma
c/o Carrie Washburn
837 S. Anderson
Tacoma, WA 98405
(206) 272-7123
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Yakima
3610 W. Chestnut
Yakima, WA 98902
(509) 965-1759
See national listing for more information.

WEST VIRGINIA

Center for a Positive Future/Charleston
c/o Pam Dodson
1127A Hickory Rd.
Charleston, WV 25314
(304) 721-1308
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Charleston
1408 Bedford Rd.
Charleston, WV 25314
See national listing for more information.

West Virginia Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign
1217 Lee St.
Charleston, WV 25301
(304) 343-7037
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/Marmet
c/o Janet Gamble
200 97th St.
Marmet, WV 25315
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/Montgomery
P.O. Box 541
Montgomery, WV 25136
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Mon Valley
c/o Stephanie Hauser
721 Naomi St.
Morgantown, WV 26505
See national listing for more information.

War Resisters League/Morgantown
912-1/2 Monogahlea Ave.
Morgantown, WV 26505
(304) 292-9678
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/ A Call for Peace
c/o Barbara Smith
Box 2158, Alderson-Broaddus College
Philippi, WV 26416
See national listing for more information.

WISCONSIN

SANE/Northern Wisconsin
c/o John Snider
Box 607, Northland College
Ashland, WI 54806
(715) 682-8318
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Eau Claire
c/o A.F. Meyer
2119 Heights Dr.
Eau Claire, WI 54701
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Fall Creek
c/o Allen Meyer MD
8965 Highway 12
Fall Creek, WI 54742
(715) 832-4799
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/La Crosse
c/o Terry Miller
1325 Winnebago St.
La Crosse, WI 54601
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ La Crosse
2521 Nickel Rd.
La Crosse, WI 54601
(608) 788-5438
See national listing for more information.

War Resisters League/La Crosse
126 Wentz Hall
University of Wisconsin-La Crosse
La Crosse, WI 54601
(608) 782-2986
See national listing for more information.

Computer Professionals for Social Responsibility/Madison
c/o Jeffrey Myers
Dept. of Computer Science
University of Wisconsin
Madison, WI 53706
(608) 255-6336
See national listing for more information.

Gaudete Peace and Justice Center
634 Spring St.
Madison, WI 53715
(608) 257-4996
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: donations
MEMBERSHIP: Christian
RANGE: city
NEWSLETTER: Harvest of Justice (focuses on CD, free)
Christian organization sponsoring weekly vigils, legal protests and civil disobedience, tax resistence and reflection.

Jobs with Peace/Madison
c/o Mario Compean
302 Eagle Heights, Apt. H
Madison, WI 53705
See national listing for more information.

Link House Peace Center
1111 Willow Lane
Madison, WI 53705
(608) 233-6979
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: Elizabeth and Karl Paul Link estate
RANGE: Dane County and surrounding counties
NEWSLETTER: yes
Information center for peace organizations. Produces calendar; organizes network meetings; provides despair and empowerment workshops, library, resources.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Madison
c/o Stephanie Wasser
P.O. Box 1712
Madison, WI 53701
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Madison
c/o Dr. Jeff Patterson
777 S. Mills St.
Madison, WI 53713
(608) 263-3091
See national listing for more information.

Wisconsin Clergy and Laity Concerned
1504 Madison St.
Madison, WI 53711
(608) 255-3161
FOUNDED: 1981
FUNDING: dues ($20/yr, $7 low income), donations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 200
MEMBERSHIP: religious
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: Wisconsin CALC Newsletter (monthly, donations welcome)
An interfaith organization formed to encourage and develop leadership for social action in local congregations. Links social issues, with emphasis on Third World and poor people. Has resource files on wide variety of social justice issues. Networks, conducts public programs, and works in coalitions.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Madison
306 N. Brooks St.
Madison, WI 53715
(608) 255-2255
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Madison
c/o Josephine Rentz
1652 Norman Way #1
Madison, WI 53715
(608) 233-1312
See national listing for more information.

Women's Peace Presence to Stop Project ELF
731 State St.
Madison, WI 53703
(608) 257-7562
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: donations
MEMBERSHIP: women
RANGE: regional
NEWSLETTER: quarterly, donation requested
Women working creatively to transform the militarization of their lives through peace camp near site of Project ELF, the radio transmitter that will be able to signal Trident submarines around the world simultaneously to launch a nuclear first strike. Hopes to generate a broad-based grassroots movement against ELF in Wisconsin and throughout the U.S., to empower women to leadership and action, and to create new ways of political action and personal interaction countering racism, sexism, and militarism.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/ Lake Shore Peacemakers
Rollin and Sue Kirk
2508 Meadow Lane
Manitowoc, WI 54220
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/Mason
Chequamegon Route 1, Box 194
Mason, WI 54846
(715) 765-4513
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/ Citizens for a Peaceful Tomorrow
c/o Larry Vincent/Penny Olson
320 Nicolet Blvd.
Menasha, WI 54942
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/Middleton
c/o Ardelle Hough
2417 Amherst Rd.
Middleton, WI 53562
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/Milwaukee
c/o Jacqueline Haessly
2437 N. Grant Ave.
Milwaukee, WI 53210
See national listing for more information.

Jobs with Peace/Milwaukee
c/o Roger Quindell
2546 W. 41st St.
Milwaukee, WI 53210
See national listing for more information.

Mobilization for Survival/Milwaukee
1016 N. 9th St.
Milwaukee, WI 53233
(414) 272-0961
FOUNDED: 1977
FUNDING: donations, fundraisers
NO. OF MEMBERS: 3,500 mailing list
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city
NEWSLETTER: Milwaukee Mobilizer (monthly)
A nonprofit organization committed to nonviolence, peace, and a nuclear-free future. Aims to organize grassroots movement of people who see the links between militarism, intervention, nuclear technology, and human needs. Has educational events; sponsors vigils, demonstrations, and actions; does legislative action; develops resources for community. See national listing for more information.

People's Anti-War Mobilization/Milwaukee
1016 N. 9th St.
Milwaukee, WI 53233
(414) 272-4341, 244-0429
See national listing for more information.

Physicians for Social Responsibility/ Milwaukee
c/o Richard Biek MD
1610 E. Newport Ave.
Milwaukee, WI 53211
(414) 961-7143
See national listing for more information.

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom/Milwaukee
c/o Ruth Raczka
3262 S. 37th St.
Milwaukee, WI 53215
(414) 384-8129
See national listing for more information.

SANE/Central Wisconsin
c/o Fred Dahm
1839 Michigan Ave.
Stevens Point, WI 54481
(715) 341-1316
See national listing for more information.

Fellowship of Reconciliation/ Dorea Peace Community
c/o Nancy Pegan Rice
RR 2, Box 161
Turtle Lake, WI 54889
See national listing for more information.

Citizens for Alternatives to Trident and ELF (CATE)
P.O. Box 364
Webster, WI 54893
(715) 866-8322
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: donations
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: upper Great Lakes
NEWSLETTER: monthly, donation requested
An education/action-oriented group focusing on nonviolent resistance to Trident and ELF. Sponsors vigils, leafleting, direct actions (including civil disobedience)

WYOMING

Casper Peace Alliance
P.O. Box 1535
Casper, WY 82602
(307) 237-1609
FUNDING: donations, fundraising
NO. OF MEMBERS: 30
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: city, state
NEWSLETTER: CPA Newsletter
Contributions are tax deductible. Educational organization upholding nonviolent principles and working against nuclear arms proliferation, particularly the MX.

Wyoming Church Coalition
1601 S. Melrose
Casper, WY 82601
(307) 234-2964
FOUNDED: 1937
FUNDING: denominations
NO. OF MEMBERS: 120,000
MEMBERSHIP: churches
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: WCC Newsletter
Contributions are tax deductible. This coalition of 9 churches plans and strategizes on common Christian concerns including peace, hunger, and criminal justice.

Wyoming Nuclear Weapons Freeze Coalition
104 S. 4th St., Room 205
Laramie, WY 82070
(307) 742-6522
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: subscriptions, donations, grants
MEMBERSHIP: open
RANGE: state
NEWSLETTER: Freeze Breeze (monthly, $5/yr)
Tax deductible contributions can be arranged. A network of local organizations advocating a Nuclear Freeze. Provides technical and organizing support to members in areas of issue research, fundraising, media, and educational programs. Coordinates statewide projects and events. See national listing for more information.

Sweetwater County Residents Against MX (SCRAM-X)
P.O. Box 2394
Rock Springs, WY 82902
(307) 362-1138
FOUNDED: 1983
FUNDING: donations, grants, events

NO. OF MEMBERS: 200
MEMBERSHIP: open
NEWSLETTER: Scramgram

A nonpartisan group working to block MX deployment, educate the general public to dangers of nuclear proliferation, and maintain dialog with political representatives on these issues. Composed of cross-section of community: blue-collar, educators, business people, housewives, students.

International Peace Groups

Women's Action Against Global Violence
P.O. Box K637
Haymarket, 2000
AUSTRALIA

Fraser Valley Peace Council
1570 Cory
White Rock, BC V4B 3J2
CANADA

Physicians for Social Responsibility
BC Chapter
Box 35426 Station E
Vancouver, BC V6M 3H5
CANADA

Vets for Nuclear Disarmament
953 Balmoral
Victoria, BC
CANADA

Women Against Nuclear Technology
P.O. Box 65673 Station F
Vancouver, BC V5N 5K7
CANADA

Nej til Atomvaben
Dronningensgade 14
1420 Copenhagen
DENMARK
01/548686

British Women's Peace Alliance
c/o Danielle Grunberg, Manor Farmhouse
Wembdon, Bridgewater
Somerset TA5 20B
ENGLAND
0278/422632

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND)
North American Working Group
c/o Bill Moyer
25 Tanza Road
London, NW3 2UA
ENGLAND
01/435-9802

Greenham Office
144 Caledonian Rd.
London N1
ENGLAND
01/226-6285

Greenham Women Against Cruise
5 Leonard St.
London EC2
ENGLAND
01/251-8046

People to People Appeal Project
238 Camden Road
London NW1
ENGLAND
01/435-9802

International Exchange Group
c/o Kurimoto
3-1-10 Tokugawa-yama-cho
Chikusadu, Nagoya 464
JAPAN

War Resisters International-Japan/Namazu
2-12-2 Asahimachi
Abeno, Osaka
JAPAN

Disarmament Campaigns
Dept. N, Box 18747
2502 ES The Hague
NETHERLANDS

Interchurch Peace Council
18-747 Postbus
2502 The Hague
NETHERLANDS
07/046-9756

International Fellowship of Reconciliation
Hof Van Sonoy 15-17
1811 LD Alkmaar
NETHERLANDS

Glasgow Women for Peace
57 Miller St.
Glasgow, G1
SCOTLAND

Scandinavian Women's Peace Initiative
c/o Steinertz
Kaptensgaten 15
114 57 Stockholm
SWEDEN
08/621825

People for Nuclear Disarmament
c/o Robin Hull
P.O. Box 350
Olverstone 7315
TASMANIA

U.S. Peace Committees in Europe
c/o Carol Bornhauser
Moosstrasse 19, 7981 Grunkraut be
Ravensburg
WEST GERMANY
030/321-4405

RESOURCES

BOOKS

A-Bomb: A City Tells Its Story. Compiled by Yoshiteru Kosakai. Hiroshima Peace Culture Center. Fourteen accounts of the bombing. Photos. 1972.

Accidental Nuclear War: The Growing Peril. Dean V. Babst, Alex Dely, David Kriegger, Robert Aldridge, David Morrison. Peace Research Institute, 25 Dundana Ave., Dundas, Ontario L9H 4E5, Canada; or Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, 233A E. Carillo St., Santa Barbara, CA 93101. $10.

Adventures of a Mathematician. Stanislaw Ulam. Scribner's. Memoir of the Manhattan Project; Ulam captures wartime cast of mind. 1976.

The Aftermath: The Human and Ecological Consequences of Nuclear War. AMO *Magazine. Magazine of the Royal Swedish Academy of Scientists undertook a wide-ranging study of the possible global consequences of nuclear war. 1983.*

Anarchy, State & Utopia. Robert Nozick. Basic Books. Argues that a minimal state is justified and more would violate personal rights. 1974.

The Anti-Nuclear Handbook. Stephen Croall. Pantheon. Details the risks in building nuclear plants and the dangers of nuclear waste; comic-book format. 1979.

The Anti-Nuclear Movement. Jerome Price. Twayne Publishers. History of the movement, how it grew to present size, and influence of subgroups. 1982.

Apocalypse: Nuclear Catastrophe in World Politics. Louis Rene Beres. University of Chicago Press. Contemplates the ways in which a nuclear war could start and depicts the consequences. 1982.

Armament and History. J.F.C. Fuller. Eyrie & Spottswoode. A professional soldier and military historian concluded that in 1946 nuclear weapons changed everything. 1946.

The Arms Race: Opposing Viewpoints. David L. Bender. Four to six viewpoints on each of four questions on the arms race. Greenhaven Press, 577 Shoreview Park, St. Paul, MN 55112.

The Art of War. Sun Tzu. Oxford Press. Chinese military thinker of the fourth century BC felt that to subdue the enemy without fighting was the acme of skill. 1963.

The Atomic Complex: A Worldwide Political History of Nuclear Energy. Bertrand Goldschmidt. American Nuclear Society. Explores use of the atom from first weapons to 1981 Israeli attack on an Iraqi reactor. 1982.

Atomic Energy and the Safety Controversy. Grace M. Ferrara. Surveys the domestic and international discussion over health and other hazards posed by nuclear energy. 1978.

A Barbara Deming Reader. Ed. Jane Meyerding. New Society Publishers. Barbara Deming's activism and writing span three decades; this selection of her essays and poetry traces the development of her thinking about feminism and nonviolence. 1984.

Barefoot General, Vol. I. Keiji Nakazawa. Project Gen. In vivid comic-book style, a description of the days before the bombing of Hiroshima, hardships of wartime life; a powerful indictment. 1978.

The Baroque Arsenal. Mary Kaldor. Farrar Straus Giroux. Asserts that modern arms are remote from military and economic reality. 1981.

Beyond the Nuclear Freeze. Robert F. Drinan. Seabury Press. Father Drinan discusses nuclear escalation and official policy, as well as moral and political opposition. 1983.

Bibliography of Japanese A-Bomb Literature. Ed. Wayne Lammers and Osamu Masaoka. Wilmington College Peace Resource Center. A 132-page, annotated bibliography of Japanese publications. 1977.

Blockade: A Guide to Nonviolent Intervention. Richard K. Taylor. Orbis Books. The story of a nonviolent campaign to stop U.S. arms shipments to Pakistan during the 1971 war with East Bengal. 1977.

The Bomb. Sidney Lens. Dutton. Traces steps leading to the atomic bomb, creation of complex weapons and delivery systems. 1982.

Butter Battle Book. Dr. Seuss. Random House. Satire on arms race features Zooks and Yooks whose quarrel about butter side up or down escalates. Ages 6-8. 1984.

The Causes of World War III. C. Wright Mills. Simon & Schuster. Examines the role of the intellectual during the Cold War. 1958.

Changing of the Guard: Power and Leadership in America. David Broder. Simon & Schuster. Argues that there is a generational division in formative American experiences. 1980.

Children and War: Political Socialization to International Conflict. Howard Tolleu. Teachers College Press. Good background reading for adults on how children's attitudes toward war are formed. 1973.

Children of Hiroshima. Arata Osada. Collection of firsthand accounts of people who were schoolchildren in Hiroshima. 1981.

Civil Defense in the Nuclear Age. Dr. Jennifer Leaning. Physicians for Social Responsibility. Monograph considering civil defense's role in strategic planning. 1982.

Civilian Resistance as a National Defense. Ed. Adam Roberts. Stackpole Books. A systematic study of civilian-based defense, with historical examples. 1967.

Clear and Present Dangers. M. Stanton Evans. Harcourt, Brace. Critique of liberal analysis and causes. 1975.

The Coming End of War. Werner Levi. Sage Library of Social Research. Proposes that future conflict will be carried out through the proxy of smaller nations. 1981.

Common Security: A Blueprint for Survival. Report from the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues. Proposes a nuclear-free Europe, nuclear arsenal reductions, and other strategies. 1982.

Conflict Resolution Modules for High School Students. Barbara Stanford et al. Learning Ventures/Bantam. Ten lessons on conflict resolution skills designed for small groups of students. 1977.

Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict. Joan Bondurant. University of California Press. Classic on Gandhian nonviolence. Revised edition 1965.

Conrad's War. Andrew Davies. Crown. Young boy's fantasies about war, killing, and guns. Ages 10-13. 1980.

Conventional Arms Restraint: An Unfulfilled Promise. Michael T. Klare and Max Holland. Institute for Policy Studies. A review of several aspects of current steps to reduce the amount and sophistication of weapons sold, reduce secrecy, improve Congressional oversight, and restrict sales of police and related equipment to authoritarian regimes abroad.

Cover Up: What You Are Not Supposed to Know About Nuclear Power. Karl Grossman. Second Chance Press. Single best- selling title for this publisher. 1982.

Countdown Zero. Thomas H. Saffer and Orville Kelly. Putnam. Examines exposure of military participation in U.S. nuclear weapons testing. 1982.

The Counterfeit Ark: Crisis Relocation for Nuclear War. Ed. Jennifer Leaning and Langley Keyes. Ballinger. Examines crisis relocation, government's plan for civil defense against nuclear attack. 1983.

The Counterforce Syndrome: A Guide to U.S. Nuclear Weapons and Strategic Doctrine. Robert C. Aldridge. Institute for Policy Studies. Identifies how "counterforce" has replaced "deterrence" as the Pentagon's prevailing doctrine, contrary to what most Americans believe.

Day Before Doomsday: An Anatomy of the Nuclear Arms Race. Sidney Lens. Beacon Press. Tells of the race for supremacy from Hiroshima through the present and criticizes American nuclear arms policy. 1978.

Days to Remember: An Account of the Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Hiroshima-Nagasaki Publishing Committee, Heiwa- kaikan, 1-4-9, Shiba, Minato-ku, Tokyo, 105 Japan. Powerful photographs of the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and survivors. 1981.

Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima. Dr. Robert Jay Lifton. Basic Books. Study of survivors of the attack. 1967.

Decision-Making in the White House, The Olive Branch or the Arrows. Theodore Sorenson. Columbia. Examines the extent and limits of presidential decision-making. 1963.

Decoding Corporate Camouflage: U.S. Business Support for Apartheid. Elizabeth Schmidt. Foreword by Congressman Ron Dellums. Institute for Policy Studies. Presents the case against corporate collaboration with institutional racism and government-sponsored violence in South Africa. $4.95. 1980.

Defense Dollars and Sense: A Common Cause Guide to the Defense Budget Process. Common Cause. $4.50. 1984.

Democracy in America. Alexis de Tocqueville. New American Library. Classic study of democratic government and society in America. 1956.

The Democratic Experience: Past & Prospects. Reinhold Neibuhr and Paul Sigmund. Praeger. History of democracy in the West. 1969.

Despair and Personal Power in the Nuclear Age. Joanna Rogers Macy. New Society Publishers. A book designed to help people move from "psychic numbing" to empowering personal and social action in confronting the nuclear menace. 1983.

Doubletalk: The Story of SALT I. Gerald Smith. Doubleday. Smith headed the SALT I delegation that negotiated the agreement with the Soviet Union, a three-year ordeal recounted in detail. 1980.

Doves and Diplomats: Foreign Offices and Peace Movements in Europe and America. Ed. Soloman Wank. Greenwood. Critical assessment of citizen peace efforts, lamenting lack of single- issue unity. 1978.

Dubious Specter: A Skeptical Look at the "Soviet Threat." Fred Kaplan. Institute for Policy Studies. A thorough exposition and analysis of the current U.S.-Soviet military balance. $4.95.

Dwell in Peace: Applying Nonviolence to Everyday Relationships. Ronald C. Arnett. Brethren Press. Book on interpersonal relations and communication, applying the principles of nonviolence to everyday life. 1980.

Educating for Peace and Justice. Kathleen and James McGinnis. Institute for Peace and Justice. Geared for teachers, but helpful for parents. 1981.

Effects and Dangers of Nuclear War. Wilmington College Peace Resource Center. Photos, statistics, charts, quotes, and text. 1982.

The Effects of Nuclear War. Osmun Allanheld. Office of Technology Assessment, U.S. Congress. Examines the social, economic, and physical effects of a nuclear war, including short- and long-term repercussions. 1980.

The Effects of Nuclear Weapons. Samuel Glasstone. U.S. Department of Defense. A detailed technical treatise, emphasizing what bombs do to things, not people. 1977.

Equity Issues in Radioactive Waste Management. Ed. Roger Kasperson and Robert Kates. Oelfgeschlager, Gunn & Hain. Analyzes major questions, identifying options and areas of public choice. 1982.

The Fate of the Earth. Jonathan Schell. Knopf. Reprint of a three-part New Yorker article; looks at the consequences of a major nuclear attack, examines the philosophical implications of the possibility of human extinction, and questions whether we have outgrown nationalism. 1982.

FERMI-1: New Age for Nuclear Power. Ed. E. Pauline Alexanderson and Harvey Wagner. American Nuclear Society. Documents beginning of nuclear power, atoms for peace years, and first functional nuclear power plant in U.S. 1979.

The Final Epidemic: Physicians and Scientists on Nuclear War. Ed. Ruth Adams and Susan Cullen. Various essays present medical consequences of a nuclear attack. 1982.

The First Nuclear World War. Patrick O'Heffernan, Amory Lovins, L. Hunter Lovins. The dream of a peaceful atom in service of humanity becomes a nightmare menacing peace and existence. 1983.

From Apes to Warlords. Solly Zuckerman. Harper & Row. Zuckerman, at the heart of the World War II controversy over bombing policy, claims that strategic bombing enthusiasts were on the run, until Hiroshima. 1978.

Future Fire: Weapons for the Apocalypse. Ann Marie Cunningham and Mariana Fitzpatrick. Print Project, Warner Books. How the new technology is leading us to war; a comprehensive guide to modern weaponry, including missiles, the neutron bomb, space weapons, chemical weapons, computerized warfare, and more. 1983.

Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In. Roger Fisher and William Dry. Penguin. Conflict resolution tool, guidelines for planning and conducting negotiations. 1983.

The Giants: Russia and America. Richard Barnet. Institute for Policy Studies. An authoritative, comprehensive account of the latest stage of the complex U.S.-Soviet relationship, how it came about, what has changed, and where it's headed. $4.95.

Give Me Water: Testimonies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Sixty pages of firsthand accounts, illustrated.

Grass Roots: An Anti-Nuke Sourcebook. Ed. Fred Wilcox. Crossing Press. Fifteen ways readers can combat the nuclear industry and a list of U.S. antinuclear groups. 1980.

Gravity's Rainbow. Thomas Pynchon. Viking. The title refers to the arc of a missile in flight. A serious attempt to examine what modern war does to us. The history of the next war, written in advance. 1973.

The Greatest Power on Earth: International Race for Nuclear Supremacy. Ronald Clark. Harper & Row. Explores interplay among science, politics, and technology in the development of nuclear power. 1981.

A Guidebook to Nuclear Reactors. Anthony V. Nero. University of California Press. Discusses basic reactor features, environmental interaction, and potential for accidents. 1979.

The Guns of August. Barbara Tuchman. Macmillan. Examines causes of World War I. 1960.

Handbook for Satyagrahis: A Manual for Volunteers of Total Revolution. Narayan Desai. New Society Publishers. India's foremost trainer in nonviolent action presents an integrated, practical approach to training for social change, growing out of the experience of the Gandhian movement.

Hiroshima. John Hersey. Knopf. Brilliant account of six survivors. 1946.

Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Physical, Medical and Social Effects of the Atomic Bombings. Report from the Committee on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs. Basic Books. Study of immediate and long-range effects of nuclear bombs on the victims. 1981.

Hiroshima No Pika. Toshi Maruki. Lothrop, Lee & Shepard. 'The Flash of Hiroshima," the true story of a little girl who survived. For elementary grades.

How to Research Your Local Military Contractor. Highlander, Rt. 3, Box 370, New Market, TN 37820. $3.

Human Debris. Lawrence White. Playboy Press. Documents occupational hazards faced by nuclear industry workers. 1982.

The Hundredth Monkey. Ken Keyes, Jr. Vision Books. Summarizes data on nuclear radiation and argues that a worldwide peace movement can reverse the arms race. 1982.

The Idea of Disarmament: Rethinking the Unthinkable. Alan Geyer. Brethren Press. Analyzes historical disarmament patterns and suggests options for the future. 1982.

In Place of War: An Inquiry into Nonviolent National Defense. Prepared by a working party of the American Friends Service Committee. Grossman Publishers. Examines the effectiveness of civilian-based nonviolent national defense. 1967.

In Search of Peace: Winners of the Nobel Peace Prize 1901- 1975. Ed. Edith Patterson Meyer. Abingdon. Information about the Nobel Peace Prize and its recipients. Ages 10-13. 1978.

In the Sky Over Nagasaki: A Peace Reader for Children. Nagasaki Prefecture Hibakusha Teachers Association. Translated by Cheryl Green Lammers. Story of what happened to the children of Nagasaki. 1983.

Innovations in Energy: The Story of Kerr-McGee. John Ezell. University of Oklahoma Press. History of the company's development of energy resources, including the Silkwood case. 1979.

Journey Home. Yoskiko Uchida. Atheneum. Japanese-American girl and her family begin again after release from American concentration camp. Ages 10-13. 1978.

Kennedy, Khrushchev and the Test Ban. Glenn T. Seaborg. University of California Press. The author's tenure as head of the Atomic Energy Commission and his involvement in the test ban treaty. 1981.

The Killing of Karen Silkwood: The Story Behind the Kerr-McGee Plutonium Case. Richard Rashke. Houghton Mifflin. Tells of the controversial contamination case ending when Silkwood was killed in a car crash. 1981.

Killing Our Own. Harvey Wasserman and Norman Solomon. Dell. Details dangers of both peaceful and military applications of atomic radiation. 1982.

Life After Nuclear War. Arthur M. Katz. Ballinger. Challenges the belief that it would be possible to recover from a nuclear war; examines the effect of a nuclear attack on society. 1982.

A Manual on Nonviolence and Children. Ed. Stephanie Judson. Foreword by Paula Paul, Educators for Social Responsibility. New Society Publishers. A wealth of techniques, observations, and insights on developing nonviolence in children. 1977.

The Military in Your Backyard: How to Determine the Impact of Military Spending in Your Community. Randy Schutt. Mid- Penninsula Conversion Project, 222C View St., Mountain View, CA 94041.

Moving Toward a New Society. Susanne Gowan, George Lakey et al. New Society Publishers. Analysis, vision, and strategy for a nonviolent revolutionary movement. 1976.

MX: Prescription for Disaster. Herbert Scoville. MIT Press. Provides a fine introduction to the current debate over strategic policy.

Myths and Realities of the "Soviet Threat': Proceedings of an IPS Conference on U.S.-Soviet Relations. Institute for Policy Studies. Distinguished experts explore the prospect for change in the USSR, define the role of the Soviet military in Eastern Europe, and assess the U.S.-Soviet military balance. $2.

Nagasaki 1945. Tatsuichiro Akizuki. Quartet Books. Eyewitness account by a doctor of the events after the bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, detailing medical problems following the attack. 1982.

National Defense. James Fallows. Random House. Outlines priorities to develop a reliable and affordable defense. 1981.

The New Generation of Nuclear Weapons. Stephen Daggett. Institute for Policy Studies. An updated summary of strategic weapons, including American and Soviet nuclear hardware. $2.

Nisei Daughter. Monica Itoi Sone. University of Washington Press. Personal account of a Japanese-American family's relocation during World War II. 1979.

No More Hiroshimas. James Kirkup. Kyoto Editions. A collection of antinuclear poems. 1982.

No Nukes: Everyone's Guide to Nuclear Power. Anna Gyorgy. South End Press. Describes inner workings of nuclear plants, rise of opposition to reactors; looks at alternatives. 1979.

Non-Nuclear Futures: The Case for an Ethical Strategy. Amory Lovins and John Price. Harper & Row. Discusses technical, ethical, social, and other considerations of energy development. 1980.

The Nuclear Age. Tim O'Brien. Delacorte/Seymour Lawrence. A comic novel spanning five decades of American life since the birth of the bomb. 1983.

The Nuclear Barons. Peter Pringle and James Spigleman. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. Looks at international elite of scientists, technocrats, and businessmen who control nuclear power. 1981.

Nuclear California. Ed. David E. Kaplan. Greenpeace. An anthology of reports on social and environmental impact of nuclear technology on California. 1982.

The Nuclear Catastrophe. Betty Pohnka and Barbara Griffin. Ashley Books. Novel. A minor earthquake jams controls of a California power plant, which then explodes. 1977.

Nuclear Culture: Living and Working in the World's Largest Atomic Complex. Paul Loeb. Coward, McCann & Geoghegan. Portrays people who live and work on Washington State Hanford Nuclear Reservation. 1982.

The Nuclear Delusion: Soviet-American Relations in the Atomic Age. George F. Kennan. Pantheon. Udpated edition of Kennan's critique of the nuclear arms race. 1983.

Nuclear Disarmament: Key Statements from the Vatican, Catholic Leaders in North America and Ecumenical Bodies. Ed. Robert J. Heyer. Paulist

Press. Collection of important church statements on the moral issue of disarmament. 1982.

Nuclear Energy: An Introduction to the Concepts, Systems, and Applications of Nuclear Processes. Raymond L. Murray. Pergamon Press. Covers the oil shortage, problems in the nuclear industry, and public opposition to it. 1980.

Nuclear Energy and the Environment. Essam El-Hinnawi. Pergamon Press. Assesses environmental impact of nuclear fuel cycle and effects on future development. 1980.

Nuclear Nightmares: An Investigation into Possible Wars. Nigel Calder. Penguin. Outlines the four most likely routes toward nuclear disaster and looks at what nuclear weaponry is and how it's supposed to work. 1981.

Nuclear Power. Walter C. Patterson. Penguin. Surveys the development of nuclear power and describes how it works. 1976.

Nuclear Power and Non-Proliferation: Remaking of U.S. Policy. Michael J. Brenner. Cambridge University Press. Discusses how U.S. has dealt with nuclear weapons proliferation since 1974. 1981.

Nuclear Power: Both Sides, the Best Arguments For and Against the Most Controversial Technology. Ed. Michio Kaku and Jennifer Trainer. Norton. Experts on both sides discuss radiation, waste disposal, reactor safety, and more. 1982.

Nuclear Power: From Physics to Politics. Laurence Pringle. Macmillan. Surveys history of nuclear power in the U.S.; for young adults. 1979.

Nuclear Power in Perspective. Eric Addinall and Henry Ellington. Nichols Publishing. Describes nuclear power and examines arguments for and against its use. 1981.

Nuclear Power: Technology on Trial. James J. Duderstaff and Chihiro Kikuchi. University of Michigan Press. Discusses issues in language designed for lay readers. 1979.

The Nuclear Question. Michael Mandelbaum. Cambridge Press. Examines development of American military strategy and arms limitation struggle in the USSR. 1979.

The Nuclear Question. Ann E. Weiss. Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich. Discusses the benefits, dangers, and developments; aimed at young adults. 1981.

Nuclear Radiation in Warfare. J. Rotblat. Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain. Looks at the biological effects of a nuclear war and discusses attacks on civilian power stations, terrorist activities, and warlike uses of nuclear radiation. 1961.

Nuclear Reactor Safety: On the History of the Regulatory Process. David Okrent. University of Wisconsin Press. History of the light water reactor safety. 1981.

The Nuclear Revolution: International Politics Before and After Hiroshima. Michael Mandelbaum. Looks at how nuclear weapons have affected alliances and strategies. 1981.

Nuclear Safety. Queen Mary College, Nuclear Engineering Department. Pergamon Press. Collection of articles on nuclear safety covering international cooperation and risk assessment. 1979.

Nuclear Stakes: Race to the Finish? Dervla Murphy. Ticknor & Fields. Irish travel writer explores the nuclear power industry. 1982.

Nuclear Strategy in a Dynamic World: American Policy in the 1980s. Donald Snow. University of Alabama Press. Analyzes nuclear systems and the stability and philosophy of the deterrence system. 1981.

Nuclear War and Disarmament. Educational Film Library, 43 W. 61st St., New York, NY 10023. Film guide listing 50 film titles.

Nuclear War: The Facts on Our Survival. Peter Goodwin. W.H. Smith. Discusses policies of deterrence, different types of nuclear weapons and their effects, pros and cons of shelter. 1981.

Nuclear War Prevention Kit. Center for Defense Information. Booklet filled with useful information on reversing the arms race. 1982.

Nuclear War: What's In It for You? Ground Zero. Pocket. Examines the history of weapons development, possible scenarios of nuclear war, and the consequences of a nuclear exchange. 1982.

Nuclear Witnesses: Insiders Speak Out. Leslie Freeman. Norton. Workers in the nuclear industry talk about health hazards and what led them to oppose their industry. 1982.

On Liberty. John Stuart Mill. Norton. Classic justification of individual liberty. 1975 edition.

On Thermonuclear War. Herman Kahn. Princeton Press. Still the best introduction to the if-we-do-this, they'll-do-that school of strategic analysis. 1960.

The Peace Book. Bernard Benson. Bantam. The parable of a small boy concerned about the danger of nuclear war. 1982.

Peace in Search of Makers. Ed. Jane Rockman. Judson Press. Compiles papers presented during Riverside convocation. 1979.

Peace March: Nagasaki to Hiroshima. Millen Brand. The Countryman Press. Story of the first Americans to walk in the annual Japanese peace march. 1980.

Peace, War, and the Christian Conscience. Joseph Fahey. The Christophers. Historical review of Christian approaches to war and peace. 1982.

Peacemaking: Family Activities for Peace and Justice. Jacqueline Haessly. Paulist Press. A mother committed to justice and peace in the home and in the world has many practical suggestions on nonviolence, especially creating an affirming and cooperative environment. 1980.

The People of Three Mile Island. Robert Del Tredici. Sierra Club. Photos and text explore the personal experiences. 1980.

Political Oppositions in Western Democracies. Ed. Robert Dahl. Yale. Study of functions of political opposition. 1968.

The Politics of Nonviolent Action. Gene Sharp. Porter Sargent. A classic in three volumes. 1973.

Power and Politics and the U.S. G. David Garson. Heath. Presentation of elitist-pluralist debate about American decision- making. 1977.

The Power Structure: Political Process in American Society. Arnold Rose. Oxford. Study of American political processes, influence of pressure groups, power of voluntary organization. 1967.

Progress in Arms Control? Readings from Scientific American. Introductions by Bruce M. Russett and Bruce G. Blair. W.H. Freeman. Examines arms control problems in context of international relations, foreign policy, and national security. 1979.

Protest and Survive. Ed. E.P. Thompson and Dan Smith. Monthly Review Press. Contains an appeal to Americans and a plan for nuclear-free Europe. 1981.

Radiation and Human Health. Dr. John W. Gofman. Sierra Club. Studies on the effects on humans, saying there is no safe level of radiation. 1981.

Radiation: Waves & Particles/Benefits & Risks. Laurence Pringle. Enslow Publishers. Risk of low-level radiation, causes of genetic damage and cancer. 1982.

Radioactive Waste from Nuclear Power Plants. Thomas B. Johansson and Peter Steen. University of California Press. Looks at Sweden's 1980 decision to close down all existing nuclear plants by 2010. 1981.

Radwaste: A Reporter's Investigation of a Growing Nuclear Menace. Fred Shapiro. Random House. Possibilities for a permanent containment of nuclear wastes. 1982.

Readings for the Atomic Age. David Hoffman. Globe Books. High-school textbook about the early atomic era. 1950.

A Repertoire of Peacemaking Skills. Susan Carpenter. COPRED. Peacemaking skills and suggestions for putting them into practice. 1977.

Resource Manual for a Living Revolution. Virginia Coover, Ellen Deacon, Charles Esser, Christopher Moore. New Society Publishers. Contains hundreds of practical tools for education, organizing, and political action. 1983.

Resurgent Militarism. Michael T. Klare and the Bay Area Chapter of the Inter-University Community. Institute for Policy Studies. An analysis of the origins and consequences of the growing militaristic fervor; examines the changing U.S. strategic position since Vietnam and the political and economic forces that underlie the new upsurge in militarism. $2.

Reweaving the Web of Life: Feminism and Nonviolence. Ed. Pam McAllister. New Society Publishers. Fifty contributors celebrate women and nonviolent struggle. 1984.

The Rise and Fall of the "Soviet Threat': Domestic Sources of the Cold War Consensus. Alan Wolfe. Institute for Policy Studies. Contends that recurring features of American domestic politics periodically coalesce to spur anti-Soviet sentiment, contributing to increased tensions and dangerous confrontations. $4.95.

Russian Roulette: The Superpower Game. Arthur Maxy Cox. Times Books. Former State Department and CIA member looks at the danger of accidental nuclear war. 1982.

Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes. Eleanor Coerr. Dell. Based on the true story of Sadako Sasaki, age 2 when the bomb hit Hiroshima; ten years later she died of leukemia as a result of radiation. Today she is a heroine to the children of Japan. 1979.

Sanity and Survival in the Nuclear Age: Psychological Aspects of War and Peace. Dr. Jerome D. Frank. Random House. Psychosocial determinants of why people and nations fight. 1982.

Science, Politics and Controversy: Civilian Nuclear Power in the U.S. Steven Del Sesto. Westview Press. Evolution of civilian nuclear power and the commercialization of nuclear energy. 1979.

A Scientist at the White House. George Kistiakowsky. Harvard Press. Eisenhower's science advisor during last years of his administration; a fascinating diary. 1976.

SIOP: Secret U.S. Plan for Nuclear War. Peter Pringle and William Arkin. Norton. First comprehensive look at the Single Integrated Operation Plan, official U.S. plan since 1960 for waging nuclear war on Russia. 1983.

Social Power and Political Freedom. Gene Sharp. Porter Sargent. Essays in nonviolence theory. 1980.

Solar vs. Nuclear: Choosing Energy Futures. Secretariat for Future Studies, Sweden. Pergamon Press. Examines the prospects for replacing fossil fuels. 1980.

The Soviet Estimate. John Prados. Dial. What we knew about Soviet military programs and when we knew it. 1982.

Stop Nuclear War: A Handbook. David Barash and Judith Lipton. Grove. Demystifies the arms race and its terminology, theory, and rhetoric. 1982.

Strategic Thought in the Nuclear Age. Ed. Laurence Martin. John Hopkins University Press. Experts examine aspects of strategy and defense. 1981.

Strategy for a Living Revolution. George Lakey. New Society Publishers. Comprehensive discussion of nonviolent strategic approaches to building the new society. Revised edition 1985.

Studies in Nuclear Terrorism. Ed. Martin Greenberg and Augustus Norton. University Books. Essays analyzing terrorism on national and international levels. 1979.

Summer Cloud: A-Bomb Experience of a Girls' School in Hiroshima. Ed. English Department, Hiroshima Jogakuin High School. Twelve teachers and 320 girls were killed in the attack. Accounts by students, parents, and teachers and a brief history of the war and beginning of the peace movement.

Survival and Peace in the Nuclear Age. Laurence Beilenson. Regnery Gateway. Uses lessons of history to offer a plan for U.S. military preparedness and civil defense. 1980.

The Swedish Public and Nuclear Energy: The Referendum 1980. UN University. Studies the Swedish referendum in light of party politics and public opinion. 1980.

Talking to Children About Nuclear War. William and Mary Van Ornum. Scribner. Based on hundreds of interviews, it provides a realistic guideline for parents and children to discuss the issue openly. 1984.

There Are Alternatives! Four Roads to Peace and Security. Johan Galtung. Dufour Editions, Box 449, Chester, PA 19425. $10.95.

This Is the Way the World Will End. Harold Freeman. Schenkman. Drawing on government reports, a concise, factual primer on nuclear war and the arms race. 1982.

Three Mile Island. Mark Stephens. Random House. Stephens served on the presidential commission that investigated the accident. 1981.

The Three Mile Island Nuclear Accident: Lessons and Implications. Ed. Thomas Moss and David Sills. New York Academy of Sciences. Describes the accident, explores questions of environmental contamination and society's reaction. 1981.

Three Mile Island: Thirty Minutes to Meltdown. Daniel Ford. Penguin. Explains how the accident happened, how it was handled, and what these events mean for nuclear power. 1982.

Time Bomb: Understanding the Threat of Nuclear Power. Corinne Browne and Robert Munroe. Says that the threat of nuclear disaster is real and must be fought. 1981.

To End War: The Study of the National Council for the Prevention of War. Frederick Libby. Fellowship. Executive Secretary describes the efforts of his organization to mobilize volunteer peace movement.

Toward World Security: A Program for Disarmament. Earl C. Ravenal. Institute for Policy Studies. Argues that in light of destabilizing new strategic weapons systems and increasing regional conflicts that could involve the superpowers, the U.S. should take independent steps toward disarmament by not deploying new "counterforce" weapons, pledging no first use of nuclear weapons, and following a noninterventionist foreign policy. $2.

Transitional Energy Policy 1980-2030: Alternative Nuclear Technologies. Hugh B. Stewart. Pergamon Press. Contends that traditional nuclear planning is inappropriate to the world's energy requirements. 1981.

Try This: Family Adventures Toward Shalom. Discipleship Resources. Themes of social action, prayer, and stewardship. Valuable for use in a group setting. 1979.

Voices from 3-Mile Island, The People Speak Out. Robert Leppzer. Crossing Press. Personal accounts of people within a five-mile radius of the plant differ from reports of the NRC. 1980.

Waging Peace: A Handbook for the Struggle to Abolish Nuclear Weapons. Ed. Jim Wallis. Harper & Row. Guidebook for action that includes U.S. and Canadian resources.

The War Machine: The Case Against the Arms Race. James Avery Joyce. Avon/Discus. Calls U.S. policy of nuclear deterrence "a criminal exercise in military suicide" and argues for an end to the arms race. 1982.

The Warning: Accident at Three Mile Island. Mike Gray and Ira Rosen. Norton. Step-by-step account of what happened before, during, and after the accident. 1982.

Watermelons, Not War. Kate Cloud, Ellie Deegan et al. New Society Publishers. Discusses hopes and fears of children and parents in the nuclear age. 1984.

What Kinds of Guns Are They Buying for Your Butter? A Beginner's Guide to Defense, Weaponry and Military Spending. Sheila Tobias, Peter Goudinoff, Stefan Leader, Shelah Leader. Morrow. Primer for the intelligent but uninformed reader on complex issues. 1982.

What Will It Take to Prevent Nuclear War? Ed. Pat Farren. Schenkman Publishing. Grassroots responses to our most challenging questions. 1983.

When Sirens Scream. Robert Rubinstein. Dodd, Mead. Novel. A teenage boy whose father is state representative is caught up in problems caused by a power plant nearby. For young adults. 1981.

When the Winds Blow. Raymond Briggs. Schocken. Cartoon- strip format. Middle-aged couple survive nuclear blast, then die of radiation poisoning. 1982.

Who Killed Karen Silkwood? Howard Kohn. Summit Books. Documents Silkwood's efforts to expose violations at the Kerr- McGee plant and the investigation surrounding her death. 1981.

Who Rules America? G. William Domhoff. Prentice-Hall. Study of elitism in class structure struggle.

Winding Down: The Price of Defense. Boston Study Group. Freeman. Assessment by an informal group of scientists and students of defense capability, needs, and budgets. 1982.

The Winning Weapon: The Atomic Bomb in the Cold War. Gregg Harkin. Knopf. Examines how diplomats tried and failed to make U.S. nuclear monopoly work in negotiating with the USSR. 1980.

With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush and Nuclear War. Robert Scheer. Random House. Powerful indictment of the U.S. obsession with the Red menace and nuclear brinkmanship. Shows commitment of Reagan administration to a strategy of confrontation: "With enough shovels to go around, everybody's going to make it." 1982.

World Armaments and Disarmament: The SIPRI Yearbook 1981. Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. Oelgeschlager, Gunn & Hain. Describes quantitative and qualitative changes in the world's armaments; analyzes efforts to control buildup. 1981.

A World Destroyed: The Atomic Bomb and the Grand Alliance. Martin J. Sherwin. Knopf. Discusses diplomatic and military roles of the bomb in World War II. 1975.

Worlds Within Worlds: The Story of Nuclear Energy. Isaac Asimov. International Scholarly Book Services. Explains scientific concepts of nuclear reactions to the lay reader. 1980.

DIRECTORIES

American Peace Directory. Ed. Melinda Fine and Peter Steven. Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies. Ballinger. Lists more than 1,350 peace groups in the U.S. $12.95. 1984.

A Directory of Canadian Peace Organizations with International Concerns. Mennonite Central Committee, 1483 Pembina Highway, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3T 2C7, Canada.

A Directory of Small Groups Seeking Peace. Compiled by Pax Dei and World Peacemakers. Small grassroots groups concerned with war and peace, related social issues. 1984.

The Disarmament Directory. Resource Center for Nonviolence and Harbinger Communications. $11.50. 1984.

LA Peace Directory: A Guide to Peace Groups in the Greater Los Angeles Area. LA Peace Directory, 1452 Sixth St., Suite 203, Santa Monica, CA 90401. $2. 1984.

Michigan Peace and Justice Directory. Michigan Peace Network. 205 W. Saginaw, Lansing, MI 48933. $6.

Washington's Window on the World: A Directory of World Affairs Organizations and Institutions in Washington State. World Without War Council, 1514 NE 45th St., Seattle, WA 98105. 1982.

PERIODICALS

Alternatives Quarterly. Institute for World Order, 777 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017.

Alternatives: An Alternate Lifestyle Newsletter. Alternatives, Box 1707, Forest Park, GA 30050. A continuous aid and reminder about ways to make voluntary simplicity a way of life. $5/yr.

Armageddon: The Civil Defense Fraud. Milton Terris, Beverlee Myers, Stuart Shapiro. *Journal of Public Health Policy*. 1982. Available from Physicians for Social Responsibility.

Arms Control Today. Arms Control Association 11 Dupont Circle NW, Washington, DC 20036. Monthly, $20/yr.

Bows and Arrows: A Newsletter for Family Enrichment. Interpersonal Communication Services, 7052 W. Lane, Eden, NY 10457. Eight-page newsletter on aspects of promoting nonviolence in the home.

Bulletin of Peace Proposals. Box 258, Irvington-on-Hudson, NY 10544. $20/yr

Chriscian Peace Conference Quarterly. Christian Peace Conference, Jungmannova 9, 111 21 Praha 1, Czechoslavakia.

Current Research on Peace and Violence. Tampere Peace Research Institute, Tammelanpiostokatu 588, Tampere, Finland. $12.50/yr.

Defence Monitor. Center for Defense Information, 122 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, DC 20002. $15/yr.

Disarmament Times. 777 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017.

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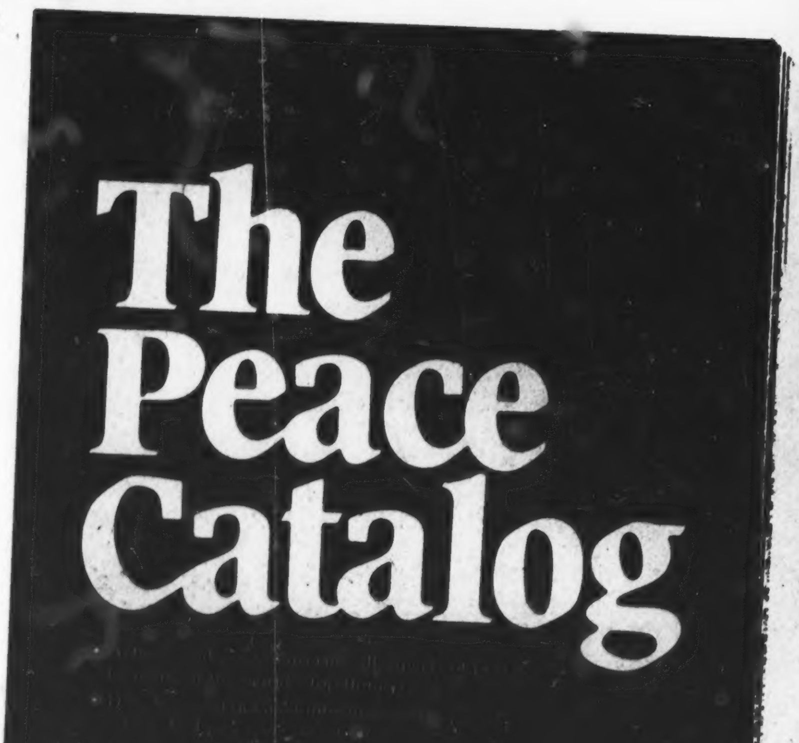

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Educators for Social Responsibility Forum. 23 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138.

END Bulletin. European Nuclear Disarmament Campaign, 6 Endsleigh, London WC1H ODX, England.

Global Report: Progress Toward a World of Peace with Justice. Center for War-Peace Studies, 218 E. 18th St., New York, NY 10003. $15/yr.

Harvest of Justice. Gaudete Peace and Justice Center, 634 Spruce St., Madison, WI 53715.

Heartland. Box 3445, Jackson, WY 83001. Coverage of peace activities in the west.

Journal of Peace Research. International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Norway. $24/yr.

Journal of Peace Science. Department of Peace Science, 3718 Locust St., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA 19174.

Nuclear Resister. Box 37, Tempe, AZ 85281. $10/yr.

Nuclear Times. 298 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10001.

Only You Can Prevent Nuclear War. Common Cause, 2030 M St. NW, Washington, DC 20036. Common Cause supplement.

Pax et Libertas. Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1 Rue de Varembe, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland. Quarterly.

Peace Action News. Nonviolent Alternatives Service Network, Kerkstr. 150, B-2000 Antwerp, Belgium.

Peace and Change. Center for Peaceful Change, Kent State, Kent, OH 44242. $12/yr.

Peace and the Sciences. International Institute for Peace, Moellwaldplatz 5, A-1040 Vienna, Austria.

Peace Press Monthly. International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace. See *END Bulletin.*

Peace Research Abstracts Journal. Peace Research Institute, 25 Dundana Ave., Dundas, Ontario L9H 4E5, Canada.

Peace Science Society Papers. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA 19174. $6/yr.

The Peacemakers. Box 627, Gaberville, CA 95440. $6/yr.

Physicians for Social Responsibility Newsletter. 639 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02139.

Plowshare Press. Mid-Penninsula Conversion Project, 222C View St., Mountain View, CA 94041.

Programs for Surviving Nuclear War: A Critique. Supplement to *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists,* June 1983. Available from Physicians for Social Responsibility.

SANE World. SANE, 711 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003.

Sojourners Magazine. Sojourners, P.O. Box 29272, Washington, DC 20017. Monthly, $15/yr.

Trendline. Business Executives for National Security, 21 Dupont Circle NW, Washington, DC 20036.

Veda News. Box 802, Bandon, OR 97411. Nuclear newsletter.

War Resisters International Newsletter. War Resisters International, 55 Dawes St., London SE17 1EL, England.

World Jurist, Law and Computer Technology. World Peace through Law Center, 400 Hills Bldg., Washington, DC 20006. Bimonthly.

World Press Review. Dept. TMEN, Box 915, Farmingdale, NY 11737.

Akwesasne Notes. Mohawk Nation, Rooseveltown, NY 13683. News/journalism on indigenous people worldwide, peace, and self-sufficiency. 32 pp. $8/yr.

AUDIOVISUAL RESOURCES

Slide Shows and Films

A-Bomb Survivors Recollect. 45 slides, color & B/W, 15-min. cassette tape, script. Hiroshima Appeal Committee, 1975. Drawings done by A-bomb survivors prompted by a TV documentary in 1974. When questioned why they drew pictures, many testified it helped relieve their anguish and would lead others to understand the truth of nuclear war. Rental $5.

Acceptable Risk: The Nuclear Age in the U.S. 160 color slides, 36-min cassette, script, study/action guide. NARMIC, American Friends Service Committee, 1981. Overview of the nuclear fuel cycle, its dangers, and alternatives. Rental $5.

Active Nonviolence: A Possible Alternative for Resolving Conflict. 140 color slides, 27-min. cassette, script. Larry Gara, 1983. Widely used resource with examples of active nonviolence. Rental $5.

Alternatives to Violence Video Forum. 3/4-in. videotape, color, 60 min. University City Science Center, 1982. New understandings of the power of nonviolence. Alternative methods. Panel discussions. Rental $10.

And Another Family for Peace. 16mm, B/W, 25 min. Another Mother for Peace, 1972. From Vietnam era, but timeless. Five families hurt by the war in different ways. Rental $10.

Are You a Conscientious Objector? Resisting War in the 80s. 108 color slides, 17-min. cassette, script. Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, 1981. Concepts of war resistance, conscientious objection, and the draft. Rental $5.

The Atomic Cafe. Produced by the Archives Project, directed by Kevin and Pierce Rafferty and Jayne Loader. A funny and frightening look at the "duck and cover" days of the atomic age. New Yorker Films, 16 W. 61st St., New York, NY 10023.

Beyond War: A New Way of Thinking. 1/2-in. VHS videotape, color, 22 min. Creative Initiative, 1983. Uses brief statements from interviews to explore why war has become obsolete as a means of resolving conflict. Rental $10.

The Big If. 16mm color film, 9 min. UN Films, 1981. Colorful animated film poses question what would happen if we turned our tanks into tractors, etc. A children's fantasy on serious questions.

The Biology of Nuclear War. Filmstrip with cassette and teachers' manual, slide show with cassette, 79 frames, 21-min. narration. Study Group of Harvard University. Documents the effects of nuclear war; photographs, paintings. Quality of life and problems after an attack are discussed. Carolina Biological Supply Company, 2700 York Rd. Burlington, NC 27215.

Bombs Will Make the Rainbow Break. 17 min. Public Media, Inc. Dramatizes through children's artwork the impact of growing up in a nuclear world. Rental $45.

Booom. 16mm color film, 11 min. UN Films, 1979. Animated look at history of aggression and theory that might makes right.

Children of the A-Bomb. 3/4-in. videotape cassette, B/W, 93 min. Japanese dialog with English subtitles. Effect of the bomb on people of Hiroshima seen through the eyes of a young schoolteacher. Winner of 1955 UN Award. Rental $20.

Christian Parenting for Peace and Justice: Families in Search of Shalom. 100-frame, 10-min. filmstrip, music, visuals, and text. 1981. Presents the biblical vision underlying "parenting for peace and justice" and introduces themes in the book. Rental $25.

Clouds of Doubt. 3/4-in. videotape, 50 min. KUTV, Salt Lake City, 1979. Story of Nevada atomic bomb tests in 1950s and 1960s. Focuses on government suppression of information on medical consequences, interviews with residents and veterans.

Creating the Future. 80 color slides, 20-min. cassette, script. COPRED, 1977. What is being done nationally in peace education. Rental $5.

Dark Circle. Produced by Judy Irving and Ruth Landy; directed by Judy Irving and Chris Beaver. Juxtaposes footage of an arms bazaar with the stories of radiation victims, Hiroshima survivors, and activists at the Rocky Flats nuclear arsenal. Independent Documentary Group, 394 Elizabeth St., San Francisco, CA 94114.

Day After Trinity: J. Robert Oppenheimer and the Atomic Bomb. 16mm color film, 90 min. Pyramid Films, 1981. Profile of Oppenheimer focusing on events leading up to first bomb test at Trinity site in New Mexico.

Decision to Drop the Bomb. 16mm B/W, 35 min. NBC-TV, 1975. Documentary covering April 12-August 6, 1945. Probes events leading to the actual decision. Rental $20.

Don't Let the Draft Blow You Away. 1/2-in. VHS videotape, 40 min. Selective Service Law Panel of Los Angeles, 1982. Aimed at draft-age men and their families. Interviews with Ellsberg, Dellums, and others. An alternative to the government position on the draft. Rental $15.

Eight Minutes to Midnight. 16mm color film, 60 min. Direct Cinema, 1981. Documentary portrait of Helen Caldicott.

Every Heart Beats True. 140-frame color filmstrip, 20-min. cassette, script. Packard Manse Media Project. The history of Christian refusal to bear arms. Rental $5.

Fail Safe. Direct Cinema. After a computer error launches nuclear attack, the heads of both nations struggle to save the world.

From Southern Barbarians to the Atomic Bomb: Testimony from Nagasaki. 84 color slides, 20-min. cassette, script. Nagasaki UNESCO Association. Traces religious and cultural history of Nagasaki from the 14th century to the present. Rental $5.

Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Harvest of Nuclear War. 16mm color and B/W film, 46 min. Hiroshima and Nagasaki Cities, 1982. Documentary footage immediately after the bombings by Japanese photographers, juxtaposed with contemporary scenes and interviews with survivors. Rental $20.

Hiroshima Decision: Was the Use of the A-Bomb Necessary? Color filmstrip, 19-min. LP record, 10 photo aids, teachers' guide. Arguments for and against the use of bombs by leaders of the time and historians. Rental $5.

Hiroshima: Document of Atomic Bomb Dropping. 60 slides, color and B/W, script. Hiroshima Appeal Committee. Documentary record of the total destruction of Hiroshima and effect on survivors. Rental $5.

Hiroshima: Document of Atomic Bombing. 16mm, B/W with color, 30 min. Produced in Japan, 1980. Film footage shot by an official team of Japanese photographers following the bomb, confiscated by U.S. occupation authorities and classified secret until 1965. Rental $20.

Hiroshima/Nagasaki, August 1945. 16mm, B/W, 16 min. Columbia University, 1980. Documentary film, stark portrayal of atomic destruction. Rental $15.

Hiroshima: The People's Legacy. 16mm, color, 45 min. Japanese soundtrack, English cassette. Documentary using drawings by survivors, as well as personal stories. Rental $20.

The Hole. 16mm color film, 15 min. Films Inc., 1962. Animated film countering the common tendency to ignore the possibility of nuclear war.

How Much Is Enough? Decision Making in the Nuclear Age. 16mm. Ties the arms race to concrete decisions made by specific individuals in the development of the race. Docu- America Films, P.O. Box 315, Franklin Lakes, NJ 07417. Rental $85.

How Well We Meant: Recollections of Nuclear Pioneers. 1/2- in. VHS color videotape, 28 min. Immediate Family Productions, 1983. Documentary coverage of the 40th anniversary in Los Alamos of nuclear pioneer scientists. Film clips from government files. Rental $10.

I Hope They Don't Bomb My Lily Pad. 6-min. color filmstrip. United Presbyterian Church. Children's drawings about peace. Sound tape has readings from Scripture and songs. Rental $5.

If You Love This Planet. Documentary from Helen Caldicott that warns us that time is running out.

In the Minds of Men. 29 min. Public Media, Inc. War victims' suffering through the eyes of children. Rental $55.

In the Nuclear Shadow: What Can the Children Tell Us? 16mm and 1/2-in. VHS videotape, color, 25 min. Impact Productions, 1983. Documentary with young people 7-17 talking about war, their hopes and fears. Rental: film $20, tape $10.

In Our Backyards: Uranium Mining in the U.S. 16mm color film, 29 min. Eleventh Hour Films, 1982. Explores the impact of mining uranium on the environment and health of workers.

John, Mary, MIRV and MARV: The Arms Race and the Human Race. 100 color slides, 15-min. cassette, script. Operation Turning Point, 1979. Outstanding look at the insanity of trying to be number one in the arms race. Rental $5.

The Last Epidemic: Medical Consequences of Nuclear Weapons and Nuclear War. 16mm, color, 36 min. Physicians for Social Responsibility, 1981. A stark symposium laying out the unimaginable consequences of nuclear war. Rental $20.

Lessons of Peace from Hiroshima and Nagasaki. 80 color slides, 35-min. cassette, script. Father Jack Wintz, OFM. A look at Hiroshima today, basic facts of the bombing. Rental $5.

Let's Make the World a Nuclear Free Zone. 16 color slides, script. Nuclear Free Zone Registry, 1983. Read-along script packed with information. Rental $5.

Lost Generation. 16mm color, 20 min. U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey film of the Hiroshima/Nagasaki devastation. Rental $15.

Lovejoy's Nuclear War. 16mm color, 60 min. Green Mountain Post Films, 1975. Documentary about a protest against nuclear power that succeeded. Rental $20.

MAD (Mutual Assured Destruction): The Psychology of Nuclear Armament. 87 color slides, 17-min. cassette, script. Brown University, 1982. Robert Jay Lifton, Jerome Frank, and Joanna Rogers Macy discuss psychic numbing and other aspects of the arms race. Rental $5.

The March for Disarmament: June 12, 1982. 3/4-in. videotape, color, 28 min. Uplifting documentary of the march. Rental $10.

Marshall Islands: America's Radioactive Trust. 25-min. slide show. Micronesia Support Committee. Examines the legacy of the U.S. nuclear testing in the Marshall Islands, 1946-1963.

Nagasaki Appeals. 35 slides, color, cassette. Japan, 1977. Paintings by A-bomb survivors, 1945 photos, peace movement in modern Japan. Rental $5.

Nagasaki: Collection of Atomic Bomb Slides. 58 color and B/W slides, script. Nagasaki Appeal Committee. Photos of present-day Nagasaki, documentary record of the bombing, effects on survivors. Rental $5.

NARS Slide Show. 65 color slides, script, background material. National Association of Radiation Survivors informational slide show on radiation victims: miners, lab workers, atomic vets, and others. Rental $5.

No Frames, No Boundaries. 1/2-in. videotape, color, 21 min. Creative Initiative, 1982. Frames of reference and manmade boundaries between nations, caring for the planet. Rental $10.

No Place to Hide. Produced and directed by Tom Johnson and Lance Bird. Growing up in the Cold War years, when fallout shelters and school desks meant safety. Direct Cinema Limited, P.O. Box 315, Franklin Lakes, NJ 07417.

Nuclear Nightmares. 16mm color film, 90 min. Corinth Films, 1980. Examination of possible scenarios for nuclear holocaust. Originally filmed for the BBC.

Nuclear War: The Incurable Disease. Historic meeting of members of the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War in the Soviet Union. Public Media, Inc., 119 W. 57th St., New York, NY 10019. Rental $90.

On the Beach. Direct Cinema. A group of Australians awaits the effects of a nuclear war that has destroyed the rest of the world.

Parenting for Peace and Justice. Series of five 60-min. cassettes recorded live. 1980. Each 30-min. presentation is followed by questions about principles and examples for single- parent families, families with teenagers, families with very young children. $25 set.

Paul Jacobs and the Nuclear Gang. 16mm color film, 60 min. New Time Films, 1979. Exposes the government's attempts to suppress information about hazards of low-level radiation.

The People Can Stop the Nuclear Arms Race. 80 color slides, 15-min. cassette, script. Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 1983. Introduction to the freeze concept, overview of the movement, ideas for organizing. Rental $5.

Prescription for Survival. Produced and directed by Anita Casalina and Linda Sanderson. Documents the physicians' movement in the U.S. against nuclear war and how that has affected individuals' work and personal lives. Envisage Productions, 307 Shotwell St., San Francisco, CA 94110.

Puhi Pau (Blown Away . . . Burned Up). 3/4-in. color videotape, 29 min. Physicians for Social Responsibility, 1982. PSR/Hawaii physicians explain the results of Pearl Harbor. Rental $10.

The Race Nobody Wins. 80 color slides, 15-min. cassette, script, teachers' guide. SANE, 1981. Examines international arms race and its economic consequences. Rental $5.

Race to Oblivion. 16mm, color, 49 min. Physicians for Social Responsibility. Burt Lancaster's interview with Shigeko Sasamori, Hiroshima survivor, interwoven with information from experts on the effects of nuclear war on the body and psyche. Rental $25.

Remembering Hiroshima and Nagasaki. 78 color slides, cassette, script. Ed. John Boyle. Slides using drawings by survivors with accompanying text. Rental $5.

Rights of the Child. 40 color slides, cassette, script. UNICEF. Focuses on the rights of the child and the efforts of UNICEF. Teachers' guide considers concept of rights. Rental $5.

Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes. 59 color slides, 25- min. cassette, script. Narrated by Wilmington storyteller Jeanne Liggett. An atomic bomb audiovisual for older elementary children. From Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes by Eleanor Coerr, Putnam, 1977. Rental $5.

The Selling of the Pentagon. 16mm B/W film, 52 min. Produced by Peter Davis for CBS News, 1971. United Church of Christ Films. Examines the Pentagon's public relations activities in terms of where our taxes go.

Sentenced to Success. 16mm color film, 60 min. Green Mountain Post Films, 1977. French with English subtitles. Occupational environmental hazards at La Hague nuclear processing plant on the coast of France.

Sharing Global Resources: Toward a New Economic Order. 155 color slides, 35-min. cassette, script, study guide. NARMIC, 1977. Third World questioning of global economic order, focusing on Chile and Jamaica. Rental $5.

Stop vs. Start: A Slide Show About Stopping the Nuclear Arms Race. 80 color slides, 25-min. cassette, script. Nuclear War Education Project, 1983. Clear presentation on the U.S. and USSR nuclear arsenals and the danger they present. Rental $5.

Strategies for Survival. Produced and directed by David Brown. Scheduled for PBS, this film addresses the issues surrounding the nuclear freeze, disarmament, and U.S. and NATO policies. Energon Films, 2114 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco, CA 94118.

Survivors. Produced by Frances Politeo and Steven Okazaki, directed by Steven Okazaki. Depicts the physical, emotional, and financial hardships endured by Japanese survivors of the A-bomb now living in the U.S. Survivors Film Project, Japanese American Citizens League, 1765 Sutter St., San Francisco, CA 94115.

Taking Charge: The Struggle for Economic Justice. Color slides, 27-min. cassette, script. NARMIC, 1983. Introduction to issues and institutions that affect economic justice in the Third World. Rental $5.

There's a Nuclear War Going on Inside Me. 21-min. videotape. Overview of a joint classroom project concerning student reactions. Educators for Social Responsibility. Rental $25.

Thinking Twice About Nuclear War. 3/4-in. color videotape, 30 min. Skye Pictures, 1981. Middle-class American family coming to grips with the realities of the arms race and personal security.

A Thousand Cranes. 16mm, B/W, 25 min. Produced by Betty Jean Lifton, 1962. Children of Hiroshima and their families, ways in which the bomb affected their lives. Rental $20.

The Threat of Nuclear War. 60 color slides, 21-min. cassette, script. Union of Concerned Scientists, 1981. Introduction to discussion of nuclear war. Rental $5.

Under the Mushroom Cloud. 74 color slides, 22-min. cassette, script. Nuclear War Education Project,

1983. Introduction to community crisis relocation plans. Rental $5.

Unforgettable Fire. 49 color and B/W slides, 16-min. cassette, script. Maine Peace Action Committee. Same slides as *A-Bomb Survivors Recollect*, with a revised cassette and script. Rental $5.

U.S. vs. USSR: Who's Ahead? 1/2-in. VHS color videotape cassette, 28 min. Arms Race Education Project (Fund for Peace). Narrated by Martin Sheen. Reagan gives his views; they are countered by renowned military and intelligence experts. Rental $10.

The War Game. 16mm B/W, 50 min. Films Inc., 1965. What would happen if your community were the target of nuclear attack? Classic film offers convincing fictional enactment of holocaust.

War Without Winners. 16mm color, 27 min. Center for Defense Information, 1979. Information on the arms race and the horror of nuclear war, interviews with U.S. and Soviet citizens. Rental $10.

War Without Winners. 16mm color, 27 min. Center for Defense Information, 1983. An appeal to reason. Rental $20.

What Would Happen If a One-Megaton Bomb Were Exploded on Lancaster? 52 color slides, 14-min. cassette, script. Youth group of Lancaster Friends Meeting, 1982. Planned, photographed, and developed by the youth group. Rental $5.

Which Way the Wind? 16mm B/W, 29 min. American Friends Service Committee, 1962. Docudrama film deals with the historic and contemporary problem of making peace. Stars James Whitmore. Rental $10.

Who's In Charge Here? 16mm color, 15 min. Operation Turning Point, 1980. Impact of military spending on our economy from a human, personal viewpoint.

Whose Budget Is It, Anyway? 20-min. color slide show. NARMIC, 1982. Links social issues in describing the current pattern of cutbacks in domestic spending while military budget soars.

Women and Power in the Nuclear Age. 3/4-in. color videotape, 30 min. High Hopes Media, 1981. Dr. Helen Caldicott discusses grassroots tactics for antinuclear activity.

A Visit to the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum. 65 color slides, 26-min. cassette, script. Peace Resource Center, 1984. Actual tape that visitors use for a self-guided tour of the museum. Rental $5.

You Don't Have to Buy War, Mrs. Smith! 16mm B/W, 25 min. Another Mother for Peace, 1970. Speech delivered by Bess Myerson Grant at World Mothers Day Assembly. Rental $10.

Film Catalogs

Disarmament: A Select Film Bibliography. Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 1982. Lists 50 films and slide shows from inexpensive distributors. Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 490 Riverside Dr., New York, NY 10027.

In Focus: A Guide to Using Films. Linda Blackaby, Dan Georgakas, Barbara Margolis, 1980. How-to manual on setting up screenings, running a projector, speakers' bureau. Media Network.

1984 National Directory of Audiovisual Resources on Nuclear War and the Arms Race. Ed. Karen Sayer and John Darling. Michigan Media, University of Michigan, 400 4th St., Ann Arbor, MI 48103. Lists all movies, filmstrips, and other audiovisual resources on nuclear issues. $4. 1984.

The Nuclear Film Guide. David Brown. Lists more than 100 films on nuclear issues, including the nuclear power/weapons connection. An offshoot of the Nuclear Film Forum. $5.50 from Nuclear Film Guide, 2114 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco, CA 94118.

Nuclear War Films. Jack Shaheen. Southern Illinois Press, 1978. Two dozen films of the genre.

Reel Change. Lists 500 social issue films, including 20 on militarism. $8.20 from Film Fund, 80 E. 11th St., New York, NY 10003.

Survival Audio-Visual Guide 1980-1981. Mobilization for Survival. Contains a comprehensive list of audiovisual resources on many social issues. Media Network, 208 W. 13th St., New York, NY 10011.

Video Network Project Catalogue. Resource Center for Nonviolence, P.O. Box 2324, Santa Cruz, CA 95063.

War and Peace Film Guide. John Dowlings. Guide to 200 films; available for $2 from author, c/o Physics Department, Mansfield State College, Mansfield, PA 16933.

RESOURCE CENTERS

Atlantic Council of the United States, 1616 H St. NW, Washington, DC 20006, (202) 345-9353. An information center that aims to promote security of the U.S. and NATO through studies of NATO military, economic, and political concerns. Campaign Against Nuclear War, 122 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 543-5556. HOTLINE: 800-528-6050 ext. 47. Use hotline to order Nuclear War Prevention Manual and individual and group resources.

Campaign for Political Rights, 201 Massachusetts Ave. NE, Washington, DC 20002, (202) 547-4705. Provides educational materials, films, and resources to national organizations.

Center for Defense Information (CDI), 600 Maryland Ave. SW, Suite 303W, Washington, DC 20024, (202) 547-6406. HOTLINE: (202)- DEFENSE. Information center on U.S. and major powers' military technology, weapons development, and military policy.

Center for National Security Studies, 122 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, DC 20002, (202) 544-5380. Maintains library and resource center. Monitors national security and intelligence agencies to protect civil liberties; carries out litigation with the ACLU on issues of classified information.

Central American Information Office (CAMINO), 1151 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02138, (617) 491-4461. Conducts research on intervention and conflict in Latin America. Publications include 'El Salvador: Background to the Crisis," "Bibliography and Research Guide," "El Salvador 1982: Elections Without Choice."

Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development (COPRED), Department of Political Science, 361 Lincoln Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana, IL 61801, (271) 333-3881. Involved in research, production of material resources for education and research use.

Educators for Social Responsibility, 23 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138, (617) 492-1764. A national resource center for the development and implementation of balanced curricula in schools and universities.

Forum Institute, 1225 15th St. NW, Washington, DC 20005, (202) 347-2931. Facilitates information sharing among grant-making foundations and nonprofit organizations active in arms control, disarmament, conflict resolution, economics, and legal services. Publishes "Handbook of Arms Control and Peace Organizations" and "Organizations Involved in Soviet-American Relations."

Global Educational Associates, 552 Park Ave. E., East Orange, NJ 07017, (201) 675-1409. Produces a number of books, periodicals, and TV programs. Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, 2001 Beacon St., Brookline, MA 02146, (617) 734-4216. Conducts research on domestic policy, national security, international economics, and human rights. Publishes annual "American Peace Directory."

Institute for Policy Studies, 1901 Q St. NW, Washington, DC 20009, (202) 234-9382. Publications on domestic policy, national security, international economics, human rights.

Interchange Resource Center, 1201 16th St. NW, Room 405, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 822-7860. Clearinghouse for information on the character and funding of right-wing political groups, particularly those seeking to counter efforts toward a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze.

Media Network/Center for the Study of Filmed History, 208 W. 13th St., New York, NY 10011, (212) 620-0877. A clearinghouse for information on social issue films; training and consultation for activists who want to use films as tools for social change; guides to films on urgent issues like the arms race, reproductive rights, and Central America; and film/discussion programs on priority issues for poor and working community groups.

National Action/Research on the Military Industrial Complex (NARMIC), 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102, (215) 241- 7175. A research and publication project of American Friends Service Committee Education Division. Maintains database on U.S. corporations and military contracts to provide social change groups with educational resources and action tools on human rights and disarmament. Publications include state-by-state guide to Cruise/Pershing contractors, catalog of U.S. foreign military sales, "A View of the U.S. Role in the Militarization of Central America," and many more; slide shows on budget, struggle for economic justice, and more; video "The Time Has Come," on massive June 12 New York City demonstration. Will send detailed information on military contracts by company, county, or state.

New Society Publishers, 4722 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143. Produces a variety of books on feminism, nonviolence, lesbian/gay liberation, campaign and organization building, and more.

Nuclear Arms Educational Service, Box 1102, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305. A research organization that polls arms control leaders and releases to the media which candidates they support; releases fact sheets on each candidate; compiles the Arms Control Telephone Directory of peace groups and a master mailing list of over 1,200 peace groups nationwide; produces peace-related greeting cards for personal use or fundraising.

Nuclear Free America, 2521 Guilford Ave., Baltimore, MD 21218, (301) 235-3575. A national clearinghouse and resource center for Nuclear Free Zones. Provides a variety of resources including tactical, logistical, and legal support for local, national, and international Nuclear Free Zone campaigns.

Nuclear Free Zone Registry, P.O. Box 172, Riverside, CA 92502, (714) 674-6576. An educational information center and national registry for Nuclear Free Zones. Provides educational literature and materials on Nuclear Free Zones. Produces Nuclear Free Zone fundraising T-shirts, stickers, and posters for campaigns.

Organizing Media Project, 605 14th St. NW, Washington, DC 20005, (202) 393-4300. Creates and produces educational and television programs for the union and environmental movements. Many of these are used in classrooms, also distributed on cable and PBS.

Pacific Studies Center, 222B View St., Mountain View, CA 94041, (415) 969-1545. An information center focusing on U.S. economic and foreign relations with Asia and the Pacific, the arms race, and the electronics industry. Maintains a clipping, periodical, and book library; publishes papers and books.

Parents and Teachers for Social Responsibility, P.O. Box 517, Moretown, VT 05660, (802) 229-0137. Provides publications, educational presentations, radio and TV public service announcements.

Peace Base, 1918 Bonita St., Berkeley, CA 94709, (415) 486-0264. Plans to provide an extensive online data base of peace-related information, to assist peace groups with computerizing office tasks. Is developing a national peace computer network to share information and discuss strategy.

Peace Resource Project, P.O. Box 8547, Santa Cruz, CA 95061, (408) 423-2742. A nonprofit project dedicated to creating and providing resources for the peace, social justice, and environmental movements; empowering grassroots groups to educate, organize, and raise funds in their communities. Bumper stickers, T-shirts, house window signs, disarmament video and audio tapes, posters.

Progressive Space Forum, 1724 Sacramento St., San Francisco, CA 94109, (415) 456-4626. Conducts research and provides information (publications, speakers, slide show) about the role of space weapons in the nuclear arms race.

Religious Task Force on Central America, 1747 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20017, (202) 387-7652. Publishes packets of information on recent events in region; puts out action alerts to network.

The Resource Center, P.O. Box 4726, Albuquerque, NM 87196, (505) 266-5009. Researches and produces educational materials such as slide shows, books, and pamphlets. Most projects examine the influence of U.S. corporations and government in Central American countries and the Caribbean.

Resource Center for Nonviolence, P.O. Box 2324, Santa Cruz, CA 95063. Newsletter, other publications.

War Control Planners, P.O. Box 19127, Washington, DC 20036, (202) 785-0708. Maintains extensive library on subjects of military, political science, theology, and arms control.

Wilmington College Peace Resource Center, Pyle Center, Box 1183, Wilmington, OH 45177, (513) 382-5338. Publishes Peace Resource Center Newsletter (quarterly, donation), which serves as a clearinghouse for peace education resources. The Hiroshima/Nagaski Memorial Collection is a major source of information, films, slides, and audio tapes about the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, including a continually growing library in Japanese. The Center also contains other peace education materials dealing with nonviolence, conflict resolution, the arms race, and nuclear war. Handles mail and telephone requests nationwide for specific information, book purchases, and slide and film rentals.

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THE NEW CONSCIOUSNESS SOURCEBOOK: Spiritual Community Guide contains information on hundreds of health, peace & new age centers and businesses. Also articles including Peace & Nuclear Disarmament and illustrations. 'The yellow pages of the new age.'—Mother Earth News. Send $7.95 plus $1.50 post to KRI publications, PO Box 1550, Pomona, CA 91769.

FOODS FOR HEALTH & HEALING: REMEDIES & RECIPES by Yogi Bhajan is a cookbook, healthbook, better life book. It contains information on how to stay healthy with simple and delicious foods; getting healthy with time proven recipes; tasty, nourishing foods for children; ways to heighten your sexual potency. Send $6.95 plus $1.50 postage. (Cal residents add $.42 sales tax) to KRI Publications, PO Box 1550, Pomona, CA 91769.

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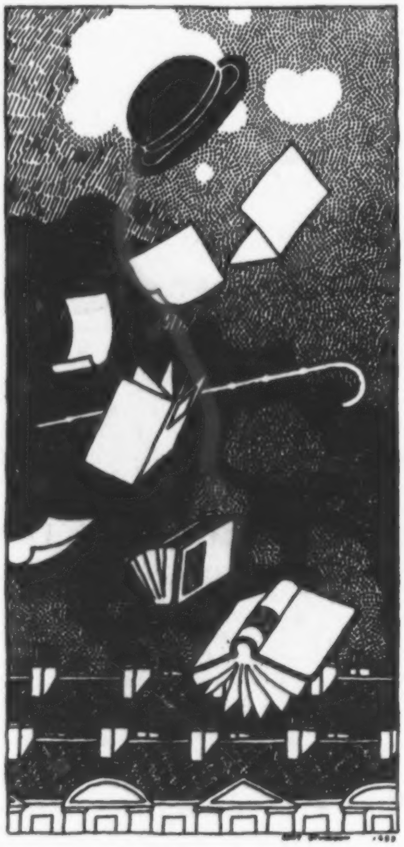

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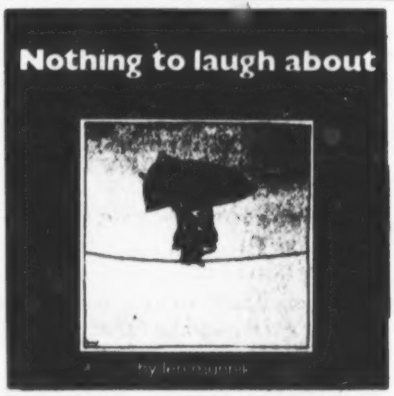

Nothing to Laugh About, a book of cartoons by Dutch artist Len Munnik, will be welcomed by the growing numbers of Americans who share the author's view that the arms race is **Nothing to Laugh About**, yet at the same time will serve as a reminder that humor is indispensable in coping with the insanities we see and experience and must resist—in life today.

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If your group is not listed in the Directory and you would like it to be eligible for entry next year

Send us the information requested on the form on the next page. We would like to receive one reply from each location; that is, one from each central office and one from each branch.

If your group is already listed in the Directory

Please check your listing for errors. Send us any corrections, and we will update your listing for future publications.

The Peace Catalog

Information Form

NAME OF ORGANIZATION ____________________

ADDRESS ____________________

CITY ____________ STATE ____________ ZIP ____________

PHONE (include area code) ____________ FOUNDED (year) ____________

PRINCIPAL SOURCE(S) OF FUNDING ____________________

ARE DONATIONS TAX DEDUCTIBLE UNDER IRS RULES? ____________

MEMBERSHIP DUES? ________ IF SO, HOW MUCH? ____________

NO. OF MEMBERS (if a membership organization) ____________

NO. OF BRANCHES ________ TARGET AUDIENCE ____________

IS THIS GROUP A BRANCH OF A LARGER ORGANIZATION? ________ WHICH ONE? ________

IS THIS GROUP AFFILIATED WITH A LARGER GROUPING?

(COALITION, NETWORK, ALLIANCE, ETC.)? ____________

PLEASE EXPLAIN: ____________________

GEOGRAPHIC RANGE (please circle): CITY COUNTY STATE REGIONAL

NATIONAL INTERNATIONAL OTHER ____________________

NEWSLETTER? ________ NAME ____________________

FREQUENCY OF PUBLICATION/COST ____________________

PURPOSE OF ORGANIZATION:

PRINCIPAL ACTIVITIES:

Return to: Press for Peace
5621 Seaview Avenue NW
Seattle, WA 98107
Attention: Peace Catalog Director

$14.95 ISBN: 9614103-0-2

For anyone who is concerned about nuclear war and wants to do something about it, The Peace Catalog is an ideal resource.

The Peace Catalog presents insights on the nature of the problems we face—and solutions that are both imaginative and attainable. It is filled with concrete, down-to earth ideas for individual and collective action, and a directory of over 1,000 peace organizations in communities all across the U.S.

"Reading The Peace Catalog, I was often deeply moved, feeling anger, grief, fear—and a new faith in the possibility of peace in our time...I was also motivated to do more personally to prevent nuclear war—inspired by the example of others and the knowledge that a growing undercurrent of change promises a positive future for us all.

Dorothy P. Craig
Seattle peace activist

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William Ury, Ph.D.

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